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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

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VOL. IX.—1907-08.

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AND

(FROM PAGE 145)

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The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME IX.

No. 1.— TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

IN February 1904 Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Râjputâna most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskṛit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been found some years before at Ûnâ, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, in the Junâgaḍh State.[1] Both inscriptions are of the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Mahêndrapâla** or, as he is called in one of them, **Mahêndrâyudha, of Kanauj,** and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two feudatories of his, **Balavarman** and his son **Avanivarman II. Yôga,** who belonged to a **Châlukya** family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] Valabhî year 574, corresponding roughly to A.D. 893; the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A.D. 899. In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr. Ojha's photographs.

A.— Plates of Balavarman; Valabhî-saṁvat 574.

These are **two plates,** each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of on the whole well-preserved writing in Nâgarî characters.[2] The language is Sanskṛit; it is generally easy to understand, but line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, *etc.,* and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses; the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahâsâmanta* **Balavarman,** the son of **Avanivarman [I.],** of the **Châlukya** lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five *mahâśabdas,* of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* **Mahêndrâyudhadêva** who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.* **Bhôjadêva.** From **Nakshisapura, Balavarman** informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Mâgha, he gave the village of **Jayapura,** belonging to the **Nakshisapura group of eighty-four** which

[1] See *Indian Atlas,* quarter sheet 13, S. E., Long. 71° 5′, Lat. 21° 49′.

[2] Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters; but I may mention here that the conjuncts *ry* and *rth* are denoted by (well-known) special signs which contain no superscript *r.*

ho had acquired by his own arm (*svabhujôpârjita-Nakshisapura-chaturasîtikâ*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name **Tarunâdityadêva,** which stood on the banks of the river **Kanavîrikâ.** The boundaries of the village were— on the east the village of **Sihavâhalaka,** on the south the village of **Râ[jyastha]la,** on the west the village of **Pêdhillaka,** and on the north the village of **Amvullaka (Ambullâka).** After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses— four Brâhmans, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras.* They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by **the date** *śrî-Valabhî-saṁvat 574 Mâgha-śuddha 6,* the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastô=[tra] śrî-Va(ba)lavarmmaṇaḥ* || *sva-hastaḥ śrî-Dhîika,* where (the second) *sva-hastaḥ* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhîika. Who this **Dhîika** was, does not appear from the present inscription; but the grant B. makes it probable that he was a high official of the king Mahêndrâyudha (Mahêndrapâla), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

B.— Plates of Avanivarman II. Yôga; [Vikrama-]saṁvat 956.

These are **three plates,** the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nâgarî characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits; and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67; the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahâsâmanta* **Avanivarman [II.],** surnamed **Yôga,** of the **Châlukya** race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahâ-mahîpatî*), the brothers **Kalla and Mahalla** (v. 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv. 5 and 6). Kalla had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v. 7); and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala,* and whose full name perhaps was **Vâhukadhavala** (v. 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain **Dharma,** conquered kings who were well-known *râjâdhirâja-paramêśvaras,* and defeated a **Karṇâṭa** army (vv. 10 and 11). His son was **Avanivarman [I.]** (v. 12), and his son, again, was **Balavarman** (the donor of the grant A., above). Balavarman defeated a certain **Vishaḍha** (v. 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-ḍhakkâ*); and, by slaying **Jajjapa** and other kings, 'freed the earth from the **Hûṇa** race' (v. 17). His son was **Avanivarman [II.],** also called **Yôga** (v. 18), who routed the armies of a certain **Yakshadâsa**[1] and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv. 19 and 20), and put to flight **Dharaṇîvarâha** (v. 21).

In lines 45 ff. this *Mahâsâmanta* **Yôga** (*i.e.* **Avanivarman II.),** a feudatory of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* **Mahêndrapâladêva** who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.* **Bhôjadêva,** informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious **Dhîika,**[2] he gave the village of **Amvulaka (Ambulaka),**[3] which

[1] Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of Yakshadâsa, Avanivarman took away from him the musical instrument (*tûrya*) called *Sâgarakshôbha.*— In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that Yakshadâsa may have ruled the Madra country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y,* the actual reading *muddha-bhûmiṁ* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *yuddha-bhûmiṁ,* not to *Madra-bhûmiṁ.*

[2] The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that Dhîika was an *antapâla* or 'frontier-guard' of Mahêndrapâla's, and that Avanivarman II. was a subordinate of his (as his father Balavarman had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

[3] This village (Ambulaka or Ambullaka) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the **Nakshisapura eighty-four** (*Nakshisapura-chaturaśîti*) in the **Saurâshṭra** *maṇḍala*, to (a temple of) **Taruṇâdityadêva,** located near the river **Kaṇavîrikâ** in the vicinity of the village of **Jayapura.**[1] The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of **Viyaraka,** on the south the village of **Jayapura,** on the west the villages of **Sêṇḍuvaka** and **Kôrinṭhaka,** and on the north the village of **Vavulika.** After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with **the date** *saṁvat 956 Mâgha-śudi 6*, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The **Châlukya** chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large Bilhari inscription, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 266, mentions a *Chaulukya* **Avanivarman** whose daughter Nôhalâ was married by the Kalachuri Chêdi king Yuvarâja I. Kêyûravarsha. That Avanivarman may have been a contemporary[2] of Avanivarman II. Yôga of our grant B.; but—even assuming that the terms *Châlukya* and *Chaulukya* might be used synonymously[3]—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were Sadhanva and Siṁhavarman (not Balavarman and Avanivarman).

For **Balavarman,** a feudatory of Mahêndrâyudha (Mahêndrapâla), the grant A. furnishes a date in about A.D. 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather **Vâhukadhavala (?)** lived about the middle of the 9th century A.D., and was almost certainly a feudatory of Mahêndrapâla's predecessor Bhôjadêva (Mihira) of Kanauj, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 843 to A.D. 881. Now in the inscription No. 77 of my *Southern List* this Mihira (Bhôjadêva) is stated to have been defeated by the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭa Dhruvarâja II. This at any rate would show that he was at war with the Râshṭrakûṭas; and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of Vâhukadhavala's (?) exploits related in the **grant B.** In my opinion, the **Karṇâṭa** army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the Râshṭrakûṭas. As regards (the king) **Dharma** who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king Dharma who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known Pâla king **Dharmapâla,** and I see no reason why Dharma should not be identified with that Pâla king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of Kanauj.

Balavarman himself defeated a certain **Vishaḍha,** and by slaying **Jajjapa** and other kings 'freed the earth from the **Hûṇa** race.' Who Vishaḍha was, it is impossible to say. Wars with Hûṇa kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,[4] and we know of a Hûṇa princess, Âvalladêvî, who was married by the Kalachuri Karṇa in the 11th century; but in recording the name of **Jajjapa** our grant B. for the first time discloses the name of an individual Hûṇa king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of **Avanivarman II. Yôga,** for whom we have a date in about A.D. 899, are **Yakshadâsa** and **Dharaṇîvarâha.** The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the Châpa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dharaṇîvarâha, known to us from his Haḍḍâlâ plates[5] which were issued from Vardhamâna (or Wadhwân in

[1] This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

[2] A daughter of the Kalachuri Yuvarâja I., Kundakadêvî, was married by the Râshṭrakûṭa Amôghavarsha III. Baddiga, for whom we now possess dates in A.D. 937 and 939

[3] In Nos. 354 and 356 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both Châlukyas and Chaulukyas.

[4] See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj=Jartô Hûṇân* in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* 1903, p. 305 ff. The Pâla Dêvapâla humbled the pride of the Hûṇas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 163, v. 13); according to the Kharḍa plates of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kakkarâja II. Amôghavarsha of A.D. 972 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the Hûṇas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 32); the Paramâra Utpala (Muñjarâja) took away the life of the Hûṇas (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41); his younger brother Sindhurâja conquered the king of the Hûṇas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 235, v. 16); *etc.*

[5] See my *Northern List,* No. 353.

Kâṭhiâvâḍ) in A.D. 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Râjâdhirâja* Mahîpâladêva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty.

The place **Nakshisapura**, the **nine villages** mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river **Kaṇavirikâ** I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the **Nakshisapura group of eighty-four,** which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B. belonged to the **Saurâshṭra** *maṇḍala*. The name Surâshṭra we know to denote the southern part of Kâṭhiâvâḍ; and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Avanivarman II. describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Mahêndrâyudhadêva or Mahêndrapâladêva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that **towards the end of the 9th century A.D. the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kâṭhiâvâḍ.** Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Râjâdhirâja* **Mahîpâladêva,** who in the Haḍḍâla plates of A.D. 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Châpa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dharaṇîvarâha, must be identified with the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Mahîpâladêva of Kanauj (whose Asnî inscription is dated in about A.D. 917), the successor of Mahêndrapâladêva, and cannot have been one of the Chûḍâsamâs of Girnâr-Junâgaḍh.

In the grant A. the king, known to us from the grant B. and other inscriptions as Mahêndrapâla, is called **Mahêndrâyudha.** This name of course at once recalls the names **Indrâyudha** and **Chakrâyudha,** the former denoting a king who according to the *Harivaṁśa-Purâṇa* was ruling the north in Śaka-saṁvat 705=A.D. 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahôdaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarâja (*i.e.*, in my opinion, Indrâyudha), by the Pâla Dharmapâla, and who was defeated by Nâgabhaṭa,[1] the grandfather of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj. It may also be mentioned that in Râjaśêkhara's *Karpûramañjarî*[2] a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of **Vajrâyudha,** the king of Pañchâla.' That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Râjaśêkhara, who was Mahêndrapâla's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *âyudha*, such as Vajrâyudha, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king. Most probably Mahêndrapâla himself was known to Râjaśêkhara also by the name Mahêndrâyudha.

The date of the grant A., *śrî-Valabhî-saṁvat 574 Mâgha-śuddha 6*, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhî-saṁvat*. In the inscriptions of the Valabhî kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *saṁ*, rarely by *saṁvat;* and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhî-saṁvat* was the Vêrâval inscription of the temple-priest Bhâva-Bṛihaspati of *Valabhî-saṁvat* 850 (No. 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Môrbî plate of Jâiṅka (*ibid.* No. 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *saṁvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gaupta* (*i.e.* Gupta) year.— It is curious that in Kâṭhiâvâḍ we should find the Gupta-Valabhî, Vikrama and Śaka eras employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities.

A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN; VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 Oṁ[4] [||*] Jayaś=ch=âbhyudayaś=cha || Svasti [||*] **Nakshisapurât**=parama-bhaṭṭâraka-mahârâj[â]dhi-

[1] Of Nâgabhaṭa Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jôdhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A.D. 815 (*saṁvatsara-śa[te]* 872).

[2] See Dr. Sten Konow's edition, pp. 74 and 266.

[3] From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

[4] Denoted by a symbol.

2 râja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Bhôjadêva**-pâd[â*]nudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-para-

3 mêśvara-śrî-**Mahêndrâyudhadêva**-pâda-prasâdâkshata-[1]samadhigata-pañchamah â ś a v d a - (bda)-mahâsâmantaś=**[Ch]â**-

4 **lukyânvaya**-prasûta-śrî-[2]**Avanivarmma**-suta-śrî-**Va(ba)lavarmmâ** sarvvân=êva râja-râjanya-râjasthânîy-ôparik-âmâ-

5 tya-[châ]ṭabhaṭa-bhaṭṭa-[da]ṇḍavâ(pâ)śika-daṇḍ[ô]ddharaṇika-[3]draṁgika-mahattara-châru-[4] châra-bhaṭa-hastyaśvârôbha(ha)ka-prabhṛitîḥ |[5]

6 yuktaka-niyuktakâṁ svân=â(a)nyâṁ[ś=cha] yathâsaṁva(ba)dhyamânakân= samanuvô(bô)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ padma-pattê[6]

7 sthita-jala[va] taralâ śrî drishṭa-nashṭañ=cha jîvitaṁḥ[7] | [8]Padmapatra-jalaviṁdu-chaṁchalaṁ jîvitavyam=akhilâś=cha saṁpadaḥ |

8 ity=avêtya jagataḥ sthiti[ṁ*] nṛipâḥ kiṁ dhanaiḥ kuruta dharmmam=aniṁdyaḥ[9] || Pallavâgra-jalaviṁdu-chaṁchalê klêśa-

9 jâla-parivêshṭitê bhavê | yô na chiṁtayati karmma-satpathaṁ tasya janma bhavat=îha niḥphalaṁ[10] || êvaṁ sarvvam=adhruva-

10 m=âlô[kya] dharmmê matiḥ sthâpyatâṁ || Tan=mayâ [11]svabhujôpârjita-**Nakshisapurachaturaśîtikâ**-prativa(ba)ddhô **Jayapur-â-**

11 bhidhânô grâmaḥ[12] **Mâgha-śuklapaksha-shashṭhyâṁ**[13] upôpya(shya) gandha-dhûpa-pushya(shpa)-dîpa-snâna-vilêpan-ôpalêpana-[sanmâ ?]-[14]

12 rjana-khaṇḍasphuṭita-sudhâ-kûrchchak-âdi-śuśru(śrû)shâ-kṛitê sva-mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś= cha[15] aihik-âmushm[i*]ka-puṇya-yaśô-

13 bhivṛiddhayê bhagavataḥ sarit-**Kaṇavîrikâ**-taṭ-âvasthita-Sahasradîdhitêḥ śrîmatas= **Taru[ṇâ]dityadêvâya**[16] bhakti-bhâ-

14 vita-manasâ[17] udak[â*]tisarggêṇa dharmmadâyô nisṛishṭaḥ pratipâditaś=cha || Yasya pûrvvataḥ **Sîhavâhalaka**-grâma-

15 sîmâ maryâd[â*] [|*] dakshiṇataḥ **Râ[jyastha]la**-grâma-sîmâ maryâdâ | aparataḥ **Pêḍhillaka**-grâma-sîmâ [ma*]ryâdâ | utta-

16 rataḥ **Aṁvullaka**-[18]grâma-sîmâ maryâdâ | êvaṁ chaturâghâṭṭa(ṭa)n-ôpalakshitaḥ sa-bhôgabhâgaḥ sa-hiraṇy[â*]dânaḥ

17 sa-daṇḍadaśâparâdhaḥ sa-sîmâparyantaḥ s-ôdra[ṁ*]gaḥ sa-vṛikshamâlâkulaḥ sa-parikaraḥ chôllakavaiṇivai-

18 gikakôshyadi-sahitaḥ[19] âchâṭabhaṭapravêśa-varjjitô[20] bhûmichchhidra-nyâyêna dharmmadâyô nigṛi(sṛi)shṭaḥ ||

19 Asya bhuṁjatô bhôjâpayataḥ kṛishataḥ karshâpayatô vâ asmad-vaṁśajair=anyair= vvâ bhôktṛibhiḥ

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[1] Read, probably, *-prasâdîkṛita-*. [2] Read *-śry-*.

[3] Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next to *daṇḍapâśika*, as in other grants, *-chaurôddharaṇika-*.

[4] It is just possible that the two *aksharas châru* were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading therefore is *-châra-bhaṭa-*.

[5] Read *-prabhṛitîn=âyuktaka-niyuktakân=*.

[6] Read *-pattra-sthita-jalavat=taralâ śrîr=*. [7] Read *jîvitam*.

[8] Metre of this verse and of the next: Rathôddhatâ.— Read *Padmapattra-*.

[9] This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture.

[10] Read *nishphalam*. [11] Originally *svâbhu°* was engraved, but the sign for *â* has been struck out.

[12] Read *grâmô*. [13] Read *-shashṭhyâm=*. [14] Read *-saṁmârjana-*.

[15] Read *=ch=*. [16] Read, in accordance with the preceding, *°dêvasya*.

[17] Here and in other places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

[18] Read *Ambullaka-* ; in line 54 of the grant B. the name is spelt *Amvulaka-*.

[19] This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word *chôllikâ* occurs above, Vol. III. p. 267, l. 23 ; and Prof. Hultzsch draws my attention to Vol. VI. p. 88, note 9.

[20] One would have expected here *achâṭabhaṭapravêśaḥ*, and some other term ending with *varjitaḥ* (like, *e.g.*, *pûrvadatta-dêvabrahmadâya-varjitaḥ*).

20 pratishê[dhô] na karaṇîyaḥ pâlayitavyaś=cha || yataḥ sâm[â*]nyaṁ bhûmidâna-phalam=avêty=âyam=asmad-dâ-

Second Plate.

21 yô=numantavyô ऽsmat-prîty=âbhyarthanayâ cha pâlanîya iti || Tathâ ch=ôktaṁ [bha]gava-
22 tâ vyâśê(sê)na[1] Vyâsêna || [2]Yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndraiḥ dânâni dharmm-ârtha-yaśa-
23 s-karâṇi | nirmmâlya-vânta-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta ||
24 [3]Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmidaḥ | [â]chchh[ê]ttâ ch=ânumantâ cha [tâny=ê]-
25 va narakê vasêt || Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjanaiḥ[4] Sâgar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ [bhû]-
26 mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || [5]Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrâṇi [6]shashṭir=vvarsha-śatâni [cha] | [gavâṁ kôṭi-pradânê]-
27 na bhûmi-harttâ na śudhyati || Viṁdhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâśu(su) śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ | [kṛishṇâhayô hi jâ]-
28 yantê bhûmi-dâyaṁ haratti(nti) yê || Sva-dattâṁ para-datt[âṁ*] vâ .ya[tn]âd=raksha narâdhipa | mahîṁ mahîbh[ṛitâṁ śrêshṭha]
29 dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ || (symbol) || Ava(tra) sâkshî vra(brâ)hmaṇa-Dêhaḍa-suta-Bhâvaḥ | tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-[Kau . ?]-
30 nara-suta-Nâgêśvaraḥ || tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Jajjaka-suta-Hariḥ || tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Bhâ[skara]-suta-
31 Vâsudêvaḥ || tathâ vaṇik[6] Nôgha-suta-Isuvaḥ | tathâ vaṇik[6] Nâga-suta-Pâ[ha]llaḥ || ta-
32 thâ [7]vaṇi-Jêulla-suta-Nannakaḥ | tathâ vaṇak[8] Saṁgama-suta-Dêuthaḥ || tathâ śa(ma)hattara-Draṁ[g]iya-
33 suta-Sîhaḥ | tathâ mâ(ma)hattara-Gôvâsa-suta-Ajainaḥ | tathâ mahattara-Gôvâsa-suta-Mêha[ri]pa[ka]-
34 ḥ | tathâ mahattara-Dhûra-suta-Kaṇhakaḥ || Likhitaṁ ch=aitan=mi(ma)yâ kula-putraka-[9]Datta-suta-[Dhâ ?]-
35 [r]âdi[tyê]n=êti || (symbol) || **Śrî-Valabhî-saṁvat 574 Mâgha-śuddha 6** || (symbol) ||
36 Sva-hastô=[tra] śrî-**Va(ba)lavarmmaṇaḥ** || (mark)[10] sva-hastaḥ śrî-**Dhîika**[11] || (symbol) ||

B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II. YOGA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 956.

TEXT.[12]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[13] [||*] Jayaś=ch=âbhy[u*]dayaś=cha || Jayati[14] jagatâṁ prasûtir=viśv-âtmâ sahaja-bhûshaṇaṁ nabhasaḥ | drutaka-
2 nakasadṛiśa-daśaśatamayûkha-mâl-ârchataḥ[15] Savitâ || [1*] [16]Ast=îha sârô va(ba)hir=aṁtarâ cha chchhidraiḥ parî-

[1] Read, probably, *vêdavyâsêna.*
[2] Metre : Indravajrâ.
[3] Metre of this verse and the rest : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).— Read *shashṭiṁ varsha-*.
[4] Read *râjabhiḥ Sagar-*.
[5] Read *shashṭiṁ varsha-*.
[6] Read *vaṇig-N°*.
[7] Read *vaṇig-Jê°*.
[8] Read *vaṇik-Saṁ°*.
[9] The same word occurs *e.g.* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, line 69.
[10] This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhîika.
[11] One would have expected *-Dhîikasya.* See line 52 of the grant B.
[12] From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.
[13] Denoted by a symbol.
[14] Metre : Âryâ.
[15] Read *-mâl-âchitaḥ*
[16] Metre : Indravajrâ.

3 tô na vipatraśâtaḥ[1] | bhêdyaḥ parair=n=aiva mahîpatînâṁ **Vâ(châ)lukya**-nâm=âpara-tuṁga-[vaṁ]śaḥ |(||) [2*] [2]Va(ba)bhûva-
4 tuti(s=ta)[tra] mahâ-mahîpatî mah[â*]-matî **Kalla-Ma[ha]lla**-saṁjñitau | yayôḥ sitâ kîrttir=upâgamad=gu-
5 ṇaiḥ parâṁ prasiddhiḥ(ṁ) satata[ṁ*] sunirmalaiḥ || [3*] [3]Saubhrâtrañ=cha yayôr=âśî(sî)d=anyônyam=avibhita(nna)-
6 yô[ḥ*] ||(|) kalavappapamâṁyâtaṁ[4] Râma-Lakshmaṇay[ô]r=iva || [4*] Madhyê[5] nṛipâṇâṁ suvibhûyi(shi)tânâṁ
7 raràja **Kallaḥ** kula-kî[r*]tti-yu[kta]ḥ | kâ[ṁ*]tyâ mahatyâ sthirayâ śriyâ va(cha) kalpadrumâṇâm=i-
8 va pârijâta[ḥ] || [5*] Râjya[ṁ][6] ma[chra ?][7] mahîpatau guṇagaṇ-âlaṁkârabhûtê sati kshîṇâ[râ]ti-pa-
9 râkram-ân[v]ita-tanau nirbhâtika[8] śâsati | lôkânâm=abhavan=manô rati-yuta[ṁ*] dharmma-pra-
10 [dh]âna[ṁ] sadâ tushṭir=[vva(bba)ndhu]janasya gauṇya-janitâ dânañ=cha satyattisha(?)[9] || [6*] [10]Tasmân=mahîś[â*]d=vi-
11 tatôkavîrttiḥ[11] lakshmî-nidhânaṁ śaraṇaṁ guṇânâṁ ||(|) śauryasya bhûmir=vvasatir=mmatînâṁ
12 râjairyabhâma(?)[12] tanayâ(yô) va(ba)bhûva || [7*] [13]Valgattyaraggamâtuga-mattamâtaṁga-duggamân | yach-cha-
13 ṇḍadaṇḍatasrastâḥ śatratô=śiśriyan=vana || [8*] Ajani[14] tatô=pi śrîmâṁ[ngâ ?]-hukadhavalô[15]
14 mahâvu(nu)bhâvô yaḥ | dha[r*]mmam=avann=api nityaṁ raṇôtyamô(?) | nînasadramaṁ[16] |(||) [9*] [17]Râjâdhirâ-
15 ja-paramêśvara-bhûminâ[th]ân=yas=tân=api svabhuja-vîrya-vaśâd=vijig[y]ê |
16 nistraṁśanibhrayavilû[jî]ripûttimâgair=avjair=ivê kshiti-talaṁ

Second Plate; First Side.

17 samarê puvinya || [10*] [18]Kunta[thâ ?]śâsi[ha]si-pra[ch]ura-nara-kari-prâjâ(jya)-valgat-turaṁgaṁ

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[1] Read *vipattraśâkhaḥ*, *i.e.* both *vi-pattra-śâkhaḥ*, 'without leaves and branches,' and *vipattra-śâkhaḥ*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune.' A bamboo (*vaṁśa*) has leaves and branches. But the Châlukya race (*vaṁśa*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *vaṁśa*, one that has no leaves and branches, *i.e.*, in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *vaṁśa*. The word *apara* of the last Pâda is practically equivalent to *apûrva*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol. III. p. 298, line 6 of the text. *Apara* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 193, line 10.

[2] Metre: Vaṁśastha.

[3] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[4] Read *kuladharmma-samâyâtaṁ*.

[5] Metre: Upajâti.

[6] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] Read *yatra*.

[8] Read, probably, *nirbhîtikaṁ*.

[9] Read, perhaps, *sampattijaṁ*.

[10] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[11] Read *vitat-ôrukîrttir=*.

[12] I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read *Râjêndra-nâmâ*, but I am not sure about this conjecture.

[13] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).— Read the verse: *Valgat-turaṅgamât=tuṁga-matta-mâtaṁga-durggamât | yach-chaṇḍadaṇḍatas=trastâḥ śatravô=śiśriyan=vanaṁ ||* For *chaṇḍadaṇḍa* see above, Vol. VI. p. 10, v. 20.

[14] Metre: Âryâ.

[15] Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be *śrîmân=Vâhukadhavalô*.

[16] Read *raṇ-ôdyatô=nînaśad=Dharmaṁ*. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharmaṁ*.

[17] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.— Read the second half of the verse: *nistriṁśa-nirdayavilûna-ripûttamâṅgair=abjair=iva kshiti-talaṁ samarê pravidhya ||*

[18] Metre: Sragdharâ.— Read *Kuntaprâśâsihasta*-.

18 **Karṇṇâṭaṁ** śai(sai)nyam=âjô(jau) bhayarahita-manâ bhûriśô=bhu(nu)praviśya | êkâkî khaḍga-
19 yashṭyâ drutam=atisitayâ[1] yô=rimûddhi-pravâha[ṁ] vâh-ârûḍhô=vagâḍhaṁ kamala-
20 vanam=iva śrattya-khêda[2] lulâva || [11*] [3]Taśmâd=aṁjâyata sutô **Svanivarmma**-nâmâ śaurya-pratâ-
21 pa-vinay-âdi-guṇautapêtaḥ[4] | sannâbavad=bh[ri*]śam=imâm=avatâ dharitrîm=anvarthatân=nijam=a-
22 nîyata yêna nâma |(||) [12*] [5]**Avaniva[r*]mmaṇi** ya[tra] sukarmmaṇi vyathita-śâtravamarmmaṇi varmmaṇi(?) [|]
23 yuvati-nirmita-narmmaṇi bhûpaṭô(tau) na janatâbhir=aśa[r*]mmaṇi śa[ṁ*]kitaṁ || [13*] Tasya[6] sûnur=ajan=îha
24 sukarmâ ,mitra-va(ba)ndh[u]janaṁtahira-[7]śa[r]mmâ | kîrttitô vidita-śâtravamarmâ yô janair=abhi-
25 dhayâ **Va(ba)lavarmmâ** || [14*] [8]Satatam=avitath-ôktiḥ snâna-jâpy-âdi-śâ(śî)laḥ praṇayiśatasahasrâ-
26 dhîna-vistîrṇṇasaṁpat | bhrijasuru-[9]vihit-âśô yaḥ sad=ârabhya vâ(bâ)lyâtvi(t=Tri)-nayana-charaṇ-â-
27 rchchâśîlavân=saṁprajâtaṁ(ḥ) |(||) [15*] Prathita-karituraṁgaṁ śâtanistriṁśa-pâṇiḥ[10] **Vishaḍham**=avaśa-
28 m=îśaḥ sâdhu jitvâ samîkê [|*] sthirataram=uruḍhakkâ-yugmam=âśu draḍhîyan[11] śruti-sukha-
29 dam=akhinnô yô=grahîn=ma[ṁ*]dra-nâdaṁ || [16*] Chatura-turaga-durggân=saṁyati dhvasta-śatru[ḥ*] sphuṭa-
30 m=iha jagatîśân[12] **Jajjap**-âdîn=nihatya | prasabham=abhimanaskô yô vyadhatta [ksh]itîśô
31 bhuvanam=idam=ahînô **Hûṇa**-vaṁśêna hînaṁ || [17*] Kuvalayadala-nêtraḥ sannat-âṁśasthalâ-[13]
32 kaḥ | prakaṭam=**Ava[n]ivarmmâ** [n]âma tasy=[â]tmaj[ô]=bhût | prithula-kaṭir=udâraḥ kshâma-ma-
33 dhyas=tathâ yô vidita iha jagatyâṁ **Yôga**-nâmn=âparêṇa || [18*] Saṁgrâmê[14] **Yâkshadâsa[ṁ*]** va(ba)la-

Second Plate; Second Side.

34 m=a[kh]ilam=api[15] dhvaṁsayitvâ pravîrô yaḥ saṁjagrâha tûryaṁ paṭutara-ninadaṁ **Sâgarakshôbha**-
35 nâma | yasy=âlaṁkâra-bhûtâṁ[16] jita-ripu jagṛihuḥ pattayô=pi pratîtâḥ śaṁkha-[chchha]tra-dhvajadî-[17]
36 n=ahamahamikayâ mu(yu)ddha-bhûmiṁ praviśya || [19*] Kôdaṇḍa-dhvasta-dhârâ-śara-kara-nakharê vi[kra]m-âva(ba)ddha-
37 chittê lîlâbhim(nn)-ânyaśê(sê)nâ-samadagajaghaṭâ-tuṁbhatuṁgasthalîkê[18] | yasmin=â[kra]mya bhûmiṁ

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[1] Read *=atiśitayâ yô=rimûrddha-*.
[2] Read *srasta-khêdaṁ*.
[3] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.— Read *Tasmâd=ajâyata*.
[4] Read *-guṇair=upêtaḥ*.
[5] Metre: Drutavilambita.
[6] Metre: Svâgatâ.
[7] Read *-bandhujanat-âhita-*.
[8] Metre of verses 15-18: Mâlinî.
[9] Read *dvija-guru-*.
[10] Read *-pâṇir=*.
[11] Read *draḍhîyâñ=*.
[12] Read *jagatîśâñ=*.
[13] Read *sannat-âṁsasthalîkaḥ pra°*.
[14] Metre of verses 19 and 20: Sragdharâ.
[15] The syllable *pi* was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin.
[16] Read *-bhûtâñ=*.
[17] Read *-chchhattra-dhvaj-âdî-*
[18] Read *-tuṁga-kuṁbhasthalîkê | yasminn=*.

38 [sthi]tavati hi nijâ[1] sighavad=**Yakshadâsa**-[kshô]ṇîp-âdyaiskuṁragair=iva[2] ripu-nivahaiḥ dûrataḥ saṁ-

39 praṇêśê || [20*] [3]Vyômnâ yâṁtam=adhikaṁ mṛigay[â*]-priyô yaḥ satva[4] na muñchati sa kiṁ Dharaṇîvarâhaḥ [|*] maty=ê-

40 ti [vô]ṁpuruhayâ[5] sahaś(s)=aiva yasya dûrân=nanâṁśa[6] matimâṁ **Dharaṇîvarâhaḥ** || [21*] [7]Khaḍga-khaṁḍita-dhaṇḍâra[ṁ][8]

41 ruṇḍa-muṇḍaigha-[9]maṇḍitaṁ | yatr=âjibh[â*]ji jaṭi[ti] sasapâṇai[10] raṇâṁgaṇaṁ || [22*] [11]Narapatim=amuṁ muktvâ

42 kâlê kalau sati sa[ṁ*]prati trijagati paritrâtuṁ śaktô na kaśchid=ap=îha mâṁ | su[ja]na-niva[hô] ma-

43 tv=êtîva nnatikamavi[kra]ma[12] śaraṇa-manasaṁ śrîmaṁtaṁ yaṁ samâśrayad=u[chchhr]ita[ṁ*] || [23*] Têna[13] prava(cha)ṇḍamaruda[bhra]-

44 chalâ[ṁ*] vi[bhûtiṁ ?] [padmasth ?]itâṁvu(bu)kaṇikâ-ta[ra]lâtan=âsû[n][14] | vidy[u*]dvilâsa-va(cha)palâñ=cha vichi[ṁ*]tya la-

45 kshmîṁ prâvartyata sphuṭam=ayaṁ kshitidâna-dha[r]mmaḥ || [24*] Sa cha mahâsâmanta-śrî-**Yôga** êvam=u[kta ?]vân patha[15]

46 [16]saprâṁn=êv=âbhisaṁvadhyakâṁ svân=anyâṁś=[cha] gâmibhâvi-bhûpâlaṁś=cha samanuvô(bô)dhayaty=astu

47 vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yath=âsmâbhiḥ pratâpapraṇata-samastasâmanta-śô(mau)limâl-ârchita-charaṇayu-

48 galasya śaśadharakaranikar-âmalayaśa[ḥ*]pravâha-dhavalita-dharâvalayasya saṁhitâbhya-

49 dhikapradân-ânandita-vaṁdivṛind-ôpagîyamâna-samastaguṇagaṇasya paramabhaṭṭâra-

50 ka-mah[â*]râjâdhirâja-parami(mê)śvara-śrî-**Bhôjadi(dê)va**-pâdânu d h y â t a-p a r a m a-

51 bhaṭṭâraka-mahâr[â*]jâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Mah ê ṁ d r a p â l a d ê v a**-p r a s â-[17]

Third Plate.

52 pâda-prasâd-âvâpta[18] tanti(nni)yukta-taṁ[traṁdra?]pâla[19]-śrî-**Dhîika**-prativa(ba)ddhais=ta-

53 d-anumatyâ cha **Śau(sau)râshṭramaṇḍal**-ântaḥpâti-**Nakshisapurachaturâ(ra)śîti**-prati-

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[1] Read *nijâṁ siṁhavad=*.

[2] Read *-âdyaiḥ kuraṁgair= iva ripu-nivahair=*.

[3] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.— The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharaṇivarâha, for whose identification see above, p. 3 f., was put to flight by, or fled before, Avanivarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse.— The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vyômn=âpi yâṁtam=* or *vyômnâ prayâṁtam=*.

[4] Read *sattvaṁ*.

[5] I cannot correct this.

[6] Read *=nanâśa matimân=*.

[7] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[8] Read, probably, *-daṇḍâraṁ* (in the sense of 'elephant').

[9] Read *-muṇḍ-augha-*.

[10] Read *śastra-pâṇau*.

[11] Metre: Hariṇî.

[12] Read *Trivikrama-vikramaṁ*.

[13] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[14] Read *-taralâṁs=tath=âsûn*.

[15] Read *yathâ* (?); but the words *êvam=uktavân yathâ* would be quite out of place here.

[16] Read *sarvvân=êv=âbhisaṁbadhyamânakân=svân=anyâṁś=ch=âgâmibhâvi-*.

[17] These two *aksharas* (the first two syllables of the word *prasâda*) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *-Mahêṁdrapâladêvasya*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratâpapraṇata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahêṁdrapâla-dêva-*.

[18] Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yôga had received from Mahêndrapâla.

[19] The two *aksharas* in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *-tadaṁtapâla-*.

54 va(ba)ddha[1]-**Amvulak**-âbhidhâna-grâmaḥ sa-vṛikshamâlâkulaḥ sa-sîmâparyan[t*]aḥ
55 sa-bhôgabhâgaḥ sa-hiraṇyâdânaḥ sa-daṇḍadaśâparâdhaḥ sâbhajamânavêshṭikaḥ[2]
56 sakala-râjakîyânâm=ahastaprakshêpaṇîma(ya) â-chaṁdr-ârksh(rkk)-ârṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-par[vv]ata-sama-
57 kâlînaḥ[3] ih=aiva **Jayapura**-grâm-âbhyâsê **Kaṇavîrikâ**-sarid-upakaṇṭhê nivish[ṭ*]a-**Ta[ru]ṇâ**-
58 **dityadêvâya** khaṇḍasphuṭita-suka(dhâ)-dugdha-kâ[r]chchaka-snapana-vilêpana-pushpa-dhûpa-dîpa-t[ai]la-nê(nai)vê-
59 dya-dârik-âdy-upakṛitayê m[â*]tâpitrôr=âtmanaś=ch=[ai]hik-âmushmika-puṇya-yaś[ô]-bhivṛiddhayê bhûmichchhidra-
60 nyây[ê*]na pravi(ti)pâditas=tad=ayaṁ svadha[r*]mmadâya-nirthi(rvvi)śêpra(sha)ḥ pâlaya(yi)tavyô ṣnuna(ma)ntavyaś=cha || yaśya(sya) ch=â-
61 ghâṭanâni pûr[vv]atô **Viyaraka**-grâma-sîmâ | dakshiṇatô **Jayapura**-grâma-sînâ(mâ) || aparataḥ **Sê-**
62 **ṇduvaka-Kôrinṭhaka**-grâma-sîmê | uttarataḥ **Vavulika**-grâma-sîmâ | tad=ê[na]ṁ chaturâghâṭanô(na)-pari-
63 kshipta-grâmaṁ bhuṁjatô bhôjayataḥ ksha(kṛi)shataḥ karsha[ya]taḥ pratidiśa-tê(tô) râ(vâ) na kaiścha[n=â]lp=âpi paripaṁ-
64 thanâ vyâśê[4] vâ kâryaḥ | yataḥ sâmanyasanapalam=avity=[5]âsmat-prîtyâ pâlanîya ita(ti) || Tathâ d(ch)=ô-
65 ktaṁ Vyâśê(sê)na | [6]Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjani(bhi)ḥ Śa(sa)gar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yaśra[7] yanyâ yadâ bhûmiśuśa tasya ta-
66 râ palaṁ || [8][Y]ân=îha dahâ[na][9] purâ narêndrair=ddânâni[10] | mmârśragraśaskarâṇi | nirmmalyavâna-prati-
67 mâni tâni kô nâma śâ(sâ)dhuḥ punar=âdadîta ||
68 **Saṁvat 956 Mâgha-śudi 6** [||*]

No. 2.— VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA; THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T. S. Burt from a tank at **Vasantgaḍh**[11] in the Sirohi State of Râjputâna, and the inscription was published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. X. p. 664 ff., from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Paṇḍit Kamalâkânta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

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[1] Read °*ddh-Âmbulak-*. In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Aṁvullaka*.

[2] Read *sôtpadyamânavishṭikaḥ* (or °*vêshṭikaḥ*, which occurs often elsewhere).

[3] Read *kâlîna*.

[4] Read *vyâsêdhô*.

[5] Read *sâmânyaṁ dâna-phalam=avêty=*.

[6] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Read *yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ*.

[8] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[9] Read *dattâni*.

[10] Read °*ni dharmm-ârtha-yaśas-karâṇi | nirmmâlya-vânta-*.

[11] Vasantgaḍh (Basantgaḍh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Âbû, but I do not find it on the map of the Râjputâna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalâta, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2′ broad by $1' 4\frac{3}{4}''$ high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 *aksharas* are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$ and $\frac{3}{8}''$. The **characters** generally differ little from the ordinary Nâgarî, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *b* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *â* is often written by a superscript line; once (in *Tvashṭuḥ=prasâdât=*, l. 13) we have the sign of the *upadhmânîya*; and once (in *bhâryâṁ*, l. 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=ânvayô=pi* and *nagar-ânvayô=pi* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nâmam*, l. 5, *vêśmam*, l. 9, *vêśmaiḥ*, l. 14, and *vyômê*, l. 21 (for *nâma*, *vêśma*, *vêśmabhiḥ*, and *vyômni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pûrṇṇâpâla-*, l. 7, *saṁdhî-*, l. 19, *svapâna-*, l. 15 (for *Pûrṇṇapâla-*, *saṁdhi-*, *sôpâna-*), *etc.*[1]

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named **Lâhiṇî**, a younger sister of the **Paramâra Pûrṇapâla** and widow of a king **Vigraharâja**, at **Vaṭa**[2] **(Vaṭa-nagara, Vaṭapura)** restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vâpî*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of Lâhiṇî and Vigraharâja, while the third glorifies the town Vaṭa and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to Mahêśvara (Śiva), Prâchêtasa (the poet Vâlmîki), and Vâṇî (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god Hari (Vishṇu).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) Vasishṭha there was produced a youth or prince (*kumâra*) from whom the **Pramâra** (or **Paramâra**) family took its origin.[3] In his lineage there was **Utpalarâja**; from him sprang **Âraṇyarâja**, and from him **Adbhutakrishṇarâja**. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was **Mahipâla**, and from him sprang **Dhandhuka**. To **Dhandhuka** there was born from his wife **Amṛitadêvî Pûrṇapâla**, who ruled the **Arbuda territory** (*bhû-maṁḍalam=Arbbudasya*).[4] In his reign, his younger sister **Lâhiṇî** was married by king **Vigraha (Vigraharâja)**.

Vigraharâja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named **Yôṭa**, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhûpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nṛipa*) **Bhavagupta**, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at Vaṭa' (*Vaṭa-vâsi-bhânu*), reigned at **Vaṭa**. In his lineage, again, there was **Saṁgamarâja**, who ruled **Badarî in Vaṁśâraṭha**. From him sprang **Durlabharâja**; from him, **Chacha**; and from him, **Vigraharâja**, who, as stated

[1] The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

[2] In line 9, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (*Vaṭêshu*), and in the inscription of Varmalâta, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vaṭâkarasthâna*.

[3] See *e.g. Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 190, verse 13. In the present inscription we have the name *Pramâra* in verse 8, and *Paramâra* in verse 10. The name is written *Pramâra* also in the unpublished Bhâruṇḍa inscription of Pûrṇapâla of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

[4] In the Bhâruṇḍa inscription mentioned in the preceding note Pûrṇapâla is said to rule the *Arbuda-maṇḍala*. The inscription actually has *śrîmarvudamaṁḍalaṁ praśâsati*).

already, married **Lâhiṇi**. After his death, his widow went to her brother's home, and was settled at the town of **Vaṭa** which in the course of time had fallen into decay.

The town of **Vaṭa (Vaṭa-nagara, Vaṭa-pura)** is glorified in verses 20-25.[1] Here it will be sufficient to say that it is stated to have been founded by the sage Vasishṭha, that it was situated on a river named **Sarasvatî**, and that its inhabitants are described as devoted to the worship of the Sun. That the queen **Lâhiṇî** restored there an ancient temple of the Sun and restored or founded a tank, has been already mentioned.

The inscription (according to verses 33 and 34) was composed by the Brâhmaṇ Mâtṛiśarman, the son of Hari, and engraved by Śivapâla, the son of the *sûtradhâra* Dêuka, who was the son of Durga (Durgârka, *i.e.* Durgâditya), the son of the *sthapati* ('architect, carpenter,' *etc.*) Nâga. It ends (v. 35) with **the date**: the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of the month Nabha, *i.e.* Śrâvaṇa, the moon being in (the *nakshatra*) Mṛigaśiras, of the year (given in words) 1099 in the time of Vikramâditya, 'in the place' (*sthânakê*) of Chitrabhânu. By this last expression I understand the author to say that the date fell in the Jovian year **Chitrabhânu.** This year can be combined with the Vikrama year 1099 only, when the latter is taken to be the expired *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1099, and Chitrabhânu to be the Jovian year so named according to **the southern system.**[2] For that year the date would correspond to **the 12th August A.D. 1042,** when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Śrâvaṇa ended 10 h. 46 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśîrsha by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise. The date is the earliest date of the Vikrama era that quotes a Jovian year, and, with the exception of quite modern dates, the only Vikrama date in which a Jovian year is quoted according to the southern system. It also is the earliest known date in which we find the expression *Vikramâditya-kâlê*.

The **Pramâra** or **Paramâra** chiefs mentioned in this inscription ruled the **Arbuda-maṇḍala,** *i.e.* a tract of country called after Arbuda, the modern Mount Âbû. They are probably closely connected with the Paramâras of Chandrâvatî, mentioned, *e.g.*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 201. Regarding Vigraharâja and his ancestors I cannot offer any remark.

The places **Vaṭa** and **Badarî** in **Vaṁśâraṭha** (v. 14) I am unable to identify. Vaṭa must be an old place, being mentioned already in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalâta of the [Vikrama] year 682, and in a somewhat earlier inscription which was found at the village of Sâmolî in the Bhômaṭa district of Mêvâḍ, and of which Mr. Ojha has sent me impressions. If not identical with Vasantgaḍh itself, it must be looked for close to it.

TEXT.[3]

1 . . . .[4] [Ma]hêśvara[ṁ] || [P]râchêtasaṁ tathâ Vâṇîm=praśastis=sukṛitâ mayâ || [1*] [5]Jyôtir=jyôtividâṁ savaḥ sava-dhiyâṁ dhishṇyaṁ paraṁ varchchasâṁ || bhaktânâṁ dhanadaḥ smṛitaḥ kalushahâ sa-

2 — ⏑ — — ⏑ — || — — — ⏑ [m=a]saṁvṛitaṁ matimatâṁ dâtâ cha sat-karmmaṇâṁ || pâyâd=vô Vasu-Siddha-Kinnara-nutas=trailôkya-dîpô Hariḥ || [2*] [6]Vasishṭha-kôpâj=janitaḥ kumâraḥ **Pramârat**=âvâpa ya-[7]

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[1] The exact meaning of verse 20 is not clear to me, and there is a doubtful passage in verse 23.

[2] By the northern system Chitrabhânu lasted from the 11th September A.D. 1039 to the 6th September A.D. 1040.

[3] From impressions supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. Below "Ed." denotes the text in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. X. p. 671; I quote from it only a few passages, to show what that text is like.

[4] About 15 or 16 *aksharas* are broken away at the commencement of the line. Ed. has *Praṇamya Hari-putr[ê]ṇa kavinâ Mâtṛiśarmmaṇâ | suh[ri]ddhitaśardâ Vâṇîm*; [illegible], with the exception of the word *Vâṇîm*, is a pure invention, suggested by verse 33 of the text.— Metre [illegible].

[5] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.— *Jyôtividâṁ* [illegible].

[6] Metre of verses 3-8: Upêndravajrâ [illegible].

[7] *I.e.*, apparently, 'from whom the [illegible] *Pramâra* seems to have been formed on the analogy of *bandhatê*, *ja*[illegible], etc.

3 — ⏑ — — || ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ tô=sya bhûmyâṁ mahâbalâ yattra nṛipâ babhûvuḥ || [3*] Asy=ânvayê hy=Utpalarâja-nâmâ[1] Âraṇyarâjô=pi tatô babhûva || tasmâd=babhûv=**Âdbhutakṛishṇarâjô** vikhyâta-kîrttiḥ kila vâsu-[2]

4 — — [|| 4*] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ḥ śrîmân=yath=ôrvvî[ṁ] dhṛitavân=varâ[ha]ḥ[3] || puttrô=pi tasmân=**Mahipâla-nâmâ** tasmâd=abhûd=**Dhaṁdhuka**[4] êva bhûpaḥ || [5*] Asy=âpi kîrttiḥ surarâja-lôkê pragîyatê vai sura-kiṁnarîbhiḥ || vîṇânivishṭa-[5]karajâṁgulî-

5 — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ [r=alaṁ]kṛitâbhiḥ || [6*] Yên=âhṛitâ sau(śau)rya-balêna lakshmî[r=*] vikhyâpya nâmaṁ[6] parasainya-madhyê || asy=âpi bhâry=**Âmṛita-dêvi-ttâ(nâ)mnî**[7] rûpêṇa sî(śî)lêna kulêna yuktâ || [7*] Utpaṁnamasyâsuvi[8] **Pûrṇṇapâlaḥ** pûrṇṇâm=imâṁ pâlaya-

6 — ⏑ — — || — — ⏑ — [rô=p]i vijitya śattrûṁ[9] śaśâsa **bhû-maṁḍalam=Arbbudasya** || [8*] [10]Kanakakarṇṇika-bhûshitagaṁḍayâ [11]kakuchadêśa-nivêśita-vîṇayâ || vibudha-râjakulê=mara-kanyayâ sadasi yasya yaśaḥ parigîyatê || [9*] Hatvâ[12] yêna raṇê[13] ripûn=subahuśaḥ

7 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ [kê] || vikrâṁtâ mada-sâ(śâ)linô vara-gajâ naddhâḥ svakê maṁdirê || **Pûrṇṇâpâla**-[14]kulapradîpa-nṛipatau sau(śau)rya-vratê dhârmmikê[15] || attra **śrî-Paramâravaṁśa-tilakê** râjyaṁ sthiraṁ śâsati || [10*] [16]Asy=ânujâ **Lâhiṇi-nâma-**

8 — — — — [ya]thâ tâmarasair=vvihînâ || ûḍh=âpi yâ **Vigraha-bhûbhujêna**[17] Satyâ yathâ pûrvvam=Adhôkshajêna || [11*] Asy=ânvayô=pi || || Âsî[d=*] dvijâtir=vviditô dharaṇyâṁ khyâta-pratâpô ripuchakra-marddî || **Yôṭaḥ**[18] sva-sau(śau)ryârjjita-bhûpaśabdaḥ kshôṇîśvaraḥ

9 — ⏑ [nṛi]pa-pradhânaḥ || [12*] Tad-anvayê khyâta-matir=nṛipô=bhût=kula-pradîpô **Bhavagupta-nâmâ** || udhṛitya[19] vêśmaṁ **Vaṭa-vâsi-bhânôr=Vvaṭêshu** râjyaṁ kṛitavân=sa vîraḥ || [13*] Asy=ânvayê **Saṁgamarâja-nâmâ** **Vaṁśârathê**[20] yô **Badarîṁ** śaśâsa || tasmâd=abhûd=**Durllabharâja-bhûpaś=Chachô**=pi[21] tasmâ-

10 [d=va]ra-râjaputraḥ || [14*] Babhûva tasmâd=guṇinâṁ pradhânô nṛip-ôttamô **Vigraharâja-nâmâ** || pradânasau(śau)ryâdi-guṇair=udârair=yasô(śô) yayau yasya

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[1] Observe the hiatus.

[2] Ed. has *Vâsudêvaḥ;* but I suspect that the original had *vâsudhâyâm* (wrongly for *vasudhâyâm*).

[3] Ed. has *Tasy=âtmajô bhûvalaya-pratishṭhaḥ śrî-Nâthaghôshî vṛitavân varâṇyaḥ.*

[4] Here this name might be read *Vaṁdhuka;* but in the Bhâruṇḍa inscription of Pûrṇapâla the name is quite clearly *Dhaṁdhuka.* The same name occurs in Nos. 210 and 689 of my *Northern List.* In a paper on the Châhamânas of Naddûla I shall show that *Dhandhu* also occurs, as another form of the name.

[5] The reading is clear, but offends against the metre. Perhaps we should read *vîṇânivishṭa-,* where (as in the case of the first *â* of *Pûrṇṇâpâla-* in l. 7) the final *a* would have been wrongly lengthened.

[6] This wrong form (for *nâma*) is clear in the original, and required by the metre. Ed. has *bhâraṁ.*

[7] Ed. has *bhâryyâ Ghṛitadêvi-nâmnî.*

[8] This is quite clear in the original; Ed., instead of it, has *tasmâd=amushyâṁ bhuvi.* I consider it quite possible that the author really wrote *utpa nnam=asy=âsuvi* in the sense of 'as his son there was born,' incredible as this may seem to be.

[9] Read *śattrûñ=.* Ed. has *vijitya râshṭraṁ nâmâ 'pi bhûtaṁ valadarpadîti.*

[10] Metre: Drutavilambita.

[11] Read, perhaps, *svakucha°* or *sukucha°.* Ed. has *karapadê maṇibhûshitavîṇayâ.*

[12] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[13] The *aksharas na raṇê* are engraved below the line.

[14] For the sake of the metre for *Pûrṇṇapâla-.* Ed. has *pûrṇaḥ Pâlakula-pradîpa ivayâ.*

[15] Observe the hiatus.

[16] Metre of verses 11-15: Indravajrâ, Upêndravajrâ and Upajâti.

[17] For the sake of the metre for *-bhûbhujâ.*

[18] Ed. has *yô duḥsvaśauryyârjjitabhûyaśasyaḥ Kâśîśvaraḥ.*

[19] Read *uddhṛitya.* The following *vêśmaṁ* (for *vêśma*) is clear in the original, and required by the metre.

[20] Ed. has *vandyô narair=yô.*

[21] Ed. has *Vallabharâja-bhûpaś=Charô=pi.*

vijitya lôkân || [15*] [1]Dvijihvaripuvâhanô lalanakântarâmânvitaḥ || kulôchchaya-kṛitônnatir=vvidhṛitachârulakshmî-

11 vapuḥ || svapaurushadhṛitâvanir=balanivishṭachakrô ...hân || babhûva nṛivarôttamaḥ sa nararûpadhṛiñ=Mâdhavaḥ || [16*] [2]Prôtphullasitakamala-mukhâṁ karatala-sukumârapaṁkaja-nibhâ[ṅg]im || Śriyam=iva kulajâṁ râjñî-Lâhiṇîm=ûḍha-

12 vâṁ[3] saḥ || [17*] Bhâryâṁ[4] sa ch=âvâpya guṇaiḥ samêtâṁ chitt-êpsitâm=vai[5] bubhujê cha bhôgaṁ || s=âpi priyaṁ prâpya patin=tu rêmê yadvach=Chhach=Îndrêṇa samaṁ varêmê[6] || [18*] As...in=mṛitô bharttari daiva-yôgâd=bhrâtur=gṛihaṁ s=âpi gatâ viyuktâ || âvâsitâ vai nagarê Vaṭê=smin=daivât=pra-

13 hîṇê bahuśaḥ kramêṇa || [19*] || Nagar-ânvayô=pi[7] || || Taptaṁ tapaṁ[8] Vâruṇin=âpi yattra nyagrô[dha-sakt-â]śrama-mâpavasya[9] || sthânê=rkka-Bharggau svanatô[10] Vasishṭhô mukti-pradau sthâpitavân=varishṭhaḥ || [20*] Tadvad=Vaṭ-âkhyaṁ nagaraṁ vanê=smin[11] Tvashṭuḥ=prasâdât=kṛitavâṁ[12]

14 n=Vasishṭhaḥ || prâkâra-vapr-ôpavanais=taḍâ[g]aiḥ prâsâda-vêśmaiḥ[13] sughanaṁ sutuṁgaiḥ || [21*] [14]Śrutimantr-ôdam=akshôbhyaṁ shaḍaṁgâvartta-saṁkulaṁ || vêd-ârṇṇavaṁ dvijâḥ samyag=yattra tîrtv=âpy=agarvvitâ[ḥ] || [22*] [15]Lôkair=ddharmma-paraiḥ svakarmma-nirataiḥ sadbhiḥ sad=âvâsitam ||

15 vṛityarthaṁ[16] [cha sa?]mâgataiḥ pratidiśaṁ nityaṁ vaṇigbhir=vṛitaṁ || [pau]-râlaiḥ[17] paṇikâjanair=vvyasanikaiḥ sû(śû)rair=jjanaiḥ saṁkulaṁ || Iṁdra-sthânam=iv=âparaṁ Vaṭa-puraṁ kshôṇî-talê saṁsthitam || [23*] [18]Svar-udgatâ yattra sarit=Sarasvatî svapâna-paṁkt=îva[19] nṛiṇâṁ

16 nimajjatâm || supuṇyapushpôdakaphêna-vâhinî dvij-âśramâṇâṁ janan=evadhishṭhitâ[20] || [24*] Yê[21] sarvvam=pâlayaṁtê nagarahita-ratâḥ[22] nîtimaṁtaḥ praśâṁtâḥ || dêvân=viprân=yajaṁtê kanakadhanamahîvastraratnâdi-dânaiḥ || khyâtir=yêshâṁ cha nityaṁ tṛi(tri)bhuvana-

17 valayê sad-guṇair=êva nîtâ || tê=smin=paurâḥ samastâḥ sakalajana-hitâ Bhânavê bhaktimaṁtaḥ || [25*] [23]S=âttr=âgatâ Lâhiṇi-nâma-râjñî bharttur=vviyôgâdhi-nipîḍitâṁgî || asmin=purê vipra-janaiḥ samêtya tṛiptâ [tu] têshâṁ [va]chanât=prabuddhâ || [26*] Bhâ-

18 nôr=gṛihaṁ daiva-vaśâd=vibhagnaṁ Vâsishṭha-pauraiḥ sukṛitaṁ yad=âsît || vaināśi[24] sarvvaṁ saha jîvitêna jñâtvâ gṛihaṁ kâritam=âśu Bhânôḥ || [27*]

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[1] Metre: Pṛithvî.

[2] This apparently is intended for an Âryâ verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed. omits the whole of it.

[3] Read *vân=saḥ*.

[4] Metre of verses 18-21 : Indravajrâ.

[5] Read *-êpsitâṁ vai*, or, perhaps, *-êpsitaṁ vai*.

[6] Read *varêṇa*.

[7] Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed. has *Vasishṭharâjô=pi atr=âsîd=atô=yaṁ Vasishṭharâjânvayô'pi (jâtamatrapâ Vâruṇinâpi) atra nyagrôdhasy=âśramaḥ*.

[8] Wrong for *tapô*.

[9] The intended reading may be *-Mâdhavasya*, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.

[10] Read *sva-natau*, or, perhaps, *sva-matau*.

[11] Read *=smiṁs=Tva°*.

[12] Read *=kṛitavân=Va°*.

[13] Wrong for *-vêśmabhiḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

[14] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[15] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[16] Read *vṛittyartham*.— The *sa* in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line.

[17] There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest a satisfactory emendation ; Ed. has *paurâṇair=gaṇikâjanair=*.

[18] Metre : Vaṁśastha.

[19] Wrong for *sôpâna-paṁktir=iva*, which would not have suited the metre.

[20] Read *janan=îva nishṭhitâ*.

[21] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[22] Read *-ratâ*.

[23] Metre of verses 26-30 : Indravajrâ.

[24] Wrong for *vinâśi* (or *vainâśikaṁ*), which would not suit the metre.

[1]Suślishṭa-saṁdhiṁ ruchira[ṁ] supâdaṁ śail-êshṭakaṁ cha sthira-siṁgha-karṇṇaṁ[2] || yadvad=Dhimâdriś=śikharaiś=cha tadvat=kṛitvâ

19 nikêtaṁ **Vaṭa-vâsi-bhânôḥ ||** [28*] Lôka-prap=aishâ sukṛitâ cha vâpî suślishṭasaṁdhî-ghaṭitôtpalâ[3] cha || sôpâna-paṁktyâ suśubhê(bhâ) subaddhâ nisrê(śrê)ṇi-bhût=êva divaukasasya || [29*] Dêvaiḥ samastair=ri(ṛi)shibhiś=cha jushṭâ pâpâpahâ vyâpya jagat=sthitâ yâ || jîrṇṇô-

20 dhṛitâ[4] **Lâhiṇi-puṇyahêtôḥ** Sârasvatî śêsha-janasya vâpî || [30*] Nishpâdya[5] sukṛitau kṛitvâ[6] arthaṁ datvâ[7] punaḥ-punaḥ || vainâśikam=idaṁ ch=ânya[j*=] jñâtvâ lôkasya charppitau[8] || [31*] [9]Yâvad=gaur=llôka-dh[â*]trî pravahati [pa ?]rutô[10] yâvad=arkô=ntarikshê || yâvad=vîchyas=sa-

21 mudrê pavana-vidhunitâḥ[11] saṁtatâḥ prôchchhalanti || yâvad=vyômê[12] suśîghraṁ pracha[la ?]ti mihira-syaṁda(da)nasy=aika-chakraṁ || vâpy-ôkau tâvad=âstâm=[13] uḍukara-sadṛiśau śrêyasê kârakasya || [32*] || [14]Kṛit=êyaṁ Hari-puttrêṇa Mâtṛiśarmma-dvijanmanâ || śastir=llôka-hitâ-

22 rthâya **Lâhinyâś=cha**[15] hit-aishiṇâ || [33*] [16]Âśîch=cha Nâgât=sthapatês=tu Durggaḥ || Durggârkkatô Dêuka-sûttradhâraḥ || asy=âpi sûnuḥ Śivapâla-nâmâ || yên=ôtkṛit=êyaṁ[17] suśubhâ praśastiḥ || [34*] [18]**Navanavatir=ih=âsîd= Vikramâditya-kâlê ||** jagati

23 **daśaśatânâm=agratô yattra pûrṇṇâ [|*] prabhavati Nabha-mâsê sthânakê Chittrabhânôḥ || Mṛigaśirasi śaśâṁkê kṛishṇa-pakshê navamyâṁ || [35 ||*]**

No. 3.—ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

The ancient royal family of the Âḷupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—'*carent quia vate sacro*' as Horace (*Carm.* IV. 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.* A few additional records of them were published by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica.* The Âḷupas or Âḷuvas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakêśin II.[19] and Vinayâditya, of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III.,[20] and of the Kâdamba Jayakêśin I., and the poet Bilhaṇa mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramâditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Âḷupa, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that it 'seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast.'[21] This is very improbable, because Âluvây (Alwye) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Âḷupas are

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1 Ed. omits this verse.

2 Read *-siṁhakarṇṇam.*— This word *siṁhakarṇa* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture.

3 Read *-ghaṭitôpalâ*; the preceding *saṁdhî* for the sake of the metre stands for *saṁdhi*,

4 Read *ddhṛitâ.*

5 Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

6 Observe the hiatus.

7 Read *dattvâ.*

8 Read *ch=ârppitau.*

9 Metre: Sragdharâ.

10 Read *puratô*(?).

11 For the sake of the metre for *-vidhûnitâḥ.*

12 Wrong for *vyômni*, which would not have suited the metre.

13 This *âstâm* is wrongly used here for *âsâtâm* (from *âs*) or *syâtâm* (from *as*).

14 Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

15 The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) *n.*

16 Metre: Indravajrâ.

17 *Utkṛitâ* wrong for *utkîrṇâ.*

18 Metre: Mâlinî.— Ed. omits the last Pâda of the verse and has instead of it *sa 1099.*

19 See now above, Vol. VI. p. 10.

20 See below, p. 16 and note 7.

21 *History of the Dekkan,* p. 51, note 3.

found in South Canara, Kaḍûr and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word Âḷupa or Âḷuva is probably 'a ruler,' from the Dravidian root *âḷ*, 'to rule.'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of **Vinayâditya** were issued at the request of **Guṇasâgar-Âḷupêndra's** son **Chitravâha-Mahârâja**, who was in possession of the district (*vishaya*) of **Eḍevoḷal** in the N.E. of **Banavâsi** in North Canara.[1] According to the Harihar plates of Vinayâditya, which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*bhôga*) of **Eḍevoḷal**, forming part of the **Vanavâsi-maṇḍala**, was granted at the request of **Âḷuvarâja**,[2] *i.e.* perhaps Chitravâha-Mahârâja. The same two princes (Guṇasâgara and Chitravâha) may be meant in an inscription at Kigga in the Koppa tâluka of the Kaḍûr district,[3] which states that, when **Âḷuarasu**, whose second name was **Guṇasâgara**, was ruling the **Kadamba-maṇḍala**,— Âḷuarasa, (his) great queen and (his son) **Chitravâhana** made a grant to a local temple.[4] Another inscription (Kp. 37), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some **Chitravâhana** was ruling **Ponbuchchu**,[5] the modern **Humcha**.[6] Finally, an inscription at Mâvaḷi in the Sorab tâluka of the Shimoga district states that in the time of Prabhûtavarsha Gôindarasa, *i.e.* the Râshṭrakûṭa king **Gôvinda III.**, a certain **Chitravâhana** ruled the **Âḷuvakhêḍa** six-thousand, while **Râjâdityarasa** ruled the **Banavâsi-maṇḍala**.[7]

If the Chitravâhana of the first Kigga inscription was really the same person as the Chitravâha of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the Âḷupa or Âḷua prince **Guṇasâgara** was governor of the Kadamba-maṇḍala, *i.e.* the Banavâsi province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya, and that Guṇasâgara's son Âḷuvarâja Chitravâha or **Chitravâhana (I)**. granted two villages in the district of **Eḍevoḷal**, which formed part of the Banavâsi province, during Vinayâditya's reign. Consequently Chitravâhana I. seems to have succeeded his father Guṇasâgara in the government of **Banavâsi**. In the time of Gôvinda III., however, the Banavâsi-maṇḍala had been taken from the Âḷupas and was entrusted to Râjâditya, while the **Âḷuvakhêḍa** six-thousand was administered by a **second Chitravâhana**, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the **Âḷupa family**. To judge from the Mâvaḷi inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That Chitravâhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at **Humcha**, may or not be identical with this Chitravâhana II., but must be distinct from Chitravâhana I., whose capital was most probably Banavâsi. If this identification is correct, Ponbuchchu, the modern Humcha, would have been the head-quarters of the Âḷuvakhêḍa six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as **Âḷvakhêḍa** among the boundaries of the Poysaḷa kingdom.[8]

Mr. Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Âḷupas. These are the Chaṅgâḷvas,[9] Koṅgâḷvas,[10] Nâḍâḷuvas,[11] Sântaras,[12] and the rulers of Kaḷasa and Kârkaḷa.[13]

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the Âḷupas at **Udiyâvara** near Uḍipi in the South Canara

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. p. 92 of the Translations.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 302, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. Dg. 66.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 38.

[4] A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 3.

[5] The Kanarese text has *pinduvvâḷe* for *Ponbuchch=âḷe* in the Roman text.

[6] See p. 17 below.

[7] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Sb. 10, with Plate facing p. 3 of the Roman texts.

[8] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Cm. 160, line 5.

[9] *Id.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 16; Vol. V. p. viii; Vol. IX. p. 19.

[10] *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii; Vol. IX. p. 18.

[11] *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii.

[12] *Id.* Vol. VI. p. 10; Vol. VII. p. 17; Vol. VIII. p. 6. Compare *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2.

[13] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 19. Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff. and Vol. VIII. p. 124 ff.

I. — Scale one-sixth.

II. — Scale one-fifth.

E. Hultzsch.

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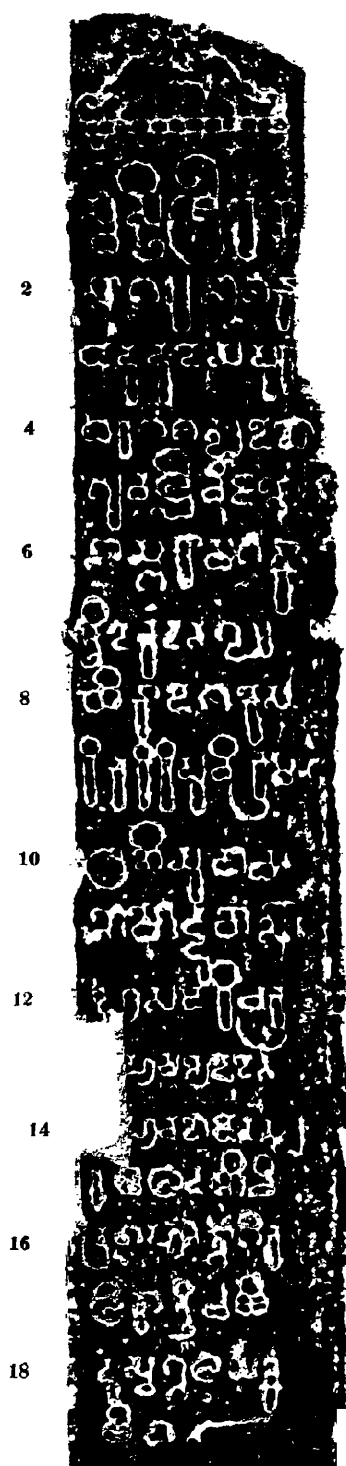
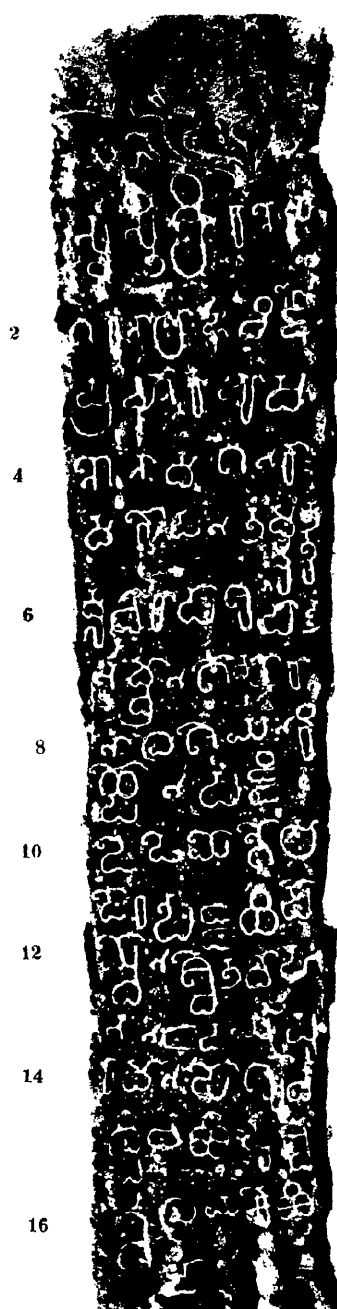

district. Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones. Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents.

The first five Udiyâvara inscriptions are on Vîrakals, *i.e.* stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes; the remaining three refer to grants of tolls. The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period; for Nos. I. and II. mention a certain **Raṇasâgara**, and Nos. II. and III. one **Śvêtavâhana.** These two names and, in addition to them, **Chitravâhana** in No. I. look like those of Aḷuva princes, among whom we have already found a Guṇasâgara and two Chitravâhanas. As the alphabet resembles that of the Mâvaḷi inscription,[1] we may identify the Chitravâhana of No. I. with **Chitravâhana II.**, who ruled the Âḷuvakhêḍa six-thousand in the time of Gôvinda III. Consequently Nos. I.-III. must be assigned to **about A.D. 800.** From the first few lines of No. I. we learn that Chitravâhana II. seized Udiyâvara in the course of a war with Raṇasâgara, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne. Nos. II. and III. refer to the storming of Udiyâvara by Śvêtavâhana, and No. II. records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of Raṇasâgara. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No. I., Raṇasâgara succeeded in ousting Chitravâhana II., but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by Śvêtavâhana, who may have been a near relative of Chitravâhana II.

The remaining Udiyâvara inscriptions date from the reigns of the two **Âḷupa, Âḷuva** or **Âḷva** kings **Pṛithivisâgara** (Nos. IV.-VI.) and **Vijayâditya** (Nos. VII. and VIII.) *alias* **Mâramma** (No. VII.). It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with Chitravâhana II., Raṇasâgara and Śvêtavâhana. But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos. I.-III., they must be assigned to about the same period.

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions Udiyâvara is referred to by one of its older names **Udayâpura** (Nos. V. and VIII.), **Udayapura** (Nos. II., III., VI., VII.) or **Udeyapura** (Nos. I. and IV.). In the three last it is mentioned together with **Paṭi** (No. VI.), **Pombuḷcha** (No. VII.) or **Ponvuḷcha** (No. VIII.). Paṭṭi and Pombuchcha are known to have been ancient names of the modern **Humcha** in the Nagar tâluka of the Shimoga district.[2] This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Âḷupa kings. For an inscription at Kigga is dated while Chitravâhana (II.) was ruling Ponbuchchu.[3]

I.—Inscription of Chitravâhana (II.) and Raṇasâgara.

This inscription (No. 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyâvara. It records that a follower of Chitravâhana (II.) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (*viz.* Chitravâhana) occupied and entered Udeyapura (Udiyâvara) 'during the trouble of Raṇasâgara,' *i.e.* in the course of a war with the latter.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Raṇa-**
2 **sâgaranâ** śaṁ(saṁ)ka-
3 ṭaduḷ=**Udeyapuraṁ**
4 dhareg[î]śan=paḍe-po-
5 guvalli Vijaṇa-
6 nâygarâ magan=Kâ-

[1] See above, p. 16 and note 7.
[2] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 126.
[3] See p. 16 above.

7 ltide kadan-aggha-
8 li kâḷega-kêsa-
9 ri kariripu-vikraman
10 aṇiyu[l*] ḍâva-
11 ṇam=oḍḍuvon=sâ-
12 hasad=ari-chakra-
13 [vyû*]haman=oḍedon
14 [â*]havad=oḍe[da]n=pa-
15 ra-[ba]lad=aṇi **Chi-**
16 **travâhanarggâgi** ka-
17 li-kânti eṛi-
18 du svarggâlayakk=ê-
19 ṛidon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When during the trouble of **Raṇasâgara**[1] the lord of the earth[2] occupied and entered **Udeyapura,**— Vijaṇanâyga's[3] son Kâltide, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope[4] to the array (*of his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought[5] (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of **Chitravâhana.**

II.—Inscription of Raṇasâgara and Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No. 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Râghavêndrabhaṭṭa's house at Udiyâvara and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Raṇasâgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udiyâvara) was entered by Śvêtavâhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Raṇasâgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of **Paṭṭi,**' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pâśupata lord.' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern **Humcha.**[6] It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva *maṭha*.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Raṇa[sâ]-**
2 **garanâ** âḷu Viñjan
3 Pra[hâ]rabhûsha-
4 ṇanâ magan Kâ-
5 makôḍan tammuttu-
6 mûvarâ Pâśupâ(pa)taṁ
7 namvrân g=[7]ôva[do]râ

[1] *I.e.* 'the trouble caused by Raṇasâgara.'

[2] *Viz.* probably the Chitravâhana mentioned in l. 15 f.

[3] *Nâyga* is a *tadbhava* of *nâyaka*.

[4] With *ḍâvaṇam=oḍḍu* compare *ḍâvaṇi kaṭṭu*, 'to tie cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannaḍa Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol. VIII, p. 134, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 19, note 1. *Ḍâvaṇi* is a *tadbhava* of *dâmani*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier-Williams).

[5] Here and in the four next inscriptions *eṛi* is the same as *iṛi*, 'to strike, to stab.'

[6] See p. 17 above.

[7] As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *namvrân* is meant for the Tamil *nambirdu*, 'lord' (literally: 'our lord'); read *nambirdâgu*.

III. — Scale one-third.

IV. — Scale one-fourth.

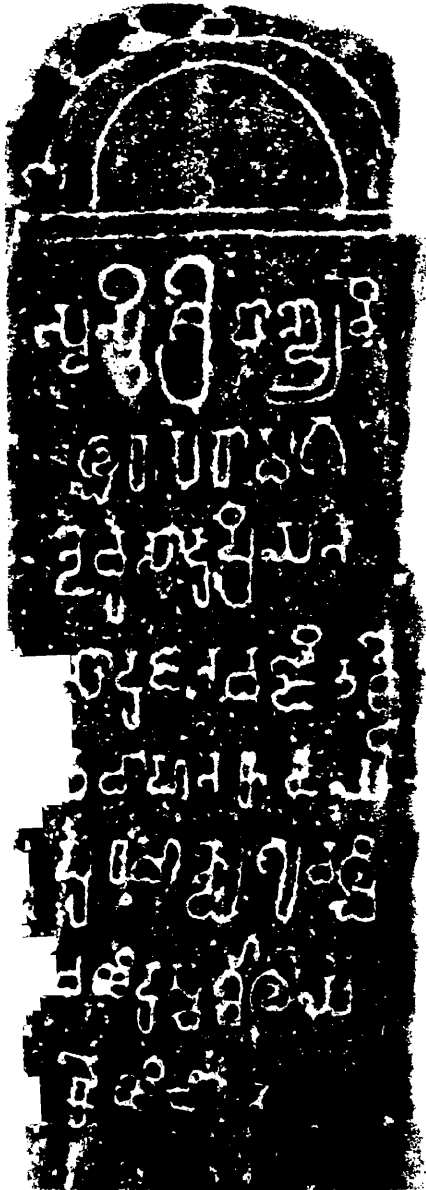
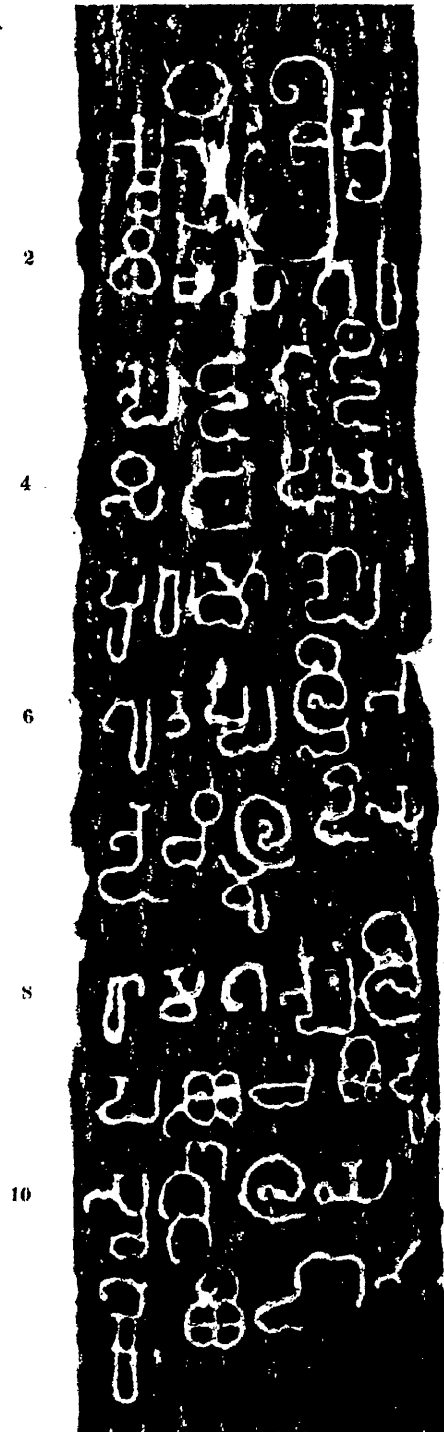
2

4

6

8

10

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

8 nâlageyan ki(kî)-
9 ḷpon **Paṭṭi-**
10 oḍeyong=[1]ôâ(va)-
11 doran=paṭṭ-aḷi-pâ-
12 yvon Śvêtavâha-
13 **nan Udayapu-**
14 **ramân** poguva-
15 lli eṟidu śva(sva)-
16 rgga(rggâ)layakk=êṟi-
17 [don] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When **Śvêtavâhana** was entering **Udayapura,— Raṇasâgara's** servant, Viñja Prahârabhûshaṇa's son Kâmakôḍa, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Pasupata lord of those three persons themselves,[2] *(and)* who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of **Paṭṭi,** ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down *(his enemies)*.

III.— Inscription of Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No. 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pâṇḍyavi-
2 llarasarâ maga-
3 n=Dêvu sâdu(dhu)-priyan=a-
4 sâdu(dhu)jana-varjitan=Śvê-
5 **tavâhanar=Udaya-**
6 **puramân**=poguvalli
7 eṟidu svarggâlaya-
8 kk=êṟidon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When **Śvêtavâhana** was entering **Udayapura,—** Pâṇḍyavillarasa's son Dêvu, *(who was)* beloved by the good *(and)* shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down *(his enemies)*.

IV.—Inscription of Pṛithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyâvara. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Pṛithivisâgara stormed Udeyapura (Udiyâvara) after his coronation.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Pṛi-**
2 **thivisâgara-**

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[1] Read *oḍeyoṅg=*.

[2] *I.e.* the Pâśupata priest whose adherents Kâmakôḍa, his father Prahârabhushana (and his grandfather) Viñja were. I owe this explanation to Dr. Fleet. With *tammuttu-mûvar* compare *tammut-ayvar* and *tammut-aruvar* in Kittel's *Kannaḍa Grammar*, p. 241. Dr. Fleet has noted the similar expression *tammutt-irbbar* or *tammutt-irbbor*, above, Vol. VI. p. 161, note 7.

3 n=paṭṭaṁ gaṭṭi-
4 si Ud[e]ya-
5 puramân=po-
6 gutappalli Na-
7 ndavilmuḍiya-
8 râ magan=Pali-
9 paṟe eṟidu
10 svarggâlaya-
11 kk=êṟidon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Pṛithivisâgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering **Udeyapura,**— Nandavilmuḍi's son Palipaṟe, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven.

V.—Inscription of Pṛithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the **Âḷupa** king Pṛithivisâgara fell at the storming of Udayâpura (Udiyâvara).

TEXT.

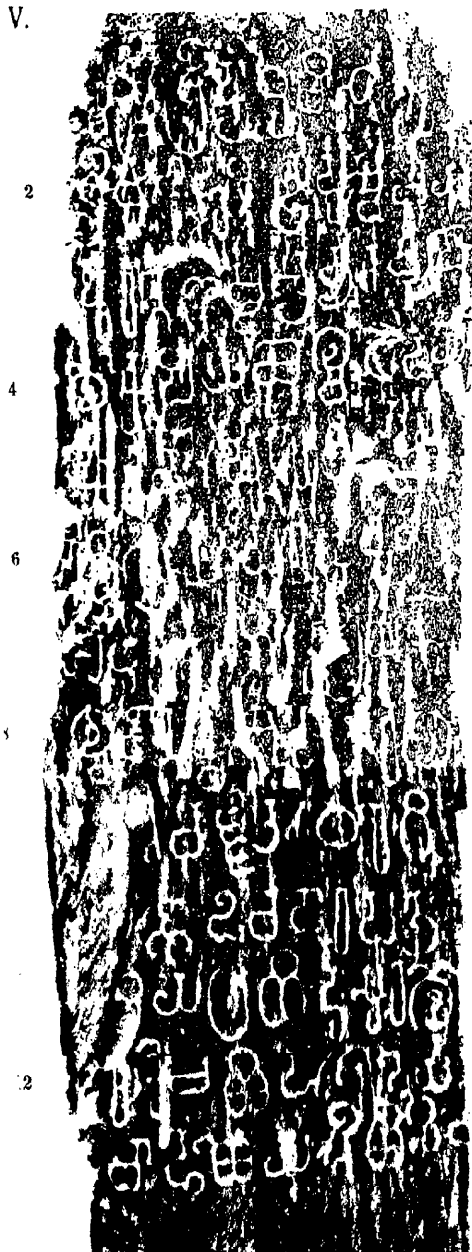
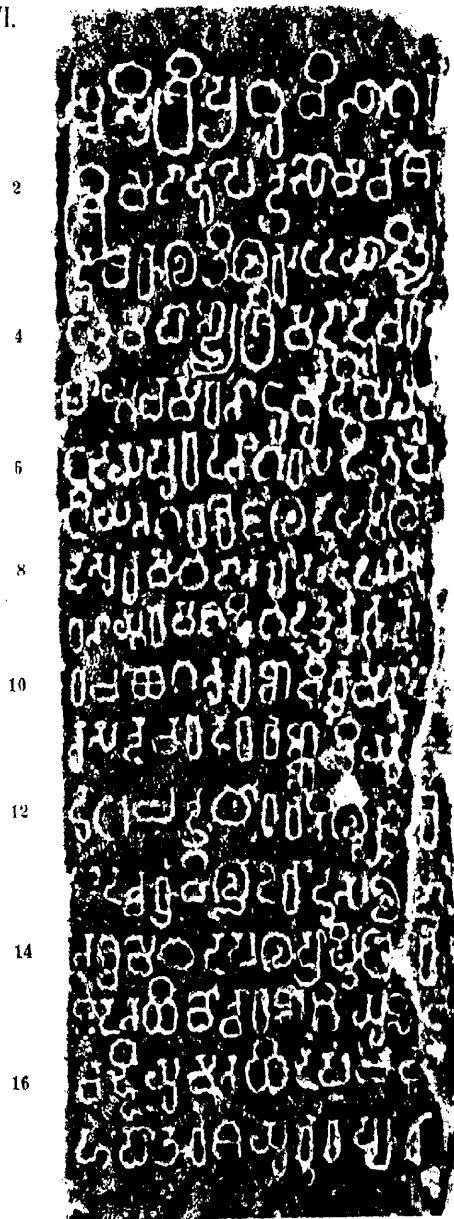
1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Pṛithu(thi)visâgara**
2 śrîmad-**Âḷupêndra** dushṭa-bhaya-
3 ṅkarargge ishṭa-bhṛityan=appa Po-
4 lokku Priyachelva **[U]da[yâ]-**
5 **puraman** pugutappa-
6 lli âha[pa](va)-ra[ṅga]duḷ=uru-
7 bhaṭara [e]ṟidu Priyache-
8 lva chelva-śanpanna[1] ka(kha)la-
9 [ja*]na-varjjitan dharegi(gî)-
10 [śa*]ṅge ôvadora paṭa-
11 [t]iya aḷidu suralô-
12 kakke êṟidan [|*] Keḷeya
13 Vâḷ[e]ṟeyan niṟisida [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of **Pṛithivisâgara,** the glorious **Âḷupêndra,** the terror of the wicked, was entering **Udayâpura,**— (*this*) Priyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers[2] of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth.[3] (*His*) friend Vâḷeṟeya set up (*this memorial stone*).[4]

VI.—Inscription of Pṛithivisâgara.

This inscription (No. 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *birudas* of the **Âḷupa** or **Âḷuva** king

[1] Read *-sampanna.*
[2] As Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, *paṭaṭi* is perhaps a *tadbhava,* used collectively, of *padáti.*
[3] *Viz.* the Âḷupa king Pṛithivisâgara.
[4] Rai Bahadur Venkayya would prefer to take *eṟe* as synonymous with the Tamiḷ *iṟai* and to translate: "Keḷeya set up (this stone representing) a chief (with) a sword (in his hand)."

V. VI.

Scale one-fourth.

.ltzsch. Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

Prithivisâgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayâditya and Uttama-Pâṇḍya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*nagara*) of Udayapura (Udiyâvara) and **Paṭi.** The last is evidently the same as Paṭṭi, the modern **Humcha.**[1] The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII. and VIII.) mentions two sacred places : **Vâraṇâsi** and **Śivavaḷḷi.** The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following information :—

"The Shivalli (**Śivaḷḷi**) sect of Brâhmaṇas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. p. 610, we are told that the town Oodipy (**Uḍipi**), 'considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,' is 'formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodanidambore, Poollore and Shivully villages.' In the Madras *Postal Directory* Shivalli figures as a village served by the Uḍipi post office."

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Pṛidhu(thi)visâgara**
2 śrîmad-**Âḷupêndra** Sômavaṁśô-
3 dbhava kulatilakan **Udayâditya**
4 **Uttama-Pâṇḍya** śrîmad-**Âḷuvara[sa]**-
5 **r=B[ô]ygavarmara** nâṭu-mudimeyu[ḷ]
6 **Udayapurada** nâ(na)gara-sahitaṁ **Pa-**
7 **ṭiya** nagarakke jaladuḷaṁ sthala[du]-
8 ḷaṁ suṁkam=ardha-dâna kâdar [|*] Udaya[pu]-
9 ranâygara magan=[S]iṁgadattanu[ṁ] Ku[mâ]-
10 ra Eṛeganuṁ Raṇavikrama[nâtha]-
11 nu Sandavaradara Kaṇṇachiyu[ṁ] [|*] [I]-
12 du a(â)chandrathâ(tâ)rakaṁ nilpu[d=a]ke(kke) [|*]
13 Idan=vakram-illâde kâdu sali[po]-
14 n=[2]aśvamêdhada pa(pha)la-prâpti aku(kkuṁ) [|*]
15 Idan=aḻivon=**Vâraṇa(ṇâ)śiyuṁ Si(śi)va-**
16 **vaḷḷiyuman=**aḻida paṁcha[ma]-
17 ha(hâ)pâtaka-śaṁ(saṁ)yuktar=appar [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! During **Bôygavarma's** headmanship of the district,[3] **Pṛithivisâgara,** the glorious **Âḷupêndra,** who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (*his*) family, **Udayâditya Uttama-Pâṇḍya,** the glorious **Âḷuvarasa,** confirmed the gift of one half (*of*) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of **Paṭi,** together with the city of **Udayapura.** (*The recipients of this gift were*)[4] Udayapuranâyga's[5] son Siṅgadatta, Kumâra Eṛega, Raṇavikrama[nâtha], and Sandavarada's (*son*) Kaṇṇachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse-sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys **Vâraṇâsi** and **Śivavaḷḷi.**

[1] See p. 17 above.

[2] See Kittel's *Kannaḍa Grammar*, § 183, 8.

[3] As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *nâṭu-mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nâṭṭu mudumai*, the headmanship of a district.' Compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 38, where *Kundavarmmarasaṁ mudime geye* (this is the reading of the Text in Kannaḍa characters, p. 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmarasa was headman.'

[4] The words *idd padedor* may be supplied from VII. l. 10, and VIII. l. 10 f.

[5] See above, p. 18, note 3.

VII.—Inscription of Vijayâditya Mâramma.

This inscription (No. 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udiyâvara) and Pombuḷcha (Humcha). The Âḷupa or Âḷva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayâditya Mâramma. Like the Pṛithivisâgara of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pâṇḍya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles *Paramêśvara* and *Adhirâjarâja*.

TEXT.

1 Ôṁ[1] svasti śrî [||*] **Vija[y]âditya Âḷu-**
2 **pêndra** paramêsva(śva)ra âdhîr[â]-[2]
3 jarâjan **Uttama-Pâṇḍyan**=Śô(sô)mavaṁśô-
4 dbhava śrî-**Mâramm-Âḷvarasar** [U][3]
5 **Udayapurada** naka(ga)ra-sahitaṁ **Pombu-**
6 **ḷchada** naka(ga)rakke suṅka kâdudu saṅku-
7 rakke [pu]ṭṭige ondare maḷavege pa-
8 ḷti padinâṟu palaṁ aḍakeya pê-
9 ṟiṅga(ṅge) mûn[û]ṟu veḷasina pêṟiṅge
10 padina(nâ)ṟu pala[ṁ] [|*] Idâ paḍedor Su-
11 sênavadiyara Svarṇṇagôsasi Mutta-
12 varara Aḍiyapaseṭṭiyu Maṇḍukara
13 Parasêbyan Sênavadiyara Nagakumâran [|*]
14 Idu a(â)chandratâraka[ṁ] nilpud=akke [|*] Ida kâdo
15 aṭṭaguṇa asva(śva)mêda(dha)da pa(pha)lam=akke [|*]
16 Idan=aḷido B[â]raṇâsiyu Śivavaḷḷiyu-
17 ma aḷida pañchamaha(hâ)pâtakan=ak[u](kkuṁ) [|*]
18 Raṇadhâri-likhita ||[4]

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ. Hail! Prosperity! **Vijayâditya Âḷupêndra** *Paramêśvara Adhirâjarâja* **Uttama-Pâṇḍya,** who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious **Mâramm-Âḷvarasa,** confirmed the tolls (*due*) to the city of **Pombuḷcha** together with the city of **Udayapura,** (*viz.*) per double **bag** (*of grain*),[5] one and a half basket[6] (*of grain*); per *maḷave*[7] (of cotton), sixteen *pala* (of) cotton; per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (*nuts*); (*and*) per load of pepper,[8] sixteen *pala* (of pepper). They who obtained this (*were*) Susênavadi's (*son*) Svarṇagôsasi,[9] Muttavara's (*son*) Aḍiyapaseṭṭi, Maṇḍuka's (*son*) Parasêbya, (*and*) Sênavadi's (*son*) Nagakumâra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys **Bâraṇâsi** and **Śivavaḷḷi.** Written by Raṇadhâri.

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[1] Expressed by a symbol. [2] Read *adhirâ-*.

[3] Corrected from *a.* The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the *u* at the beginning of the next line.

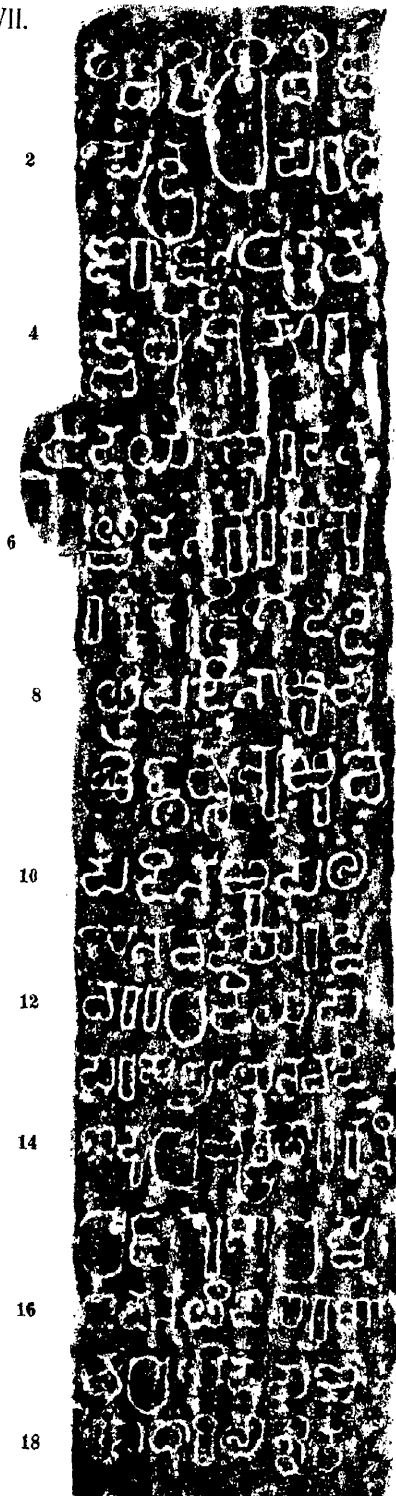
[4] In the original the final stop is represented by a four-petalled flower.

[5] *Saṅkura* is perhaps the same as *saṁkara* No. 4 in Kittel's *Kannaḍa Dictionary*: 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock.'

[6] *Puṭṭige* is the same as *puṭṭi*, 'a basket.'

[7] Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests that this may be another form of *maṇa* or *maṇavu*, 'a maund.'

[8] Originally I had taken *veḷasu* for *beḷasu*, 'corn.' But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastri's suggestion, who compares *meḷasu*, 'black pepper.'

[9] With *gôsasi* compare *gôsâsiga* in the inscription VIII. l. 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 255, note 2.

Scale one-fourth.

E. Hultzsch.

VIII.—Inscription of Vijayâditya.

This inscription (No. 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII.). It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII., but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII.) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII. was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII. had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII., and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII. resemble those of VII. The king is the same; only one of his names, Mâramma, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayâpura (Udiyâvara) and Ponvuḻcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

TEXT.

First and Second Faces.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Vijayâdhi(di)tyan**
2 **Âḻupêndra** paramêsva(śva)ra â(a)-
3 dhî(dhi)râjarâjan **Uttama-**
4 **Pâṇḍyan**=Śômavaṁśôbhavan[1]
5 **Âḻuvarasar Arakellarâ**
6 nâṭu-muḍî(di)meyuḷ **Udayâ-**
7 **purada** naka(ga)ra-sahitaṁ **Ponvuḻcha-**
8 **da** naka(ga)rakke suṅkadâ ardda(rddha)-[dâ]na
9 kâ[daha] avargge aṭṭaguṇa
10 asva(śva)mêda(dha)dâ pa(pha)lam=akkuṁ [|*] Idâ
11 [pa*]ḍedor Muttavurera[2] Saruvigôsâsiga
12 Koḍalseṭṭiyarâ Madâmman Vija[s]e-
13 ṭṭigarâ Dharmmanâygan=Maṇugasâ-
14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Puleyarmman [|*]

Third Face.

15 Î okkal=paḍed[u]-
16 vu [|*] Idâ aḻivo
17 **Sivavâḻḻiyu**[3] **Vâ-**
18 **râṇâsiyuman**
19 aḻida pañchama-
20 hâpâtakan=akkuṁ[4] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him— **Vijayâditya Âḻupêndra** *Paramêśvara Adhirâjarâja* **Uttama-Pâṇḍya,** who sprang from the race of the Moon, **Âḻuvarasa**— who, during **Arakella's** headmanship of the district,[5] confirmed the gift of

[1] Read =*Sômavaṁśôdbhavan.*
[2] Read *Muttavarara*, as in VII. l. 11 f.
[3] Read *Śivavaḻḻiyuṁ.*
[4] The *u* of *kkuṁ* is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the *kk*.
[5] See above, p. 21, note 3.

one half of the tolls to the city of **Ponvuḷcha** together with the city of **Udayâpura.** They who obtained this (*were*) Muttavara's (*son*) Saruvigôsâsiga, Koḍalseṭṭi's (*son*) Madâmma, Vijaseṭṭi's (*son*) Dharmanâyga,[1] Maṇugasâttava, Sarvavandu[2] (*and*) Puleyarma. These ryots obtained (*it*). (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys **Śivavaḷḷi** and **Vârâṇâsi.**

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III.; SAKA-SAMVAT 836.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H. H. Dhruva, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr. (now Prof.) S. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof. Hultzsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof. Hultzsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edit the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof. Hultzsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, **two seals** were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which set. But before returning the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put down some notes about them, of which the following is a copy.

[The plates measure on an average 13″ by 9⅜″. The rings bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The **larger of the two seals** measures about 3″ by 2⅞″. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the seal is 3⅝″ in diameter and ½″ thick. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of **Garuḍa**— whose wings are distinctly seen— squatting on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The Garuḍa faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of Gaṇapati in the upper corner, lower down a *chaurî*, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a *svastika* surmounted by a *chaurî*. On each side of the head of Garuḍa is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squatting Garuḍa is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षदेवस्य. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *liṅga* and an elephant-goad are recognisable. The emblems on the **smaller seal,** which measures about 1¼″ by 1½″, are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is **Garuḍa,** squatting, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of Garuḍa appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a projection which may stand for Gaṇapati, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left at the upper corner is another

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[1] See above, p. 18, note 3.

[2] *I.e.* Sarvabandhu.

projection, which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a *svastika*. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3″ in diameter and ½″ in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V.V.]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhruva, who first edited them, says:—"On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubla servant of Mulji Khushal, Patel of Bagumrâ, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates." This clearly shows that the plates were found at **Bagumrâ,** and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,[1] speak of them as Bagumrâ, and not as Nausârî, charters of A.D. 915.

Each of the two sets consists of **three copper-plates,** which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13″ long and 9″ broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to *g* in *gatasya* and *svarggaṁ*, l. 13; to *ñ* in *lâñchhana*, l. 8, and *râjñaḥ*, l. 13; to *m* in °*m=anyat=pu*°, l. 17, °*m=ânandi*, l. 37, and *grâmakûṭa*, l. 46; to *bh* in *bhûpaḥ*, l. 28; and to *s* in *saṁtarppaṇâ*°, l. 57, so far as the first record is concerned; and to *k* in *kânt-êndu-*, l. 1; to *kh* in *śaṁkha*, l. 29; to *j* in *saras-âṁbhôjâ*, l. 5, and *jagati*, l. 7; and to *bh* in *kaustubha*, l. 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The **language** is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following *sth* in *vaksha-sthala*, l. 2 of both grants; *ṇ* has been substituted for *ñ* in *kâṇchî*, l. 11 of No. II.; *visarga* followed by *s* has been at least thrice changed to that letter in *Raṇavigrahas=samabhava*°, l. 33, °*palakshitas=sôdraṁgaḥ*, l. 51, and °*lakshais=sârddhaiḥ*, l. 55 of the second record; *anusvâra* followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in *sammânita*, l. 18 of No. I. and l. 20 of No. II., and in *gôp-âṅganânân=nayana-*, l. 6 of No. I.; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvâra* before *s* in *śansati*, l. 25 of No. I. and l. 27 of No. II. Lastly, the same word is spelt *lâñchhana* in No. I. l. 8, but *lâṁchhana* in No. II. l. 9.

Each of these two records registers the grant of a village to a Brâhmaṇa, made by the **Râshṭrakûṭa** king **Indra III.** or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No. II., 'the *P.M.P.*, the prosperous **Nityavarshanarêndradêva,** who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the prosperous **Akâlavarshadêva,'** *i.e.* his grandfather Kṛishṇa II. Indra III. had, when the grants were made, gone to **Kurundaka** from his capital **Mânyakhêṭa** for the *paṭṭabandha*[2] festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, **Kurundaka** and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of **Tenna,** according to No. II., on a Brâhmaṇa of the Lakshmaṇa *gôtra*, a student of the Vâji-Mâdhyandina *śâkhâ*, and named Siddhapabhaṭṭa, the son of Śrî-Vennapabhaṭṭa, originally of **Pâṭaliputra**; and the village of **Umvarâ** (or Umbarâ), according to No. I., on a Brâhmaṇa of the same *gôtra* and student of the same *śâkhâ* as the above grantee, but named Prabhâkarabhaṭṭa, the son of Râṇapabhaṭṭa. The charters are dated, in words, **on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna of the Yuva-saṁvatsara, the Śaka year 836 (expired),** which corresponds to **the 24th February A.D. 915.**

After the introductory *ôṁ svasti* and the opening verse invoking the protection of Vishṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Râshṭrakûṭa grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

[1] See above, Appendix to Vol. VII. p. 15, note 5.

[2] For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII. p. 27, note 2.

the god Krishṇa. In the verse following we find Indrarâjadêva (III.), the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upêndra (Vishṇu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishṇu, from Brahman his son Atri, from Atri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the **Yadus**, where Krishṇa was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king **Dantidurga** in the **Sâtyaki** branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself repaired the goddess of sovereignty of the **Châlukya** family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Râshṭrakûṭa king who defeated the Châlukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, *i.e.* southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadêśa*, and finally conquered the city of **Kâñchî**. According to an inscription in the Daśâvatâra cave at Elurâ,[1] Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kâñchî, Kaliṅga, Kôsala, Śrîśaila, Mâlava, Lâṭa, Ṭaṅka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Śrîśaila, Kaliṅga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kôsala, Mâlava, Lâṭa, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kâñchî.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle **Krishṇarâja (I.)** came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son **Nirupama(-Dhruva)**, but omits the name of his elder brother Gôvinda II., probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom Gôvinda II. was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that Gôvinda II. did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view;[2] and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Dhuliâ copper-plate grant[3] of Gôvinda II.'s nephew and feudatory Suvarṇavarsha-Karka distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Śaka 701, when we must consequently suppose Gôvinda II. to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that Nirupama(-Dhruva) won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of **Kôsala** and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the Indrâyudha mentioned in the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*, or with Chakrâyudha, the ruler of Kanauj and contemporary of Dharmapâla of the Pâla, and of Gôvinda III. of the Râshṭrakûṭa, dynasty.[4]

Verse 11 says that from Nirupama(-Dhruva) sprang **Jagattuṅga(-Gôvinda III.)**, who, in his turn, begat **Śrivallabha(-Amôghavarsha I.)**. The next verse tells us that Amôghavarsha

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[1] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88.

[2] *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 133 f.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 183.

[4] In an unpublished grant of Amôghavarsha I. in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of Chakrâyudha and Dharma are mentioned as having gone to the Himâlayas to do homage to Gôvinda III. who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that Dharma is Dharmapâla, the second prince of the Pâla dynasty, and that Chakrâyudha is the same as the Chakrâyudha of the Bhâgalpur grant, whom Dharmapâla restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kielhorn (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, p. 303) has already identified this Chakrâyudha with the Chakrâyudha of the Gwalior inscription, who was conquered by Nâgabhaṭa. Nâgabhaṭa again was a contemporary of Gôvinda III. (*Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI. p. 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, *viz.* Gôvinda III., Nâgabhaṭa, Chakrâyudha and Dharmapâla, who were contemporaries. We know from Râshṭrakûṭa records that Gôvinda III. reigned from A.D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose Dharmapâla to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to assign Dharmapâla to A.D. 861, the date of the Paṭhârî inscription referring itself to the reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Parabala (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 525 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for Dharmapâla. Besides, there is nothing to show that this Parabala is, as a matter of fact, identical with Parabala, the father-in-law of Dharmapâla.

I. raised the glory of the **Ratta** sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the **Chalukyas** and thereafter assumed the epithet **Viranârâyaṇa.** If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereignty had been shaken by the Chalukyas of Vêṅgî to its very foundations in the early part of Amôghavarsha's reign. The Chalukya contemporary of Amôghavarsha I. was Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II.,[1] who, in an Eastern Chalukya record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gaṅgas and the Raṭṭas. The latter can be no other than the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, and it thus appears that Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II. was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the Râshṭrakûṭas. Amôghavarsha I., however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the **Chalukyas,** whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the Eastern Chalukyas can also be seen from the Cambay and Sâṅglî charters,[2] in which he is said to have gratified the god Yama with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the Chalukyas. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the Chalukyas whom Amôghavarsha I. vanquished had devastated **Stambapura,** which is the same as Tâmralipta, identified with the modern Tamlûk, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the Midnâpur district, Bengal.

From Śrîvallabha(-Amôghavarsha I.), who was a comet of destruction to the **Chalukya** family (v. 14), sprang **Kṛishṇarâja (II.),** whose fights with the **Gûrjaras** used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the Gûrjaras, with whom the Râshṭrakûṭas were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at Mahôdaya or Kanauj, and consequently the Gûrjara prince defeated by Kṛishṇarâja II. (A.D. 888-911) must have been Mahêndrapâla (A.D. 899-907), the patron of the poet Râjaśêkhara.

Kṛishṇarâja II. had a son of the name of **Jagattuṅga** (v. 16), who married **Lakshmî,** the daughter of **Raṇavigraha,** the son of **Kokkalla** of the **Haihaya,** *i.e.* Kalachuri, dynasty (vv. 17-19). It is worthy of note that Raṇavigraha is here called *Chêd-îśvara, i.e.* lord of **Chêdi.** The same fact is hinted by a verse in Jahlaṇa's *Sûktimuktâvalî*, quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his paper on the Karhâḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III.,[3] which purports to say that of rivers the Narmadâ, of kings Raṇavigraha, and of poets Surânanda were the ornaments of Chêdi. The name Raṇavigraha does not occur in the list of the names of the Kalachuris of Chêdi. From a Ratanpur inscription,[4] however, we learn that Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of Tripurî, and the others lords of *maṇḍalas, i.e.* minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, Raṇavigraha, being a ruler of Tripurî, *i.e.* of Chêdi, and not of a *maṇḍala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of Kokkalla. But from the Benares copper-plate inscription[5] it appears that Kokkalla was followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala. We may, therefore, suppose that Raṇavigraha and Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of Jagattuṅga with Lakshmî was **Indrarâja (III.),** whose epithets **Raṭṭa-Kandarpadêva** and **Śrî-Kîrti-Nârâyaṇa** are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of **Upêndra** by the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Indrarâja III. But who this Upêndra was, and how the epithets *kṛita-*

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 100.
[2] Above, Vol. VII. p. 43 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 252 f.
[3] Above, Vol. IV. p. 280.
[4] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.
[5] *Id.* Vol. II. p. 301.

Gôvardhan-ôddhâra and *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru*, used in connection with the kings Upêndra and Indrarâja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upêndra referred to Mahîpâla of the Pratihâra dynasty of Mahôdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhâgalpur grant of the Pâla dynasty gave the other name Chakrâyudha.[1] But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Gôvinda III.[2] Chakrâyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahîpâla, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Gôvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,[3] the word *Mêru* in the expression *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru* signifies Mêra or Mêhra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mêhra king of North Kâṭhiâwâḍ by Indrarâja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that Mêru probably is Mahôdaya,[4] *i.e.* Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarâja III. specified in the Sâṅglî charter. With regard to the other expression, *viz. kṛita-Gôvardhan-ôddhâra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the *P. M. P. Śrîman*-**Nityavarshanarêndradêva**, *i.e.* Indrarâja III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the *P. M. P. Śrîmad*-**Akâlavarshadêva**, *i.e.* his grandfather Kṛishṇa II. This indicates that Jagattuṅga, the father of Indrarâja III., did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛishṇarâja II. were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign intervening between Kṛishṇa II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of Raṭṭarâja,[5] in setting forth the Râshṭrakûṭa genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛishna II. to Indra III. and refers to Jagattuṅga only further on as the father of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III.,[6] which distinctly speak of Jagattuṅga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was **Trivikramabhaṭṭa**, the son of **Nêmâditya**. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nalachampû*, of the Śâṇḍilya *gôtra*, and the son of Nêmâditya (*var. lect.* Dêvâditya).[7] Another *Śâṇḍilya-kavi-chakravartin* Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhôja's *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, while he himself quotes Bâṇa. The authorship of a *Madâlasâ-champû* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, **Pâṭaliputra** from where the grantee of No. II. emigrated is obviously **Paṭṇâ**, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and **Mânyakhêṭa**, the capital of the royal grantor, is **Mâlkhêḍ** in the Nizam's Dominions. **Kuruṇḍaka**, where Indrarâja III. had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with **Kurundwâḍ** at the junction of the Kṛishṇâ and Pañchagaṅgâ in the Southern Marâṭha country.[8] In No. I. the village granted is **Umvarâ** (or Umbarâ) near **Kammaṇijja** in the country of **Lâṭa**, and the boundaries specified are **Tôlêjaka** to E., **Môgalikâ** to S., **Saṁkî** to W., and **Javalakûpaka** to N. Umvarâ, as was first pointed

[1] Above, Vol. VII. p. 32.
[2] See above, p. 26, note 4.
[3] *History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 130.
[4] See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII. p. 16, note 2.
[5] Above, Vol. III. p. 298.
[6] Above, Vol. IV. p. 283; Vol. V. p. 193.
[7] Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 1205.
[8] *History of Gujarât*, p. 130, note 3.

out by Dr. Bhandarkar, is the modern **Bagumrâ**, with the prefix *bag*.[1] Tôlêjaka and Môgalikâ cannot be identified, but Saṁkî and Javalakûpaka are **Sanki**, one mile S. W. of Bagumrâ, and **Jolwa**, one and a half mile N. of Bagumrâ. In No. II. the village granted is **Tenna** near **Kammaṇijja**, and the boundaries specified are **Vâraḍapallikâ** (or Bâraḍa°) to E., **Nâmbhîtaṭaka** to S., **Valîśâ** (or Balîśâ) to W., and **Vavviyaṇa** (or Babbiyaṇa) to N. They have been identified with **Ten, Bârḍolî, Nadida, Wanesa** and **Baben** respectively. Kammaṇijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is **Kâmrêj**. All these villages are to be found in the Nausârî division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrâ grant of the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭa Dhruva II. mentions Trennâ, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trennâ as having been bestowed upon a certain Brâhmaṇa by his grandfather Dhruva I. (A.D. 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr. Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III. gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings ; this was evidently one of them."[2]

TEXT[3] OF No. I.

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति[4] [॥] स[5] वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति[6]

2 [7]विवुधवन्धुर्व्विंध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलत्कौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिज-रङ्गे यस्य नृ-

3 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२*] स[8] जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-

4 समुद्धृतदुर्द्धरारिचक्रः । अपहृतवलिमण्डलो[9] नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराज-देवः ॥ [३*]

5 अस्ति[10] श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदु[रु]सरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभू(ः)स्तस्मादत्रिः सु-तोभूदमृतकरपरिस्प-

6 न्द[11] इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्वं[शो] यदूनां जगति स वव्रुधे यस्य तैस्तैर्व्विं-लासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानाम्न-

7 यनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] [त]त्रान्वये[12] विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीद-न्तिदुर्ग्गनृप-

8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः[13] स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र[कर]-लाञ्छन-

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[1] *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVIII. p. 256.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXI. p. 396.

[3] From inked estampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[4] The *i* is not well-formed.

[5] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[6] Metre : Mâlinî.

[7] Read विबुधबन्धु°.

[8] Metre : Pushpitâgrâ.

[9] Read °बलि°.

[10] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[11] Read °परिष्यन्द.

[12] Metre : Vasantatilakâ ; and of the next verse.

[13] Read °वंश°.

9 माजगाम ॥ [५*] क[त्वा]स्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागे स्वैरं पुनर्म्मेदु
च मध्यदे-

10 शं [।*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे प[द]मकारि
भूयः ॥ [६*] आ[1] सेतोः सानुव-

11 [2]प्रप्रवलकपि[कुलो]न्मूनफुल्ल[प्लव]ङ्गादा [कैला]साद्भवानीचलच[र]णरस-
न्नादितान्तात् ।

12 यस्याज्ञां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[न्मौ]लिमालायमानामानम्रैरुत्तमाङ्गै-
स्तलुठज्जा-

13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा[3] जगन्निजभुजे[न पु]नर्ज्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं ि-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-

14 भवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*]
सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-

15 भंगलीलाय[म]ानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्त्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिष्णो स्क-
दभू-

16 न्निरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्य्यः ॥ [९*] कीर्त्तिः[4] कुन्दरुचः[5] समस्तभुवनप्रस्था-
सितो लक्ष्म्याः

Second Plate; First Side.

17 लक्ष्म्याः[6] पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णेन्दुविम्बद्युति[7] । एकं कंपितक-
श्वरकारादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्तु-

18 नयेनोदीच्यनराधिपाद्यश इव श्वेतातपत्रं[8] रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्माल्लेभे[9]
तुंगो जन्म सम्मानि-

19 त[द्विज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं सूनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] नि-
[य]स्तलुक्याब्धौ[10] रट्टराज्यश्रि-

20 यं पुनः [।*] पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्धीरो[11] वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२*] समूलोन्मू
स्तम्वान्दण्डेनानी-[12]

21 तकण्टकः । [13]योदह्हदेषिणश्चण्डचलुक्यांश्चणकानिव ॥ [१३*] [14][उच्चैश्चलु]क्य-
कन्दलकालके-

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[1] Metre: Sragdharâ. [2] Read °प्रबल°.

[3] Metre: Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse. [4] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[5] One of the two circles of the *visarga* has been omitted.

[6] The repetition of this word is superfluous. [7] Read °बिम्ब°.

[8] Corrected by the engraver from श्वेतातापत्रं.

[9] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next two verses. [10] Read °क्याब्धौ.

[11] °न्धौरो is also possible. [12] Read °स्तम्बा°. [13] Read °दद्दद्वेषि°.

[14] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

Bagumra plates of Indraraja III.—First set.

E. HULTZSCH.

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SCALE ·45

iib.

34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48

iii.

50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64

22 तोस्तस्मादकृष्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैर[स]कृज्जने[न] कीर्त्तिः परिभ्र-

23 मति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ [१४*] [1]उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमीदृग्धनुः (।) क्रुद्धेनोप-

24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चापवलये यस्ये-

25 त्थ[म]ब्दागमे[2] ग[र्ज्ज]द्गूर्ज्ज[र]सङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्ण्णो जनः श[न्स]ति[3] ॥ [१५*] अजनि[4] जनि-

26 तभङ्गो वैरिवृ[न्द]स्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंग[दे]व[: । ध्व]जसरसि-

27 जशंखशोल्लसच्चक्रपाणिर्व्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वल्लभो वीर[ल]क्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६*] [5][आ]सीत्कोप्य-

28 थ हैहयान्वयभवो भू[प]: [6][स]हस्रार्ज्जुनो गर्ज्जद्दु[र्ज्ज]यरावणोर्ज्जितलसद्दोर्द्दण्डकण्डू-

29 हरः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधारसेन लि-

30 खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुभित्तयः[7] ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कल्लभूपात्मजो[8] राजा श्रीर-

31 णविग्रहः समभवच्चेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंध्रिमण्डनमुषः सर्व्वोपि पृथ्वीप-

32 तिः सूर्य्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] [9]सकलगुणगणाब्धे र्व्विष्फुरद्धा-[10]

33 मधाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदेन्दुः सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

Second Plate; Second Side.

34 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुंगदेवः ॥ [१९*] चतुरुदधितटा[न्त]ख्यातशौर्य्योथ ताभ्यामभवदरि-

35 घरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्प्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकलजनशरण्यः पु-

36 ण्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] [11]मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च विम्बं[12] नवनलिनमृणालं चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

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[1] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[2] Read °मब्दागमे.

[3] Read शंसति.

[4] Metre: Mālinī.

[5] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

[6] The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *ta*.

[7] Read ककुभित्तयः.

[8] The letter *tma* is not well-formed.

[9] Metre: Mālinī; and of the next two verses.

[10] Read °गणाब्धेर्व्विस्फुर°.

[11] Read °बिन्दु°.

[12] Read बिम्बं.

37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्ज्जन्मनिर्म्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्रष्ट[म]ानन्दि वेधाः ॥ [२१*] देवो[1]

38 [2]यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत्[3] श्रीकीर्त्तिनारा-

39 यणः [।*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[मं] विद्विषां दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भ-

40 यं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२२*] [4]कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं [हे]लोन्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्र-

41 मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३*] [5]सकलजननमस्यः सोथ कृ[त्व]ा नमस्या-

42 न्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान् । उपरि पर[शु]रामस्यैककुग्रामदान-

43 स्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्त्या वभूव[6] ॥ [२४*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-

44 रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंवध्य-[7]

46 [8]मानान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-

47 न्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-

48 ट्टवन्धाय[9] कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्य-

Third Plate.

49 यशोभिवृद्धये (।) लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसव्रह्मचारिणे[10] राणपभट्टसुताय

50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्जसमीपे उम्वरानामग्रामः यस्य पू-

51 र्व्वतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो मोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकोग्राम उत्तर[तो] जवलकूपकमे-

52 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सोत्पद्यमान-

53 षिष्टिकः[11] सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्धया] पूर्व्वदेवव्रह्मदायरहितः[12] शकनृप-कालात्-

54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु[13] षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुक्लसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

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[1] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[2] Read °रम्बु°.

[3] Read समभूच्छ्री°.

[4] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Metre : Mâlinî.

[6] Read बभूव.

[7] Read °संबध्य°.

[8] This *mâ* appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim.

[9] Read °बन्धाय.

[10] Read °सब्रह्म°.

[11] Read °विष्टिकः.

[12] Read °ब्रह्म°.

[13] The inner stroke of *sh* in *shva* is wanting.

55 श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवे[1] तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन्ग्रामान्
56 अन्यान्यपि[2] पूर्व्वपृथ्वीपालवि[लु]प्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रम्म-
लक्षैस्सा-
57 र्द्धैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विसृज्य [3]वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि[सं]तर्प्पणार्थम(ा)-
58 द्योदकातिसर्ग्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया [4]व्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो [भो]जयतः कृषतः
59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि परिपंथना कार्या [।*] तथा-
गामिभिरस्म-
60 [5]द्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्व्रह्मदायो-
नुमन्त-[6]
61 व्यः [।*] यश्चाज्ञानाल्लोपयति स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च
भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ष-
62 ष्टिं[7] वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५*] सा-
63 मान्योयं[8] धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान्भा-
विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*] [9]श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
सूनुना कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्री [॥*]

TEXT OF No. II.

First Plate.

1 ओं स्वस्ति । स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
[का]न्तेन्दुकलया कम-
2 लंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति [10]विवुधवन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलत्कौ-
स्तुभः कंस-
3 तुः[11] । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यंति लक्ष्म्याः स्म[र]भरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते
कटा-
4 क्षाः ॥ [२*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धृत[दु]र्द्धरारिचक्रः ।
अपहृतवलिम-[12]

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[1] Read °बन्धोत्सवे.   [2] Read °मानन्यान्यपि.   [3] Read बलि°.
[4] Read ब्रह्म°.   [5] Corrected by the engraver from °द्वांश्यै°.
[6] Read °स्मद्ब्रह्म°.   [7] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).   [8] Metre : Śâlinî.
[9] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space
[10] Read विबुधबन्धु°.   [11] Read कंसकेतुः.   [12] Read °बलि°.

5 खड्गी नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [३*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदुरुसरसांभोज(ा)-
6 जन्मा [स्व]यंभूस्तस्मादत्रिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द[1] इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[स्मा]द्वंशो यदूनां
7 जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्व्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकुवलयै-
8 रर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग्गनृपतिः
9 पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शं[ख]चक्रकरलांछ-
10 न[म]ाजगाम ॥ [५*] कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्म्मृदु विमर्द्य च मध्यदेशं ।
11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः [2]काण्चीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः ॥ [६*] आ सेतोः सा-
12 [3]नुवप्रप्रवलकपिकु[लो]ल्लूनफुल्लल्लवङ्गादा [4]कैलासाद्र[वा]नीचलचरणरणत्पुरो-
13 त्रादितान्तात् । यस्याज्ञां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौ[लि]मालायमानामानम्रैरु-
14 त्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्ज्जिगीषोः स्वर्ग्गं
15 विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः ।(।) तत्राभवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभंगलीलायमानघनविस्तृत-[का]न्तकी-

Second Plate ; First Side.

17 र्त्तेः [।*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिष्णोस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्य्यः ॥ [९*] कीर्त्तेः कु-
18 न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णे-
19 न्दुविम्बद्युति[5] । एकं कंपितकोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छिद्य मन्यत्यु[ग]यैर्गौडीयनराधिपाद्य-
20 श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्माल्लेभे जगत्तुङ्गो जन्म सम्मानितद्विजः । सोपि श्रीवल्ल-

[1] Read °परिष्यन्द.
[2] Read काञ्ची°.
[3] Read °प्रबल°.
[4] Read °ङ्गणो°.
[5] Read °बिम्ब°.

Bagumra plates of Indraraja III.—Second set.

E. HULTZSCH. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE .45.

36 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ॥ [१९*] चतुरुदधितटान्तख्यातशौर्य्यौथ ताभ्याम[भ]व-

37 दरिघरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्प्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां [1]सवाल-जनशरण्यः पु-

38 ण्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] देवो [2]यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रा-मन्निजविक्रमेण स-

39 मभूत्[3] श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं विद्विषां

40 दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२१*] कृतगो-वर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलो-

41 न्मूलितमेरुणा [।*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२*] सकलजनममस्यः[4]

42 सोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहाराना[5] उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-

43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या वभूव[6] ॥ [२३*] स च परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-

44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

45 श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्व्वानेव [7]यथासंवध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति-ग्राम-

46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्य-

47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय[8] कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-पित्रोरात्म-

48 नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये (।) लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसव्रह्मचा-[9]

Third Plate.

49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेन्न]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-कम्मणिज्ज-

50 समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः [।*] यस्य पूर्व्वतो वारडपल्लिका [।*] दक्षिणतो नाम्भीतटकं [।*] पश्चिमतो वली-

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[1] Read सकल°. [2] Read °रम्बु°. [3] Read समभूच्छ्री°.
[4] Read °जननमस्यः. [5] Read °हारान्।. [6] Read वभूव.
[7] Read °संवध्य°. [8] Read °वन्धो°. [9] Read °सब्रह्म°.

51 श्रा [।*] उत्तरतो वव्वियणग्रामः [।*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्योद्रंगः सपरिकर[:] सदण्ड-

52 दशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]ण्या[दे*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृप-कालातीतसंवत्सर-

53 शतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्स-[1]

54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व्व-पृथ्वीपालवि-

55 लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रम्मलक्षैस्सार्द्धैः सह विसृच्य [2]वलि-चरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-

56 होत्रातिथिसंतर्प्पणार्थम(ा)द्योदकातिसर्ग्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया [3]व्रह्मदायस्थित्या

57 भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि परि-

58 पन्थना कार्या [।*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफल-

59 मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयम[स्म]द्व्रह्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः[4] [।*] यश्चाज्ञानाच्छिपयति स पंचभिर्म्महा-

60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्याद्[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] श्रा[च्छे]-

61 त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२४*] श्र[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथमं[5] सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च [गा]-

62 वः [।*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ [२५*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां

63 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*]

64 श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन [ने]मादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेयमिन्द्रराजां-घ्रिसेविना ॥ [२७*] श्रीः [॥*]

TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Ôṁ. Hail!

(Verse 1.) May he (Vishṇu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*) abode by Vêdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon!

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[1] Read °बन्धो°.

[2] Read बलि°.

[3] Read ब्रह्म°.

[4] Read °भदब्रह्म°.

[5] Read प्रथमं.

(V. 2.) Victorious is (Kṛishṇa), (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kaṁsa (*and is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stage of whose lotus-like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmî, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love!

(V. 3.) Ever victorious is the king **Indrarâja (III.)**, whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*his*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e.* the best) among men, just as Upêndra (Vishṇu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmî, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (*his*) legions (*to Pâtâla*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*).

(V. 4.) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishṇu) the lord of Śrî; of him was born (*his*) son Atri; (*and*) of him again (*i.e.* of Atri) the **Moon** that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the **Yadus**, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishṇu) the wielder of the *Śârṅga* (bow) (*in his eighth incarnation as Kṛishṇa*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdesses with every kind of flirtation.

(V. 5.) In that family there arose the illustrious king **Dantidurga**, born in the great **Sâtyaki** branch, the best of men, whose hand (*bore*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus, (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the **Châlukya** family, just as (*in that family*) there arose Purushôttama (Kṛishṇa), who prolonged the line of Sâtyaki,[1] who (*held*) the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of herself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmî from the ocean.

(V. 6.) The hand (*i.e.* the prowess) of this (*prince*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Madhyadêśa*), again established itself in the province of **Kâñchî**, just as the hand (*of a lover*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman, attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*).

(V. 7.) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds, (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sêtu (Râmêśvaram), where the blossoming *lavaṅga* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailâsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhavânî.

(V. 8.) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory,— (*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king **Kṛishṇarâja (I.)**, of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty.

(V. 9.) **Nirupama,** of spotless valour, sprang from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*viz.*) the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious **Râshṭrakûṭas.**

(V. 10.) From the hand of the trembling lord of the **Kôsalas** was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the *kunda* (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

[1] "Patr. of Yuyudhâna (a warrior in the Pâṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Kṛishṇa and belonged to the Vṛishṇi family)."—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*.

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmî; another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (*country*) as if it were (*his*) glory.

(V. 11.) From him obtained birth **Jagattuṅga,** who honoured the twice-born; he in his turn begat as son the king of kings **Śrîvallabha.**

(V. 12.) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the **Raṭṭa** kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the **Chalukyas,** became (*i.e.* assumed the epithet of) **Vîranârâyaṇa,** just as (Vishṇu), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became Vîranârâyaṇa (*i.e.* the heroic Nârâyaṇa).

(V. 13.) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery **Chalukyas,** (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) **Stamba,**[1] just as (*a gardener*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots.

(V. 14.) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*viz.*) the high family of the **Chalukyas,** was born **Kṛishṇarâja (II.),** of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*their*) ears.

(V. 15.) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of his fight with the roaring **Gûrjara** :—"Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays; thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy."

(V. 16.) From him was born the illustrious **Jagattuṅgadêva,** who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled Vishṇu.

(V. 17.) There was a king (*named*) **Sahasrârjuna,** sprung from the **Haihaya** lineage, who relieved the itching sensation[2] of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible Râvaṇa, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters.

(V. 18.) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king **Raṇavigraha,** the son of king **Kokkalla** (*and*) the lord of **Chêdi,** into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight.

(V. 19.) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) **Lakshmî,** possessed of lotus-like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakhsmî, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand]; **Jagattuṅgadêva,** the moon to the night-lotus of the **Yadu** race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz.* Lakshmî, the daughter of Raṇavigraha), just as Hari, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz.* the goddess Lakshmî).

[1] The same as Tâmralipta, *i.e.* Tamlûk; see p. 27 above.

[2] [Compare *Śiśupâlavadha,* I. 48.]

(V. 20.) From these two sprang **Raṭṭa-Kandarpadêva,** whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (*and*) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (Hari and Lakshmî) sprang the god Kandarpa (*i.e.* Cupid), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (*and*) who is a store of heavenly beauty].

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (*i.e.* was known as) **Śrî-Kîrti-Nârâyaṇa,** just as the god (Vishṇu), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as Śrî-Kîrti-Nârâyaṇa; on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (*his*) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (*as a mark of*) servitude.

(V. 22.) This **Indrarâja (III.),** having uprooted **Mêru** (Mahôdaya?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) defeating (*king*) **Upêndra** who had saved **Gôvardhana,** just as the god Indra, who uprooted (*Mount*) Mêru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) vanquishing (*the god*) Upêndra (Kṛishṇa) who had uplifted the Gôvardhana (*mountain*).[1]

(V. 23.) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahâras* (to Brâhmaṇas), to be respected (*by all*), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to Paraśurâma, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.[2]

(Ll. 43-56.) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara,* the prosperous **Nityavarshanarêndradêva,** who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara,* the prosperous **Akâlavarshadêva,** being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*râshṭra*), lords of districts (*vishaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employés, functionaries, *etc.*, according as they are concerned :—

"Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of **Mânyakhêṭa** (*and*) who has come to **Kurundaka** for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement ofthe religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) parents and Myself— with heartfelt devotion— **eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, on the seventh (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Phâlguna in the Yuva-saṁvatsara—** having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the *Tulâpurusha,*[3] and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas,* **Kurundaka** and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the *Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadêva, Agnihôtra* and *Atithisantarpaṇa,*— upon Siddhapabhaṭṭa, of the Lakshmaṇa *gôtra,* a student of the Vâji-Mâdhyandina (*śâkhâ*), (and) the son of Śrî-Vennapabhaṭṭa who had come from **Pâṭaliputra,**— the village of the name of **Tenna** in the vicinity of **Kammaṇijja** situated in the country of **Lâṭa,** defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east **Vâradapallikâ,** to the south **Nâmbhitaṭaka,** to the west **Valiśâ,** (*and*) to the north the village of **Vavviyaṇa,**[4] together with the royal share,

[1] There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident; see above, p. 27 f.

[2] There is here a play on the word *ku,* which means both 'the earth' and 'insignificant.'

[3] "Gift of gold, *etc.*, equal to a man's weight."—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary.*

[4] According to No. I. l. 49 ff.—"upon Prabhâkarabhaṭṭa, of the Lakshmaṇa *gôtra,* a student of the Vâji-Mâdhyandina (*śâkhâ*), and the son of Râṇapabhaṭṭa,— the village of the name of Umvarâ in the vicinity of Kammaṇijja situated in the country of Lâṭa, defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east Tôlêjaka, to the south Môgalikâ, to the west the village of Saṁkî, (and) to the north Javalakûpaka."

with the appurtenances, with (*the proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and the ten offences, with (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold.

(Ll. 56-59.) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (*this village*), allowing (*others*) to enjoy (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it*) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brâhmaṇa. Likewise, this My gift to a Brâhmaṇa should be assented to, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (*both to the grantor and to the preserver*)."

[L. 59 f. and vv. 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric[1] was composed by the illustrious **Trivikramabhaṭṭa**, the son of **Nêmâditya** (*and*) serving the feet of **Indrarâja**.

No. 5.—RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYAVARDHANA II.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; NAGPUR.

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr. C. E. Low, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Bâlâghât district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village **Ragholi** belonging to the Sâletekri Zamîndârî, now under the Court of Wards and included in the Baihar tahsîl of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are **three copper-plates**, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides; the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and the average height is $5\frac{1}{2}''$. They are held together by a circular ring, $2\frac{5}{16}''$ in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular **seal** with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend *Śrî-Jayavardhanadêvasya*, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr. Low was writing the *Gazetteer of the Bâlâghât District*, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words *Ôṁ svasti Śrîvardhanapurât*) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskṛit prose. Final forms of *t* occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of *m* in line 45. The letter *b* is not distinguished from *v*. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f. and 40 f., where we find *mv* written for *m* in *tâmvra* and *kamvala*. On the other hand *b* is omitted in *kuṭumina* (l. 24) for *kuṭumbinaḥ*, but regularly expressed by *v* in *dalâmvu* (l. 41). The letters with a *rêpha* at the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in *sarva* (l. 25) and *varsha* (l. 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in *sarvva* (l. 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of nasals into *anusvâra* in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in *pramukhâṁ* (l. 24) and *purushâṁ* (l. 25). The *ka* of *kamvala* in line 40 f. has a peculiar form and differs from other *kas* occurring in the inscription.

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[1] The word *praśastâ* is here evidently used in the same sense as *praśasti*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Khaddikâ** in the **Kaṭêraka** district (l. 23) to a temple of the Sun-god at **Chaṭṭulliha** (l. 29 f.) by king **Jayavardhana II.** It was issued from **Śrîvardhanapura** (l. 1) and is dated in the **3rd year of his reign** on the 30th day of the month Kârttika (ll. 46 and 31). Judging from the writing it may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.; the characters very much resemble those of the Paiṭhaṇ plates of Gôvinda III. dated in the year 794 A.D.[1] Jayavardhana II. is described in lines 20-22 as a devotee of Mahêśvara, the lord of the whole **Vindhya**, and *Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*. He belonged to the **Śailavaṁśa** (verse 1). His grandfather, who bore the same name as himself, killed the former king of the **Vindhya** and made the **Vindhya** his residence (v. 3). The son of **Jayavardhana I.** and father of the donor was **Śrîvardhana II.**, who styled himself **Vindhyêśvara** (v. 4), and who may have founded Śrîvardhanapura from which the present charter was issued. Five more ancestors of this line are mentioned, the first of whom was **Śrîvardhana I.** His son was **Pṛithuvardhana**, who is stated to have attacked **Gujarât** (v. 1). In his family was born **Sauvardhana** (v. 2), one of whose three sons killed the king of **Pauṇḍra**[2] (Bengal and Bihar), while another conquered the king of **Kâśi** (Benares). Of this latter, whose name is not mentioned, **Jayavardhana I.** was the son (v. 3).

The first verse of this charter opens with an obscure epithet to Śrîvardhana I. who is called *Kailâs-âchala-tuṅga-śṛiṅga-vipula-drôṇîja-vaṁśa-prabhuḥ*, which apparently means 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailâsa mountain.' It is very difficult to hit at the true import of this expression, and the only conjecture I can hazard is that it may mean the **Gâṅgavaṁśa**, of which the Śailavaṁśa was probably a branch or a more well known name at that time. Otherwise it is difficult to see why in the same verse the same person should be called the lord or ornament of two families. If my conjecture is correct, the force of *prakhyâtô bhuvi* (famous or known on the earth) preceding *Śailavaṁśa-tilakaḥ* would be apparent. The Śailavaṁśa is very probably identical with the **Śailôdbhavas** or **Śilôdbhavas** of Orissa, to which Prof. Hultzsch has kindly drawn my attention. In the plates of the time of Śaśâṅkarâja,[3] a feudatory chief Mâdhavarâja II., who issued the charter, is spoken of as belonging to the Śilôdbhava family, which is identical with the Śailôdbhava of the Buguḍa plates of Mâdhavavarman[4] as pointed out there. The former is dated in the year 619-20 A.D. and is the older of the two. Both were found in the Ganjam district, and both the charters were issued from Kôṅgêda or Kaiṅgôda, which is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Kong-u-t'o[5] of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the place in the year 639 A.D.[6] This principality was included in the Kaliṅga country or, roughly speaking, Orissa. In fact the village granted by Mâdhavarâja II. was situated in the district of Kṛishṇagiri, a synonym of Nîlagiri which is a name of Jagannâtha (Purî) in Orissa.[7] And it is well known that Orissa is the country where the Gâṅgavaṁśa originated. King Indravarman of Kaliṅganagara is spoken of as the 'establisher of the spotless family of the Gâṅgas,'[8] an epithet which does not occur in other grants of the Gâṅgas of Kaliṅga. So he was a perpetuator of a dynasty with a new name, which probably he introduced in preference to an old one which was not very complimentary. The new name is a metronymic; so we may suppose that the one suppressed was a patronymic. The Buguḍa inscription tells us how one Pulindasêna worshipped Brahmâ in order to create a fit ruler for the land, and how the god granted his wish by creating out of a rock the lord Śailôdbhava, who became the founder of the family of that name. However complimentary the story may have been in the beginning, it could not have failed later on to appear somewhat analogous to the alleged origin of low

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 103 ff.
[2] Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Vol. II. p. 170, note 5.
[3] Above, Vol. VI. p. 144.
[4] Above, Vol. III. p. 42.
[5] Above, Vol. VI. p. 136.
[6] Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 515.
[7] Above, Vol. VI. p. 144.
[8] Above, Vol. III. p. 127.

castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahâdêva's body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lingo liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahâdêva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once.[1] The Śailôdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brâhmaṇising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brâhmaṇical origin, preferring a metronymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kshatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailavaṁśa was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people: the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gâṅgavaṁśa kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity;[2] and again most of the officials, such as *samâhartṛi* and *sannidhâtṛi* (l. 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor's family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify **Khaddikâ** with **Khadi,** a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskṛitised name like Lañjikâ[3] for Lanji, which is also not very far away from this place. **Kaṭêraka** is probably the present **Katera** near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify **Chaṭṭulliha,** unless it is a mistake for Raghulliha or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghulliha. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 40, 44, *etc.* I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to **Śrîvardhanapura.** It could not be Śrîvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Ziffardaṅ and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa.[4] From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Râmtek in the Nâgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as **Nandivardhana**[5] in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kshatriya Râjas.[6] The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nâgpur in the Dêôlî plates of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III. dated in the year 940 A.D.[7] It is plain therefore that

[1] Cunningham's *Reports,* Vol. IX. p. 158.

[2] See Hunter's *Orissa,* Vol. I. p. 279 f. Dr. Hunter says:— "At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vêdic India by materializing superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings . . . . The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konârak upon the Orissa shore."

[3] In the Ratanpur inscription of Jâjalladêva, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. XI. p. 467.

[5] Mr. Craddock's *Settlement Report,* 1895, p. 15.

[6] It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Marâṭhas, and as a rule the memory of these only survives.

[7] Above, Vol. V. p. 196 f.

Nandivardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II. who removed the capital from Śrîvardhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name.[1] The Râshṭrakûṭas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śailavaṁśa dynasty of the Vindhya mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Ragholi, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in *vardhana* in Bâlâghât or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique; for these reasons the location of Śrîvardhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Râmtek carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT.[2]

Seal.

1 श्रीजयव-
2 र्द्धनदेवस्य [॥*]

First Plate.

1 ओं स्वस्ति श्रीवर्द्धनपुरात् [॥*] [3]कैलासाचलतुङ्गशृङ्ग-
2 विपुलद्रोणीजयेशप्रभुः[4] प्रख्यातो भुवि शैलवं-
3 शतिलकः श्री — —[5] वर्द्धनो यो नृपः । तत्पुत्रः पृथव-
4 र्द्धनो निजभुजव्याकृष्टखड्ग[:] सुया[6] देशं गौर्ज्जरमास-
5 साद सहसा विक्रान्तिभिर्यस्ततः ॥ [१*] तद्वंशप्रभवो
6 व्यजीजनदलं सौवर्द्धनो भूपतिर्भूचक्रक्र-
7 मलब्धविक्रमयशः[7] पुत्रत्रयं त्वौरसं । ते-
8 [8]षामुर्ज्जितवैरिदारणपटुं पौण्ड्राधिपं च्माप-
9 तिं हत्वैको विषयं तमेव सकलं जग्राह श्रौ-
10 र्यान्वितः ॥ [२*] ताभ्यामन्यतमो विहत्य सहसा द-
11 र्पोद्धतं दारुणं काशिं काशिनराधिपं सित-

Second Plate; First Side.

12 गुणो जग्राह जेता द्विषां । तत्पुत्रो जयवर्द्धने-
13 ति वचसा ख्यातो वरो भूभृतां विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनरेशमेव

[1] It is noticeable that all names of this line end in *vardhana*.

[2] From the original plates. I am indebted to Prof. Hultzsch for a few corrections in my readings.

[3] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita; also of the two next verses.

[4] Read °जवंश°.

[5] There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant.

[6] Read पुरा.

[7] Read °लब्ध°.

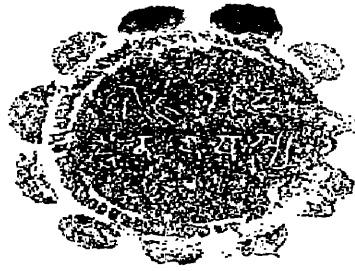
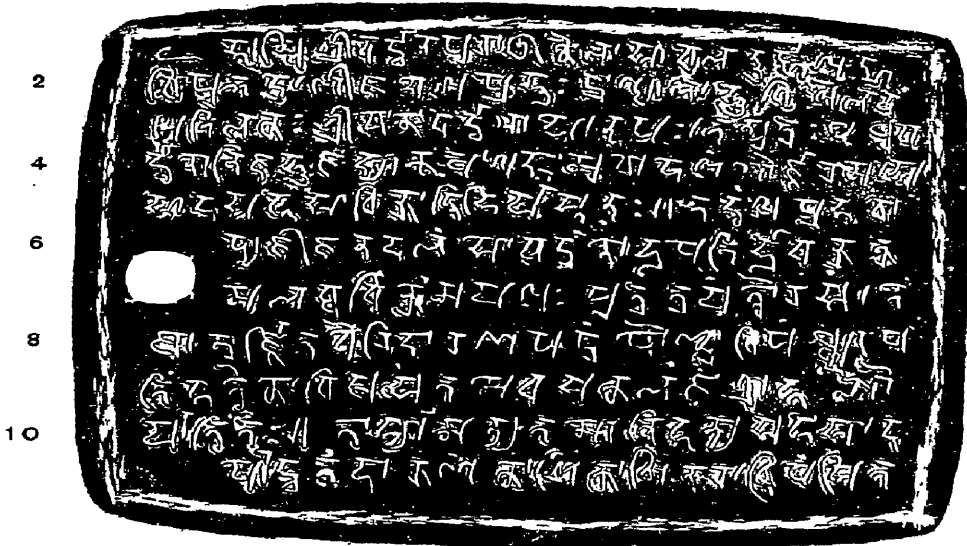
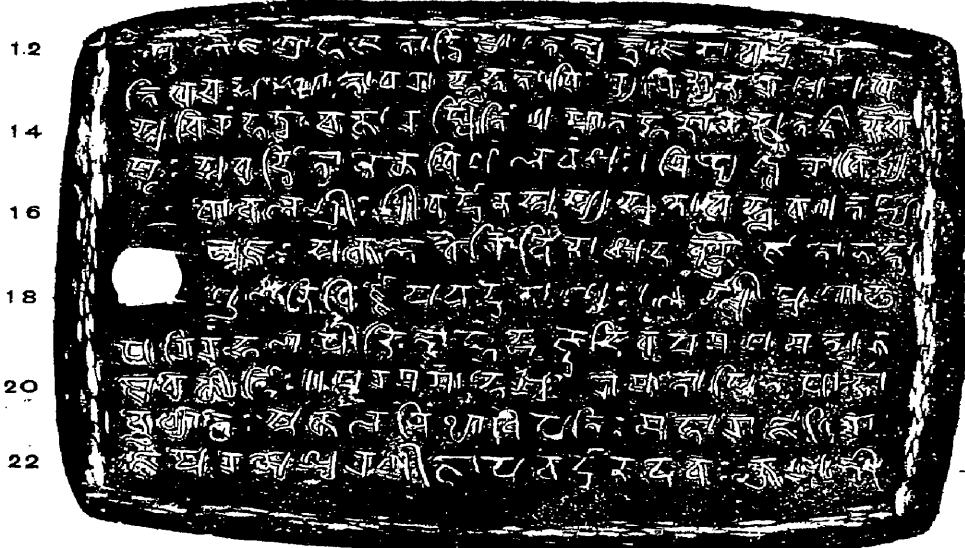
[8] Read °मूर्ज्जित°.

Plates of Jayavardhana II.

i.

ii a.

E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·6. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA.

14 सुचिरं कृत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [३*] [1]मातङ्गदानचतदीनचे-
15 ष्ट: [2]सवर्ड्डितानेकविशालवंश: । विन्ध्येश्वरो विन्ध्य
16 इवाचलश्री: श्रीवर्द्धनस्तस्य सुतो वभूव[3] ॥ [४*] [4]तस्मा-
17 त्मज: सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जातो महा-
18 गुणनिधिर्ज्जयवर्द्धनाख्य: । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-
19 परिरंभणपीडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमत्पर-
20 षेव कीर्त्ति: ॥ [५*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-
21 नुध्यात:, सकलविंध्याधिपति: महाराजाधिरा-
22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्द्धनदेव: कुशली

Second Plate; Second Side.

23 कटेरकविषयीयखट्टिकायां ब्राह्मणा[न्*][5] संपूज्य प्रति-
24 वासिनोन्यांश्च कुटुम्बिन[6] (।) समाहूर्तसन्निधातृप्रमुखां[7]
25 यथाकालाध्यासिन: सर्वराजपुरुषां[8] विषयपतीं-
26 श्च समाज्ञापयति [॥*] विदितमस्तु भवता[9] यथास्माभिर-
27 यं ग्राम: सनिधि: सोपनिधि: सर्व्वकरादान-
28 समेत: प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेश: सदशा-
29 पराध: सर्व्वपीडाविवर्ज्जित: चट्टुक्षिद्रप्रतिष्ठि-
30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविज्ञप्तिकया
31 [10]कात्तिक्यामुदकपूर्व्वमाचन्द्रार्कग्रहसमकालोप-
32 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ता-
33 [11]म्रशासनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत[12] समुचितभो-

Third Plate; First Side.

34 गभागादिकं भक्ता[13] सुखं वस्तव्यं ॥ तथा चोक्तं धर्म्म-
35 शास्त्रे ॥ [14]वहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि: सगरादि-
36 भि: । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६*]
37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद: । आ-

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[1] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[2] Read संवर्ड्डिता°.

[3] Read बभूव.

[4] Metre: Vasantatilaka. The simile here is विरुद्धमतिकारिका; compare श्रीनियोगाद्वदितुमिव गतेत्यम्बुधिं यस्य कीर्त्ति: in the *Sâhityaprakâśa*, 7th *ullâsa*, *śloka* 241. For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M.A.

[5] Read ब्राह्मणान्.

[6] Read कुटुम्बिन:.

[7] Read °प्रमुखान्.

[8] Read °पुरुषान्.

[9] Read भवतां.

[10] Read कार्त्तिक्यां°.

[11] Read ताम्र°.

[12] Read इत्यवगत्य.

[13] Read भुक्त्वा.

[14] Read बहु°.

38 च्छेत्ता चानुतन्ता[1] च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [७*] स्वद-

39 त्तां परदता[2] वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्ठा-

40 यां क्रमिंभूता[3] पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [८*] इति क-

41 [4]मलदताम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-

42 जीवितं च स्कलमिदमुदाहृत[5] च बुध्वा[6] न हि पुरु-

43 षैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९*] श्रीश्रीवर्द्धनदेव-

44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना[7] । श्रीमहाचण्डपालेन लि-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

45 खितं शासनं शुभम् । [१०*] प्रवर्द्धमानविज-

46 यराज्ये सम्व[8] ३ कार्त्ति[के ?] दिन ३० [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Ōṁ.* Hail! From **Śrīvardhanapura.**

(Verse 1.) (*There was*) king **Śrīvardhana (I.)**, the lord of the family of her[9] who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailâsa mountain, (*and*) famous on (*this*) earth (*as*) the ornament of the **Śailavaṁśa.** His son **Prithuvardhana**, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the **Gaurjara** country by (*his various*) attacks.

(V. 2.) King **Sauvardhana,** who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the **Pauṇḍra king** who was skilled in rending up (*his*) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them,[10] of white (*i.e.* pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (*and*) cruel king of the **Kâśis,** took **Kâśi** (*from him*). His son, known by the name of **Jayavardhana (I.)**, the best of kings, having killed the lord of the **Vindhya,** took up his residence in the **Vindhya** for a long time.

(V. 4.) His son was **Śrīvardhana (II.)**, the lord of the **Vindhya,** who possessed immovable (*permanent*) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (*and*) who augmented the prosperity of various (*other*) big families.

(V. 5.) His son, skilled in destroying all (*his*) enemies (*and*) a treasury of great virtues, was called **Jayavardhana (II.)**. The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (*jealous of her cowife*), out of anger ascended to the heavens.[11]

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[1] Read चानुमन्ता.

[2] Read परदत्तां.

[3] Read क्रमिर्भूत्वा.

[4] Read कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दु°.

[5] Read °मुदाहृतं.

[6] Read बुद्ध्वा.

[7] The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions; see *e.g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 210, note 3.

[8] Read संवत्.

[9] I take *drôṇīja-vaṁśa* to stand for *drôṇījâ-vaṁśa* in accordance with Pâṇ. VI. 3. 63, and to mean the *Gaṅgâ-vaṁśa.*

[10] Literally, 'another than the two.'

[11] The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.

(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole **Vindhya**, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*, the illustrious **Jayavardhanadêva**, being in good health, having worshipped the Brâhmaṇas in (*the village*) **Khaddikâ** in the district (*vishaya*) of **Kaṭêraka**, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (*as well as*) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (*and*) to all state officers and provincial governors.

(L. 26.) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (*and*) deposits, together with (*the right of*) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (*the village*), with (*the fines leviable on*) the ten offences,[1] free from all troubles, to (*the temple of*) the holy **Âditya-bhaṭṭâraka** (*i.e.* the Sun-god) set up at **Chaṭṭulliha**, at the request of the residence (*viz.* Śrîvardhanapura, l. 1), **on the Kârttikî** (*tithi*), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself, by (*this*) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (*all*) live happily, enjoying (*their*) due portion of rights, *etc.* And it is thus enjoined in the *Dharmaśâstra*:"—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses.]

(V. 10.) (*This*) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious **Mahâchaṇḍapâla**, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious **Śrîvardhanadêva**.

(L. 45.) **The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kârttika.**

No. 6.—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This interesting record of the Eastern Châlukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 164 ff., with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr. Venugopal Chetti in the Râmaliṅgêśvarasvâmi temple at **Madanûr**, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr. Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them :—

"These are **five copper-plates,** measuring $9\frac{1}{2}''$ by about $4\frac{5}{16}''$. The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about $\frac{3}{16}''$ high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.[2] Through holes ($\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures $5\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and is a little more than $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular **seal**, which measures $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and is nearly $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁku*[*śa*] in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

[1] These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *daśadhâ pâpakarma* in the *Śukranîti, adhyâya* 3, *ślôka* 6.

[2] The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink-impressions.

the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the pro, left. In front of the boar is an elephant goad, and behind its tail a crescent."

The **alphabet** is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty an period. No distinction is made between secondary *ô* and *au*, and secondary *î* and *û* is oft written as *i* and *u*. Final *k* occurs in line 32, *t* in ll. 8, 30 and 51, *n* in ll. 10, 18, 24, 37, 39, 5' and *m* in ll. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The *jihvâmûlîya* is used in ll. 42, 51, and th *upadhmânîya* in ll. 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following **orthographical irregularities** deserve to be noted. Against one o Pâṇini's rules (VIII. 4, 49) the *sh* of *varsha* is doubled in ll. 8 and 11, but not in ll. 13, 18, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find *yêtad* (l. 57) for *êtad*, *yuttara* (ll. 54 f. and 57, but not in l. 59) for *uttara*, *rakshaṇâyayiva* (l. 47 f.) for *rakshaṇây=aiva*, *aruha* (l. 50) for *arha*, *krishṭa* (l. 39) for *krishṇa*. Dental *n* is employed instead of lingual *ṇ* in *Kiranapuram* and *krishna* (l. 43), *punya* (ll. 49, 50), *âbharana* (ll. 49, 53), *ganêsa* (l. 50), *yuttarâyana* (l. 54 f.). The vowel *ṛi* is replaced by *ri* in *krishna* (l. 43), *sadrisô* (l. 52) and *kritvâ* (l. 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in *śaṁha* (l. 50) for *saṁgha* and *śadrisô* (l. 52) for *sadṛisô*.

The **language** is Sanskṛit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskṛit verses. In ll. 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imprecatory verses and the names of the *Âjñapti*, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jaina temple, it opens with an invocation of the **Jaina** religion (v. 1). Ll. 3-41 contain the genealogy of the **Eastern Châlukya dynasty** down to *Samastabhuvanâśraya* **Vijayâditya (VI.)** or **Ammarâja (II.)**, the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (13 f.) as in his Paḍaṅkalûru grant.[1] The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll. 13-16) describing the reign of Vijayâditya III., and the second (ll. 22-32) the accession of Châlukya-Bhîma II.

The Piṭhâpuram inscription of Mallapadêva reports that **Vijayâditya III.** slew Maṅgirâja, burnt Chakrakûṭa, terrified Saṅkila, residing in Kiraṇapura and joined by Kṛishṇa, restored his dignity to Vallabhêndra, and received elephants as tribute from the king of Kaliṅga.[2] The slaying of **Maṅgi** is referred to also in three other inscriptions.[3] The second of them adds the burning of **Kiraṇapura**, and the third states that the king, having terrified **Kṛishṇa** and **Saṅkila**, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who Maṅgi and Saṅkila were. Verse 3 of the Maliyapûṇḍi grant calls the former 'the king of the great **Noḍamba-râshṭra**' and the second 'the lord of the excellent **Ḍâ[ha]la**.' Thus Maṅgi seems to have been one of the Pallavas of Noḷambavâḍi[4] and Saṅkila an early chief of Ḍâhala (or Chêdi). While two of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of Saṅkila with that of Kṛishṇa, the Maliyapûṇḍi grant (v. 3) states that Saṅkila was 'joined by the fierce **Vallabha**.' The *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 5) correctly conclude from this that Saṅkila's ally Kṛishṇa was a Vallabha, *i.e.* a **Râshṭrakûṭa**. Hence my former identification of this Kṛishṇa with the **Paramâra** king Kṛishṇarâja[5] must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr. Fleet,[6] with the **Râshṭrakûṭa** king **Kṛishṇa II.** The latter is known to have been connected with the **Chêdi** family, being the son-in-law of Kokkalla (I.) and the brother-in-law of Śaṅkuka.[7] I feel no hesitation in identifying Saṅkila of Ḍâhala with **Śaṅkuka (or Śaṅkaragaṇa)** of **Chêḍi**, the son of Kokkalla I., but am unable to identify Kiraṇapura, where Saṅkila resided according to the

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16. Ll. 23-34 of this grant are identical with ll. 32-41 of the Maliyapûṇḍi grant.

[2] Above, Vol. IV. p. 239 f.

[3] Above, Vol. V. p. 126, verse 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213, text line 16 f.; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 226 and notes 7 and 8).

[4] *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 332 f.

[5] Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

Piṭhâpuram inscription and Kṛishṇarâja according to the Maliyapûṇḍi grant (v. 15). In two grants the burning of this Kiraṇapura,[1] the residence of Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila,[2] is attributed to Vijayâditya III. himself. Verse 15 of the Maliyapûṇḍi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named **Pâṇḍaraṅga.** It is perhaps worth noting that another Râshṭrakûṭa prince named **Kṛishṇarâja** is mentioned in a grant of A.D. 888.[3] Between the slaying of Maṅgi and the victory over Śaṅkila the Maliyapûṇḍi grant mentions that Vijayâditya III. 'defeated the **Gaṅgas** who took refuge on the peak of **Gaṅgakûṭa.**' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Piṭhâpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt **Chakrakûṭa.**[4] He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gaṅgas.'[5] Finally the new grant reports that Vijayâditya III. bore the surname **Parachakrarâma** (l. 14).

The Maliyapûṇḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of **Vikramâditya II.** Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom **Yuddhamalla, Râjamârtaṇḍa** and **Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya** are mentioned by name. Then **Râjabhîma** (or Châlukya-Bhîma II.) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Râjamârtaṇḍa, defeating and banishing Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels. **Yuddhamalla (II.)** is the son of Tâla, to whom one grant of Châlukya-Bhîma II. attributes a reign of seven years,[6] while two other grants,[7] like the Maliyapûṇḍi grant, take no official notice of his reign. **Râjamârtaṇḍa** is perhaps the same as Râjamayya in the Kaluchumbaṟṟu grant,[8] and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates.[9] In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet[10] and Prof. Kielhorn,[11] in taking Râjamârtaṇḍa as a surname of Châlukya-Bhîma II. As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 170, note 4), the Maliyapûṇḍi grant now shows that Râjamârtaṇḍa was a distinct person. Dr. Fleet has already noticed that ll. 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,[12] the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows :—

यस्तातबिक्यनाख्यं धळदिं मुन्निऱिवराजमार्त्तण्डौ [।*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Châlukya-Bhîma II. :—Tâtabikyana, Dhaḷaḍi (or Dhaḷaga), Munniṟiva and Râjamârtaṇḍa. **Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya,** whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II., is undoubtedly the same as Kaṇṭhikâ-Bêta or Vijayâditya V., the son of Amma I. and the ancestor of the Eastern Châlukyas of Piṭhâpuram.[13]

The subjoined grant was made at a **winter solstice** (*uttarâyaṇa*, l. 54 f.). The donee was a temple of **Jina** (*Jinâlaya*) in the south of **Dharmapurî** (v. 17), which was in charge of a priest of the **Yâpanîya-saṁgha**[14] (v. 18). It had been founded by the *Kaṭakarâja* (l. 54) **Durgarâja** (v. 16) and was named **Kaṭakâbharaṇa-Jinâlaya** (v. 17 and l. 53), evidently after a surname of the founder. At his request (l. 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family. His ancestor **Pâṇḍaraṅga** is stated to have burnt **Kiraṇapura,** the residence of **Kṛishṇarâja** (v. 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayâditya III.[15] His son **Niravadyadhavala** was appointed *Kaṭakarâja* (l. 44 f.). His son was the *Kaṭakâdhipati* **Vijayâditya** (l. 45 f.), and his son was **Durgarâja** (v. 16).

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213, text line 17.
[2] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 226 and note 7).
[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 66.
[4] Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 227.
[5] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10.
[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text line 31.
[7] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 44; above, Vol. V. p. 138, note 3.
[8] Above, Vol. VII. p. 181.
[9] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 46 and note 1.
[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 269, and above, Vol. VII. p. 182.
[11] *Lists of Southern Inscr.* No. 562.
[12] Above, Vol. VII. p. 181 f.
[13] Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.
[14] Compare *ibid.* p. 338 *
[15] See notes 1 and 2 above.

Pâṇḍarâṅga (the Pâṇḍaraṅga of v. 15) is mentioned as *Âjñapti* in a grant of Vijayâditya III.[1] The title *Kaṭakarâja* or *Kaṭakâdhipati, i.e.* 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Châlukya kings. Dr. Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I. and Amma II. mention *Kaṭakarâja, Kaṭakêśa* and *Kaṭakâdhîśa* as *Âjñapti,* and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles.[2] The Maliyapûṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pâṇḍaraṅga, who bore that title, *viz.* Niravadyadhavala, Vijayâditya and Durgarâja. It seems preferable to take also *Kaḍeyarâja* in the grant of Châlukya-Bhîma I.[3] as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarâja*, the title of Vijayâditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (*grâmaṭikâ*) of **Maliyapûṇḍi** (l. 55) in the district (*vishaya*) of **Kamma-nâṇḍu** (l. 42). Its boundaries are given in l. 56 f. The northern boundary, **Dharmavuramu**, is the Telugu form of Dharmapurî, to the south of which the *Jinâlaya* was situated (v. 17). According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 174, note) both **Dharmapuram** and the western boundary, **Kalvakuru**, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tâluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p. 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Guṇakenalla (Vijayâditya III.), Pâṇḍaraṅga, the burning of Kiraṇapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p. 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pâṇḍaraṅga and Dharmavuram. Maliyapûṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid.* p. 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nâṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the **Kamma-râshṭra** or **Kammâka-râshṭra** of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name[4] may be added that it occurs as *Kaṁmâka-raṭha* in the Jaggayyapêṭa inscriptions of Purisadata.[5] This Prâkṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammâka* may be meant for *Kammâṅka*[6] untenable ; for the latter would have become in Prâkṛit *Kammaṅka*, and not *Kammâka*.

TEXT.[7]

First Plate.

1 ꣼ भद्रं स्यात्त्रिजगन्नुताय सततं श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रप्रभोरुद्दामाततशासन[ा]-

2 य विलसद्धर्म्मावलंबाय च । सामर्त्थ्यात्खलु यस्य दुष्कलिकृता दोषाश्च मित्थ्याद्भव[ा][8] (।) दु-

3 र्व्वृत्तानि च भूतले न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं क्षिते[:*] ॥ [१*] ꣼ स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं-[9]

4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादलब्धरा-

5 ज्यानाम्मातृग[ण*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यायिनाम् भगव-

6 न्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलांच्छनेक्षणक्षणवशिकृताराातिमण्ड[ला]-[10]

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[1] Above, Vol. V. p. 125, verse 9.

[2] Above, Vol. VII. p. 184 f.

[3] Above, Vol. V. p. 130.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 238.

[5] See Bhagwanlal Indraji's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p. 56, and Bühler's transcripts in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 258 f. and in *Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 110 (compare Plate lxii. f.).

[6] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 234.

[7] From two sets of ink-impressions.

[8] Read मित्थ्योद्भवा.

[9] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[10] Read °वशीकृता°.

7 नामश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्[1] चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोस्सत्या[श्र]-

8 यवल्लभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्ट[ा*]दश वर्षाणि[2] वेंगिमण्डलमपालयत् । तदात्म-

Second Plate ; First Side.

9 जो [3]जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तत्सू-नुर्म्मंगियुवराज-

10 ᐳपंचविंशतिन्तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरज[:*] कोक्किलिष्षण्मासान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता

11 विष्णुवर्द्धन[स्त]मुच्चाट्य [स]प्तत्रिंशतम्[4] (।) वर्ष्षाणि [।*] तत्पुत्रो विजया-दित्यभट्ट[ा*]रकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो

12 विष्णुवर्द्धनष्षट्त्रिंशतम् । नरेन्द्रमृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः [।*] विजयादित्य-

13 भूपालः[5] चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोध्यर्द्धवर्षं । त-

14 त्पुत्रः परचक्ररामापरनामधेयः [।*] हत्वा [6]भूरिनोदंवराड्डनृपतिं मंगिम्महा-संग-

15 र[7] गंगानाश्रीवगंगकुटशिखरान्निर्ज्जित्य [8]सड्ड[ा]लाधीशं संकिलमुग्रवल्लभयुतं यो भ[ा]-

16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररक्ष क्षितिं । [३*] तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 यौवराज्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशतं[9] [।*] तस्याग्रजो विजयादित्यः

18 षण्मासान् [।*] तदग्रसूनुरम्मराजस्सप्त वर्षाणि । तत्सूनुमाक्रम्य बालं चालुक्यभिमपि-[9]

19 तृव्ययुद्धमल्लस्य नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्ग्गैरधिकबल-युतैम्म-[10]

20 त्तमातंगसैनो[11] हत्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे साद्धमत्युग्रते-

21 जाः [।*] एकाब्दं सम्यगंभोनिधिवलयवृतामन्वरक्षद्धरित्रिं[12] श्रीमाञ्चालुक्य-

[1] Read °वपुषां.
[2] Read वर्षाणि.
[3] Read जयसिंह°.
[4] Read °त्रिंशतं वर्षाणि.
[5] Read °पालश्च त्वा°.
[6] Read °नोड्डंब°.
[7] Read °संगरे गंगानाश्रितगंगकूट°.
[8] Read सड्डाहला° ; in contravention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word.
[9] Read °भीम°.
[10] Read °वर्ग्गै°° and °युतैर्म्म°.
[11] Read °सैनैर्हत्वा.
[12] Read °वरित्रीं श्रीमांश्चालुक्यभीम°.

22 भिमच्चितिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूप: । [४*] पश्चादहमहमिकया विक्र-
मादित्यास्त-

23 म[य*]ने राच्चसा इव प्रजाबाधनपरा दायादराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणो
युद्धमल्लरा-

24 [1]जमार्त्तण्डलकगिठकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता[2] आसन् [।*] विग्र-

Third Plate; First Side.

25 हेणैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [।*] तत: [।*] [3]योवधिद्र[ा]जमार्त्तण्डस्तेष[ां]
येन रणे क्षतौ [।*] क-

26 गिठकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमल्लौ[4] विदेशगौ । [५*] अन्ये माम्यमहिभृतोपि[5]
बहवो[6] दु-

27 ष्टप्रवृत्ताद्धता(:)[7] देशोपद्रवकारिण: प्रकटिता: कालालय[8] प्रापिता: [।*]
[9]दोर्हण्डेरि-

28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकावाङ्गा[10] तत्परभूतपैस्व[11]

29 शिरसो मालेव सन्धार्य्यते । [६*] नादग्वा[12] विनिवर्त्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाग्निरा
मूल-

30 त: शुभ्रं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [।*] द्रव्यां-
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं[13]

31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसस्ये[14] न नो वर्षति । [७*] स
चालुक्यभिमनसा[15] वि-

32 जयादित्यनन्दन[: ।*] द्वादशाव्यात्समास्सम्यक्[16] राजभिमो धरातलं । [८*]
तस्य महेश्वरमू-

Third Plate; Second Side.

35 [17]त्तेरमासमानाक्रते: कुमाराभ: [।*] लोकमाहादेव्या:[18] खलु यस्समभवदम्म[रा]-

34 जाख्य: ॥ [९*] जलजातपत्त्रचामरकलशांकुशलच्चणां[क*]करचरणतल: [।*]
लसदाजा-

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[1] As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 1, the ल after मार्त्तण्ड is superfluous; it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल.

[2] Read विग्रहीभूता.

[3] Read योवधीद्रा°.

[4] Read °मल्लौ.

[5] Read °महीभृ°.

[6] The *aksharas* वो and दु are engraved on an erasure.

[7] Read °वृत्तोद्धता.

[8] Read °लयं.

[9] Read दोर्दण्ड°.

[10] Read perhaps °सांयामिकस्याज्ञा.

[11] Read °भूनृपैश्व as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 6; श्व is engraved on an erasure.

[12] Read नादग्ध्वा.

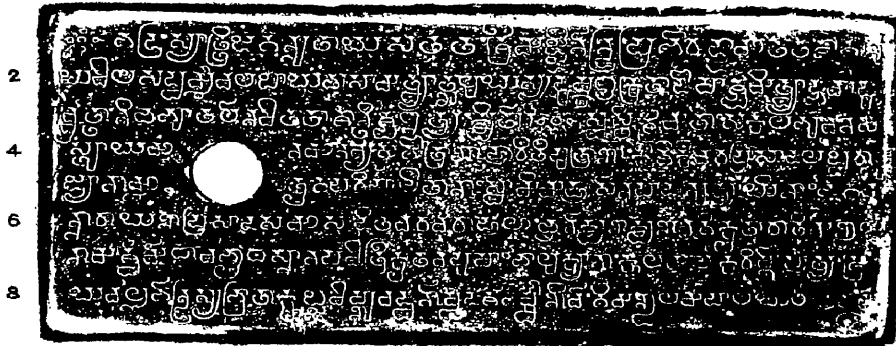
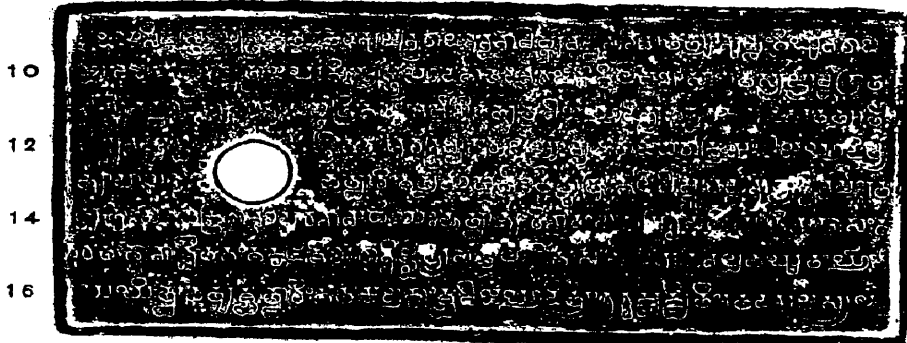
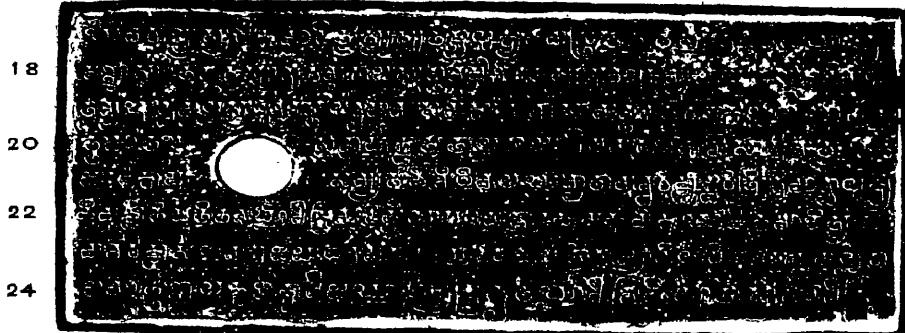
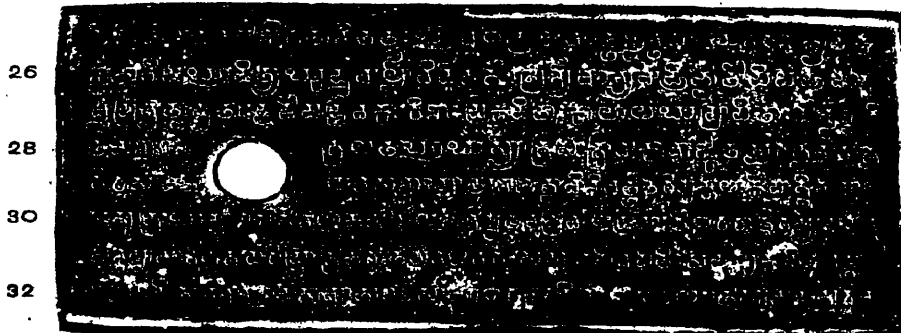
[13] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[14] Read जनतासस्ये.

[15] Read °भीम°.

[16] Read द्वादशाब्दसमास्सम्यग्राजभीमो.

[17] Read °मूर्त्ते°.

[18] Read °मल्ला°.

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v.
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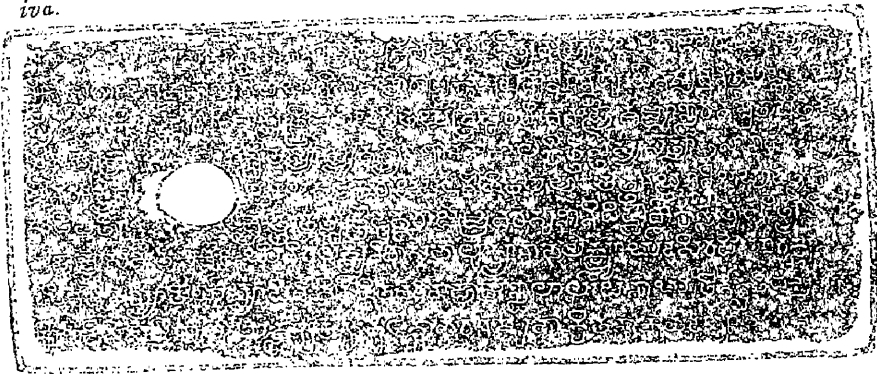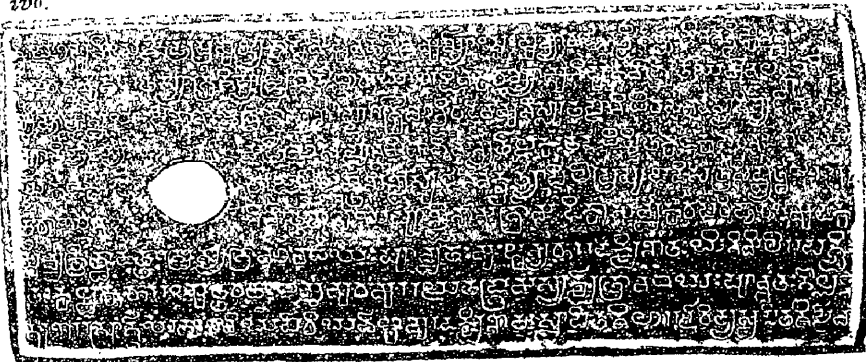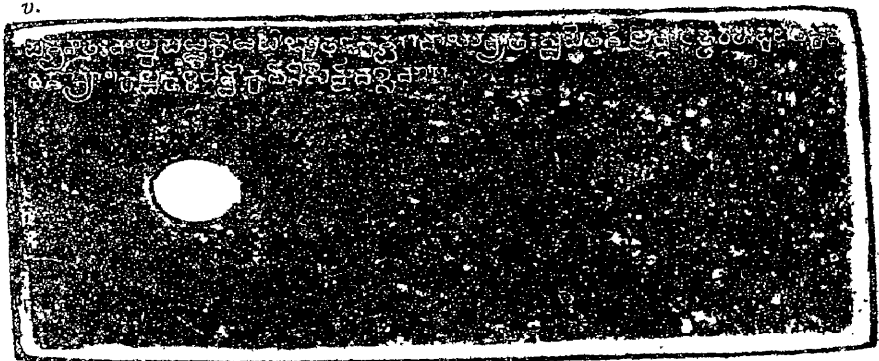
35 न्ववलंबितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः[1] ॥ [१०*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो विविधायु-

36 धकोविदो [2]विलिनारिकुलः [।*] करितुरगागमकुशलो हरचरणांभोजयुग-

37 लमधुपश्श्रीमान् ॥ [११*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्द्विजमुनिदिनान्धबन्धुजन-[3]

38 सुरभिः [।*] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्म्महोग्रमहसा द्युमणिः ॥ [१२*] गिरिरसवसु-

39 संख्याब्दे शकसमये मार्ग्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [।*] [4]क्रष्टत्रयोदशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्षत्रे [॥ १३*]

40 धनुषि रवौ घटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पट्टं [।*] योधादुदयगिरीन्द्रो रविमिव लोका-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४*] स [5]समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-श्वर×परम[धा]-

42 [6]म्मिकोम्मराजङ्कम्मनाण्डुविषयनिवासिनो [7]राष्ट्रकुटप्रमुखान्कुटुंबिनस्सर्व्वा[ना*]नित्थमाज्ञा-पयति [।*]

43 आर्य्या[:*] । [8]किरनपुरमधाचीत्क्रिष्नराजस्थितं[9] यस्त्रिपुरमिव [10]महेश×पाण्ड-रंग[:*] प्रतापि[11] [।*] तदिह [मु]-

44 [12]खसहाश्शोरन्वितस्याप्यशक्य[13] गणनममलकीर्त्तेस्तस्य[14] सत्साहसानाम[15] ॥ [१५*] तस्य[ा*]त्म-

45 जो निरवद्यधवल[:] कटकराजपट्टशोभितललाटः[16] [।*] तत्तनयो विजया-दित्यकट-

46 काधिपति[:*] । वृंत्त[17] । तत्पुत्रो [18]दुग्गराज×प्रवरगुणनिधिर्द्धार्म्मिकस्स-त्यवादि[19] त्यागि भो[गी]

47 महात्मा समितिषु विजयि[20] विरलक्ष्मिनिवासः[21] [।*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या यदसिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-[22]

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1 Read गिरीन्द्रसानूरस्कः.
2 Read विलीना°.
3 Read °मुनिदीनान्ध°.
4 Read कृष्ण°.
5 Read °विजयादित्य°.
6 Read °धार्म्मिको°.
7 Read °कूट°.
8 Read किरण°.
9 Read °धाचीत्कृष्णराजास्थितं; as suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 2.
10 Corrected from महाश°.
11 Read प्रतापी.
12 Read °सह वैर°.
13 Read °शक्यं.
14 Read °कीर्त्ते°.
15 Read °सानाम्.
16 The *visarga* was added subsequently.
17 Read वृत्तं.
18 Read दुर्ग्गं°.
19 Read °वादी त्यागी.
20 Read विजयी वीरलक्ष्मी°.
21 The *visarga* was added subsequently.
22 Read रक्षणायैव.

48 यिव वंश[:*] ख्यातो यस्यापि वेंगीगदितवरमहामण्डलालंबनाय । [१६*] तेन कृतो धर्म्मपु[रीद]-

49 चिणदिशि सज्जिनालयश्चारुतर: [।*] कटकाभरनशुभांकितनाम[1] च [2]पुन्यालयो वसति [॥ १७*]

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

50 [3][श्री]यापुनियशंहप्रपुज्यकोटिमडुवगनेशमुख्यो[4] य: [।*] [5]पुन्यारहनन्दिगच्छो जिननन्दिमुनिश्वरो[थ][6] ग-

51 [ण]धरसदृश: । [१८*] तस्याग्रशिष्य×प्रथितो ध(ा)रायाम्[7] (।) दिव[ा*]-कर[ा*]ख्यो मुनिपुंगवोभुत्[8] [।*] यक्केवलज्ञ[ा*]ननिधि-

52 र्म्महात्मा स्वयं जिनानां शद्रिशो[9] गुणोघे ॥ [१९*] श्रीमान्दिरदेवमुनिस्सु-तपोनिधिरभवदस्य शिष्य[10] धीम[ा]न् [।*] य-

53 स्यातिहार्य्यमहिमा[11] संप्यन्नमिवाभिमन्यते लेक:[12] [॥ २०*] [13]तदधिष्ठितकटक[ा*]-भरनजिनालय[ा]-[14]

54 य कटकराजविज्ञप्ते[15] खण्डस्फुटनवकृत्योपिलिप्रपुजादिसत्रसिद्ध्यर्थम्[16] (।) मु-

55 त्तरायननिमित्ते मलियपूण्डिनामग्रामटिका सर्व्वंकरपरिहार(म्)मुदक-

56 पुर्व्वं[17] क्रित्वा दत्ता । अस्य ग्राम[स्य*]ावधय: पूर्व्वत: मुंजुन्यरु[18] ॥ दक्षिणत: यिनिमिलि ॥ पश्चि[म]-

57 त: कल्वकुरु ॥ युत्तरत[:][19] धर्म्मवुरमु ॥ [20]वेतद्ग्रामस्य चेचावधय: पूर्व्वत: गोल्लनि-

58 गुण्ड ॥ आग्नेयत[:] रावियपेरियचेऴवु । दक्षिणत: स्थापितशिला ॥ नैरित्य[21] स्थ[ा*]पितशिलेव [।*]

Fifth Plate.

59 पश्चिमत: मल्कपट्टि कोऴबोयुतट[ा]कस ॥ वायव्यत: स्थापितशिलेव । उत्तरत: दुब[चे]ऴवु [।*]

60 ईशान्याम्[22] (।) कल्वकुरि एव्वोकचेनि सिमेव[23] सीमा ॥

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[1] Read °भरण°. The whole compound seems to be meant for कटकाभरणशुभनामाङ्कित:, which would have offended against the metre.

[2] Read पुण्या°.

[3] Read श्रीयापनीयसंघप्रपूज्य°.

[4] Read °गणेश° or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, °गणेश्वर°.

[5] Read पुण्यार्ह° and compare below, p. 56, note 2.

[6] Read °मुनीश°.

[7] Read धरायां.

[8] Read °भूत्.

[9] Read सदृशो गुणौघै:.

[10] Read शिष्यो.

[11] Read यस्यातिहार्य्यमहिमा.

[12] Read लोक:.

[13] Read °धिष्ठित°.

[14] Read °भरण°.

[15] Read °विज्ञप्ते.

[16] Read °नवकृत्याबलिप्रपूजादिसत्रसिद्ध्यर्थमुत्तरायण°.

[17] Read °पूर्व्वं कृत्वा.

[18] Or possibly मंजुन्युरु.

[19] Read उत्तरत:.

[20] Read एत°.

[21] Read नैर्ऋत्यां.

[22] Read ऐशान्यां.

[23] Read सीमैव.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (*śâsana*) of the lord **Jinêndra.**

(Line 7.) **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (I.),** the brother of **Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndra** who adorned the family of the **Châlukyas,** ruled the **Vêṅgi** country (*maṇḍala*) for eighteen years; his son **Jayasiṁha (I.)** for thirty-three; **Vishṇuvardhana (II.),** the son of his younger brother **Indrarâja,** for nine; his son **Maṅgi-yuvarâja** for twenty-five; his son **Jayasiṁha (II.)** for thirteen; his younger brother **Kokkili** for six months; his eldest brother **Vishṇuvardhana (III.),** having expelled him, for thirty-seven years; his son **Vijayâditya (I.)-bhaṭṭâraka** for eighteen; his son **Vishṇuvardhana (IV.)** for thirty-six.

(V. 2.) King **Vijayâditya (II.),** surnamed **Narêndramṛigarâja,** who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight.[1]

(L. 13.) His son **Kali-Vishṇuvardhana (V.)** for one year and a half. His son, whose other name was **Parachakrarâma,**

(V. 3.) (*was*) **Vijayâditya (III.),** who, having slain in a great battle **Maṅgi,** the king of the great **Noḍamba-râshṭra,** having defeated the **Gaṅgas** who took refuge on the peak of **Gaṅgakûṭa,** and having terrified **Saṅkila,** the lord of the excellent **Ḍâ[ha]la,** who was joined by the fierce **Vallabha,** ruled the earth for forty-four years.

(L. 16.) **Châlukya-Bhîma (I.),** the son of his younger brother **Vikramâditya (I.)** who had received the dignity of *Yuvarâja*, for thirty. His eldest son[2] **Vijayâditya (IV.)** for six months. His eldest son **Ammarâja (I.)** for seven years. Having overcome his infant son, **Tâla-nṛipa,** the son of **Yuddhamalla (I.),** the paternal uncle of **Châlukya-Bhîma (I.),** for one month.

(V. 4.) Having slain at the head of a rough battle this **Tâla-râja** together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king **Vikramâditya (II.),** the son of king **Châlukya-Bhîma (I.),** of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans.

(L. 22.) Afterwards at the setting (*i.e.* the death) of **Vikramâditya (II.),** the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (*viz.*) **Yuddhamalla, Râjamârtaṇḍa, Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya,** *etc.*, were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like Râkshasas (*at the setting of the sun*). In mere war five years passed away. Then (*succeeded*)—

(V. 5 f.) The fierce warrior who slew among those **Râjamârtaṇḍa**; who in a battle made **Kaṇṭhikâ-Vijayâditya** and **Yuddhamalla** go to a foreign country; the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (*and*) causing distress to the country; (*and whose*) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V. 8.) This **Râjabhîma (II.),** the son of **Vijayâditya (IV.)** (*and*) grandson of **Châlukya-Bhîma (I.),** righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V. 9.) **Ammarâja (II.),** who was born to him by **Lôkamahâdêvî,** as Kumâra to Mahêśvara by Umâ;

(V. 13 f.) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redden the world, (*puts on himself*) the sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the **twelfth year** of (*his*) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the Vasus (8)—(*i.e.* 867)—of the **Śaka** era,

[1] The reading of the text seems to be meant for चत्वारिंशत्समा अष्टभिः, which would however be against the metre.

[2] The other Eastern Châlukya inscriptions show that *agraja* has to be taken here to mean 'the first-born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother.' A similar use of the word *agrajanman* is noted by Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 181.

in this month of Mârgaśîrsha, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Maitra (Anurâdhâ) *nakshatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanus, in the Ghaṭa *lagna ;*

(L. 41.) This *Samastabhuvanâśraya*, the glorious **Vijayâditya (VI.)**, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*, the very pious **Ammarâja (II.)** thus commands all the ryots, headed by the *Râshṭrakûṭas*, inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of **Kamma-nâṇḍu** :—Lords !

(V. 15.) Even one possessed of thousands of mouths (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant **Pâṇḍaraṅga**, of spotless fame, who burnt **Kiraṇapura**, the residence of **Kṛishṇarâja**, as Mahêśa (Śiva) (*burnt*) Tripura.

(L. 44.) His son (*was*) **Niravadyadhavala**, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of *Kaṭakarâja*. His son (*was*) the *Kaṭakâdhipati* **Vijayâditya.**

Verse (16.) His son (*was*) **Durgarâja**, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the **Châlukyas**, and whose renowned family[1] (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*maṇḍala*) called **Vêṅgi.**

(V. 17.) There is on the southern side of **Dharmapurî** a very charming excellent temple of **Jina** (*Jinâlaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of **Kaṭakâbharaṇa.**

(V. 18.) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics **Jinanandin**, who resembled the Gaṇadharas, belonged to the pure and worthy[2] **Nandi-gachchha** (*and*) was the chief lord of the **Koṭimaḍuva(?)-gaṇa,** which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy **Yâpanîya-saṁgha.**

(V. 19.) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called **Div[â]kara**, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the **Jinas** themselves by great virtues.

(V. 20.) His disciple was the wise ascetic **Śrîmândiradêva**, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratihârya*.[3]

(L. 53.) To the **Kaṭakâbharaṇa-Jinâlaya** superintended by him there was given, at the request of the *Kaṭakarâja*, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, *etc.*, and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the **winter solstice** (*uttarâyaṇa*), the small village named **Maliyapûṇḍi,** with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water.

(L. 56.) The boundaries of this village (*are*) : in the east **Muñjuny[u]ru ;** in the south **Yinimili ;** in the west **Kalvakuru ;** in the north **Dharmavuramu.**

(L. 57.) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*) : in the east the Gollani-guṇṭha (*pond*) ; in the south-east the Râviya-periya-cheṟuvu (*tank*) ; in the south a demarcation stone ; in the south-west also a demarcation stone ; in the west **Malkapaṟṟu** and the Koṟabôyu-taṭâka (*tank*) ; in the north-west also a demarcation stone ; in the north the Duba-cheṟuvu (*tank*) ; in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the Evvôka-chênu (*field*) in **Kalvakuru.**

No. 7.—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; HALLE (SAALE).

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district.

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[1] The word *vaṁśa* means also 'a cane ;' see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 5.

[2] It is not quite impossible that *punyâruha-* is a mistake for *Punnâga-* ; compare the Punnâgavṛikshamûlagaṇa of the Nandisaṁgha, above, Vol. IV. p. 338.

[3] According to Buddhist works, *prâtihârya* or *pratihârya* means 'jugglery, working miracles ;' see the *St. Petersburg Dictionary.*

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is 5¾ inches, and their height 2¼ inches at the ends and 2⅛ inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (*viz.* Mr. Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is 2⅝ inches, and its thickness slightly over ¼ inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring 2⅛ by 1⅛ inches. The seal is all but obliterated; but a faint trace of some quadruped— perhaps a tiger — can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The **alphabet** resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarman[1] and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.[2] But neither *t* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hîrahaḍagalli plates,[3] the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right; compare *e.g.* the *ta* of *etassa* (l. 8) with the *na* of *vayaṇena* (l. 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same; see the *ttâ* of *âchchhêttâ* and the *ntâ* of *ch=ânumantâ* (l. 17). Final forms of *t* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The **numerical symbol** 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l. 15), and the plates ii.*a*, ii.*b*, iii.*a*, iii.*b* and iv. are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,[4] with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin; on the first plate the sacred syllable *ôṁ* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The **language** is Prâkṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskṛit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prâkṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chârudêvî.[5] In *saṁvvachchhara* (l. 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvâra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prâkṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.[6] Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭâraka* (l. 3); *kh* in *pamukha* (l. 7); *g* in *bhagavato* (l. 1); *j* in *vijaya* (ll. 1, 6, 14), *yâjin* (l. 5) and *mahârâja* (l. 6); *t* in *bhagavato* (l. 1), *anujjhâta* (l. 2 f.), *bhâṇitavva* and *eta* (l. 8), *pariharitavva* (l. 13 f.); *th* in *ratha* (l. 2); *d* in *pâda* (ll. 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l. 10); *dh* in *medha* (l. 5). But elision and *ya-śruti* have taken place in *addhiya* (l. 11) for *ârdhika*, *niyattaṇa* (l. 10) for *nivartana*, *vayaṇa* (l. 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *duvaggâṇa ya* (l. 12) and *pariharitavvo ya* (l. 13 f.).[7] The word *Pausha* (l. 15) appears in its Sanskṛit form.[8] Dental *n* occurs in *anujjhâta* (l. 2 f.), *Sâlaṅkâyana* (l. 4), *yâjino* (l. 5), *gharaṭṭhâna* (ll. 11 and 12) = Sanskṛit *gṛihasthâna*, and lingual *ṇ* in *bhâṇitavva* (l. 8), *Gaṇasamma* (l. 9), *duvaggâṇa* and *rakkhaṇa* (l. 12), *samâṇatta* (l. 13) = Sanskṛit *samâjñapta*,[9] and *saṁvvachchharâṇi* (l. 14). Both *n* and *ṇ* appear in *vayaṇena* (l. 7), *niyattaṇân*[*i*] (l. 10) and *manussâṇam* (l. 11).[10] Among the remaining Prâkṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l. 15) and *vîsaṁ* (l. 11),[11] and of other inflected words the ablative *Veṅgîpurâ* (l. 1), the genitives *Devavammassa* (l. 6) and *Gaṇasammassa* (l. 9),[12] the two differently formed locatives *Elûre* (l. 7) and *padesamhi* (l. 10), and the instrumental *parihârehi* (l. 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausha in the **thirteenth year** (in words and figures, l. 14 f.) of the *Mahârâja* **Vijaya-Dêvavarman** (l. 6), who issued

[1] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 160. [2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff. [3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

[4] Another instance, in which the single *pages* of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chârudêvî; see above, Vol. VIII. p. 144.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 144 and note 5.

[6] Compare Prof. Pischel's Prâkṛit grammar, § 189.

[7] Compare *ibid.* § 184. [8] Compare *ibid.* § 61*a*. [9] Compare *ibid.* § 88.

[10] Compare *ibid.* § 224. [11] *Ibid.* §§ 443 and 445. [12] Compare *ibid.* § 402.

this grant from **Vêṅgîpura** (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Êlûra (l. 7). The donee was named Gaṇaśarman (l. 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l. 11) *nivartanas* of land, evidently near Êlûra, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the **Śâlaṅkâyana**, the fervent Mâhêśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy **Chitrarathasvâmin.**' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the *Mahârâja* **Vijaya-Nandivarman,**[1] who was the son of the *Mahârâja* **Chaṇḍavarman,** issued his grant likewise from **Vêṅgîpura,** and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of **Kudrâhâra.**[2] This family may be designated the **Śâlaṅkâyana Mahârâjas of Vêṅgîpura.** As Dêvavarman's grant is in Prâkṛit, he was presumably an ancestor of Chaṇḍavarman's son Nandivarman, whose grant is in Sanskṛit.

Vêṅgîpura, the capital of the Śâlaṅkâyanas, has been identified with **Pedda-Vêgi,** a village near Ellore in the Godavari district.[3] The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to Pedda-Vêgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of **Chitrarathasvâmin,**[4] the family deity of the Śâlaṅkâyana Mahârâjas. Other indications point to the same part of the country. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman were found in the neighbouring **Kolleru lake,**[5] and Êlûra, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of **Êlûru (Ellore),** 7 miles from Pedda-Vêgi.

TEXT.[6]

First Plate.

Ôṁ[7] [|*]

1 Siri-vijaya-**Veṅgîpurâ** [|*] Bhagavato
2 **Chittarathasâmi**-pâdânu-
3 jjhâtassa bappabhaṭṭâraka-pâdabhattassa

Second Plate; First Side.

4 paramamâhessarassa **Sâlaṅkâyanassa**
5 assamedhayâjino
6 mahârâja-sirî-**Vijaya-Devavammassa**

Second Plate; Second Side.

7 vayaṇena **Elûre** muḷuḍa-pamukho
8 gâmo bhâṇitavvo [|*] Etassa
9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Gaṇasammassa

Third Plate; First Side.

10 sundara-padesamhi bhûmi-niyattaṇân[i]
11 vîsaṁ 20 gharaṭṭhânaṁ addhiya-manussâṇaṁ
12 duvaggâṇa ya gharaṭṭhânaṁ parihâra-rakkhaṇaṁ

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff.

[2] This is the actual reading of the plates; see above, Vol. VI. p. 316 and note 4.

[3] *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 16, note 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 93.

[4] Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIX. (which is at present inaccessible to me), above, Vol. IV. p. 143, note 7.

[5] *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 135, note 1.

[6] From two sets of ink-impressions.

[7] Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.

108

i.

2

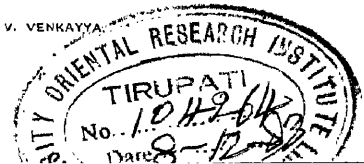
ii a.

4

6

ii b.

8

E. HULTZSCH. FULL-SIZE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA.

iii a.

iii b.

iv.

Third Plate ; Second Side.

13 samâṇattaṁ [।*] Evaṁ savva-parihârehi parihari-
14 tavvo ya [।*] Vijaya-saṁvvachchharâṇi
15 terasa 10 3 Pausha-kâlapakkha-dasamî [10?][।*]

Fourth Plate.

16 Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê krîḍati bhûmi-daḥ [।*]
17 âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê[1] vasêt ||
18 Bahubhir=vasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ [।*]
19 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ[2] tasya tasya tadâ phala[m] ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ. (Line 1.) From the prosperous and victorious **Vêṅgîpura.** The villagers[3] of Êlûra, headed by the *Muḷuḍa*,[4] must be addressed (*as follows*) by the word of the glorious *Mahârâja* **Vijaya-Dêvavarman,** the performer of horse-sacrifices, the **Śâlaṅkâyana,** the fervent Mâhêśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, (*and*) who meditates at the feet of the holy[5] **Chitrarathasvâmin :—**

(L. 8.) "It has been ordered that to this[6] Gaṇaśarman of the Ba[bhura][7] *gôtra* (there have to be made over) twenty— 20— *nivartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (*for himself, and*) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop[8] and for (*his*) door-keepers,[9] (*and*) that the immunities (*granted to him*) have to be protected. And thus he must be exempted with all immunities. (*In*) **the victorious year thirteen— 13—** (*of the reign*), (*on*) the tenth— [10]— *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausha."

[Ll. 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

No. 8.—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

BY P. DAYA RAM SAHNI.

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr. G. D. Ganguli, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof. Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Vol. XL. p. 55.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of **Benares,** and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented. at the instance of Mr. J. H. Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

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[1] This word looks almost like *narakô.*

[2] Read *bhûmis=.*

[3] Literally, 'the village.'

[4] This looks like a Draviḍian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman (l. 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Munuḍa ;* but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *ḷu.*

[5] The genitive *bhagavato* refers to *Chittarathasâmi,* the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription.

[6] The pronoun 'this' evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *ôtêshâm* in the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman, l. 5.

[7] Prof. Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Babhru.*

[8] On *árdhika* or *ardhasîrin* see the *Mitâkshará* on Yâjñavalkya, I. 166. The Prâkṛit form *addhika* occurs in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, text line 39.

[9] The Sanskṛit original of *duvagga* seems to be *dvárga,* which may be taken in the sense of *dvâḥstha.*

College, Benares, in December 1903.[1] In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot.[2]

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26″ by 15″ (66 cm. by 38 cm.). The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut.

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete. About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen. The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akshara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner. The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions.

The **characters** of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhâlrâpâṭan[3] and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*.[4] The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukhari alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskṛit and metrical throughout. As regards **orthography**, there are three different points which deserve notice: (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *t*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in *-maraṇayôr=mmôksha-*, l. 1; *yattra*, l. 2; *attra* and *-mûrttiḥ*, l. 4; *sarppat-sarppa-* and *-ruchir=vvilôla-*, l. 6; (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in *-tatva-*, l. 3; *-vrityâ*, l. 4; *ujvalaṁ*, l. 7; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahâ*, l. 2, and *sandhivandha-*, l. 7.

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of **Bhavânî** at Benares. There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Sragdharâ* and the last two in the *Śârdûlavikrîḍita* metre. The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of **Vârâṇasî**. The purport of the second verse is not quite certain; it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance. The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named **Pantha**, and the last two speak of the consecration of the Bhavânî image (?) and the construction of the shrine, respectively.

TEXT.

1 [Ôṁ svasti ||*] [Khyâ]tâ **Vârâṇas**=îyaṁ tribhuvana-bhavan-âbhôga-chaur=îti dûrât= sêvantê yâṁ viraktâ janana-maraṇayôr=mmôksha-sakt-aika-[chi]ttâḥ [|] sô — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡

2 ◡[ta] sagaṇô yattra dêvô vimuktaḥ yâṁ dṛishṭvâ vra(bra)hmah=âpi chyuta-kali-kalushô jâyatê śuddha-bhâvaḥ || [1*] Asyâm=uttuṅga-śṛiṅga-sphuṭa-śa[śi]-kiraṇa-[śvêta-bhâsâ . sanâthaṁ ramy-âyâma*]-

3 pratôlî-vividha-jaṇapada-strî-vilâs-âbhirâmaṁ | vidyâ-vêdârtha-tatva(ttva)-vrata-japa-niyama-vyagra-chandr-âbhijushṭaṁ śrîmat=sthânaṁ [pṛi]thivyâ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — || [2*]

4 Attr=âbhût=**Pantha**-nâmâ śiśur=api vinaya-vyâpaṭô. bhadra-mûrttiḥ tyâgî dhîraḥ kṛitajñaḥ parilaghu-vibhavô=py=âtma-[5]vṛity(tty)=âbhitu[shṭaḥ[6] | Gaṅgâ-srôtaś-śuchi-śrî*]-

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[1] *Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum* for 1903-4, p. 2.

[2] *Archæological Survey Report* for 1903-4, p. 212.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 180 and Plate.

[4] *E.g.* in *yattra*, *jâyatê*, l. 2; *vinaya*, l. 4; and *yêna*, l. 5.

[5] [In my own transcript this word was misread as *=ârya-*.—E. H.]

[6] This restoration is based on the preceding *abhitu*° and *âtma-vṛittyâ*.

Benares inscription of Pantha.

2

4

6

8

Scale one-third.

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

5 Himagiri-śikhar-ârôha-khêdâd=ṛitê=mbhaḥ bhaktô bhaktyâ Śivô mê parishad=api guṇais=tôshitâ yêna nityaṁ || [3*] Tên=ânêka-vidhâna-dîkshaṇa-[śataiḥ saṁsthâpit=[1]ârtha-vyayaiḥ*]

6 chaṇḍî chaṇḍa-narôttamâṅga-rachita-vyâlambi-mâl-ôtkaṭâ | sarppat-sarppa-vivêshṭit-âṅga-paraśu-vyâviddha-śushk-âmishâ lîlâ-nṛitta-ruchir=vvilô[la-[2]nayanâ mûrtir=[3] Bhavânyâḥ śubhâ || 4*]

7 [Saṁsthâ]py=âpi na tasya [tushṭi]r=a[bha]vad=yâvad=**Bhavânî**-gṛihaṁ suślishṭ-âmala-sandhiva(ba)ndha-ghaṭitaṁ ghaṇṭâ-ninâd-ôjva(jjva)laṁ | ramyaṁ dṛishṭi-haraṁ śilâ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —

8 [prârûḍha]-dhvaja-châmaraṁ su[kṛi]tinâ śrêyô-rthinâ kâ:itaṁ || [5*]

TRANSLATION.

[*Ôṁ.* Hail!] (Verse 1.) Famous is this **Vârâṇasî** which, having usurped the extent[4] of the abode of the three worlds, is worshipped from afar by passionless people, with their mind solely fixed on liberation from birth and death; at which place was emancipated the god[5] . . . . with his attendants; and at the sight of which even the murderer of a Brâhmaṇa, freed of the stain of sin, becomes pure of heart.

(V. 2.) In this (*city there was*) a place, renowned on earth; [bathed in the white light] of the bright rays of the moon (*as they fell on its*) lofty turrets; charming with the gracefulness of the wives of the various inhabitants of the [beautiful and extensive][6] streets; a favourite resort of the moon[7] engaged in study, interpretation of the Vêdas, (*search after*) truth, (*observance of*) vows, muttering of prayers and austerities . . . .

(V. 3.) Here lived (*a man*) named **Pantha,** who even as a child was well-behaved,[8] handsome, generous, wise, grateful, (*and*) contented with his earnings in spite of his limited means; (*who used to think thus to himself*): 'The god (*ambhaḥ*)[9] Śiva is worshipped by my devotion without the toil of ascending the peaks of the Himâlaya, [purified by the waves of the Ganges];' and who constantly gladdened the assembly (*of the wise*) by (*his*) virtues.

(V. 4.) By him [was erected at a considerable cost (*and*) [with hundreds of] different consecrations [a beautiful image of Bhavânî], fierce-looking, awe-inspiring owing to a garland formed of gruesome human heads hanging (*from her neck*); with limbs encircled by crawling snakes, and with dry flesh pierced on an axe; delighting in a sportive dance, (and) with rolling [eyes].

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[1] Compare the expression *saṁsthâpya* in l. 7.

[2] This syllable is required to complete the word *vilôla.*

[3] The restoration of *mûrtir=, etc.,* is purely conjectural; but that it is probably correct, may be concluded from the fact that the epithets *chaṇḍî, etc.,* clearly refer to an image of Bhavânî. Moreover, since the very next verse records the foundation of a Bhavânî shrine, it seems almost necessary to assume that an image of the same goddess should have been placed in this shrine.

[4] Literally, 'the thief of the extent,' *etc.*

[5] This passage presumably alludes to Śiva's residence at Benares in the *Trêtâyuga.* See Rajendralal Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa,* Vol. II. p. 63.

[6] Literally, 'whose extent was charming.'

[7] *-bhakt-âbhijushṭaṁ* would be a better reading.—[Or *chandra* may be meant for *nara-chandra,* 'an excellent man.'—E. H.]

[8] I do not find the word *vyâpaṭa* in any Sanskrit Dictionary. *Vyâpṛitô* would be a more appropriate reading.

[9] [But *ambhaḥ* does not mean 'a god.' I would rather conjecture at the end of line 4 *Gaṅgâyâ gâhamânô* and translate: 'devoutly (*bhaktaḥ*) [entering] the water (*ambhaḥ*) [of the Gaṅgâ].' In the following I prefer to join *Śivômê* and to translate: 'who daily pleased Śiva and Umâ by (his) devotion (and their) attendants by (his) virtues.'—E. H.]

(V. 5.) Not satisfied with the erection (*of this image only*), the pious man, desirous of bliss, caused to be built a shrine of **Bhavâni**, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, ... (*and decorated*) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

No. 9.— THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the **Châhamânas** of **Śâkambharî** we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Harsha inscription of Vigraharâja, edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A.D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Châhamânas from Gûvaka I., 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nâgâvalôka,[1] the foremost of kings,' to Vigraharâja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijaoli, Bijolia, Bijholi) rock inscription of the reign of Sômêśvara, which has been uncritically edited in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A.D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sâmanta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Sômêśvara.[2] Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscriptions of Vîsaladêva-Vigraharâja of A.D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandêlla Paramardidêva by the Châhamâna Prithvirâja II., of the [Vikrama] year 1239=A.D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244=A.D. 1187.[3]

From this Śâkambharî family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A.D., another line of Châhamânas (or Châhumânas), which was founded by the Śâkambharî prince Lakshmaṇa, and which for a long time had its seat of government at **Naddûla**,[4] the modern Nadol in the Jôdhpur State of Râjputâna.[5] To this branch of the family there is assigned in my *Northern List* only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadol copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâja* Âlhaṇadêva of A.D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the *List*, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known

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[1] I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription is *śrîman-Nâgâvalôka-pravaranṛipa-sabhâ-lavdha(bdha)-vîrapratishṭhaḥ*. In my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nâgâvalôka may be identical with the Pratihâra Nâgabhaṭa; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nâgâvalôka— apparently the Vikrama year 813=A.D. 756— will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend Mr. Ojha.

[2] See above, Vol. VIII. Appendix I. p. 18 f.

[3] See my *Northern List*, Nos. 144, 176 and 183.

[4] So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A., B. and C., and in the inscription of Lumṭigadêva, treated of under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with *dd*) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being: *Jâvâlipuraṁ jvâlâ-puraṁ kritâ Pallik=âpi pall=iva | nadvala-tulyaṁ rôshân=Naddûlaṁ yêna sau(śau)ryêṇa ||*. In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Âbû, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is *Naḍûla*. In verse 42 of the Mount Âbû inscription of Samarasiṁha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 349) it is either *Naddûla* or *Naḍḍûla* (not *Naḍûla*); and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II. pp. 1003 and 1004, we find *Naḍḍûla*, *Naḍḍvalapura* and *Naḍûlapura*. In Mr. Kâthavaṭe's edition of the *Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 69, and, copied from it, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 26, verse 14, we also have *Naḍûla*, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

[5] Towards the end of the 12th century A.D. the seat of government was transferred to Jâvâlipura (Jâlor); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandrâvatî with Mount Âbû from the Paramâras.

when I compiled the *List*. My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these **Châhamânas of Naddûla,** so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so. For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Âbû inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr. Cousens.

A.— NADOL PLATES OF ÂLHAṆADÊVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1218.

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,[1] in October 1819, at **Nadol**, a town in the Jôdhpur State of Râjputâna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. An account of their contents was given by him in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 804; and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhruva, in *Journ. Bombay As. Soc.* Vol. XIX. p. 26 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent photo-lithograph,[2] prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr. Fleet.

These are **two plates,** each of which measures about 8⅛″ broad by 6½″ high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved. The **characters** are Nâgarî. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of **orthography** it will suffice to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal. The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected. Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. Of these I would point out here merely the wrong *saṁdhi* in *spṛihayan=amaratâṁ* (for *spṛihayann=amaratâṁ*) in line 17, the meaningless *-praguṇîbhûtâpasavyakaḥ pâṇiḥ* (for *-praguṇîbhûtâpasavyapâṇiḥ*) in line 21, and the omission of some word like *viditaṁ* before the words *vô=stu* in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential *syât* is used for *asti* or *bhavati.*[3]

The inscription records a donation by the *Mahârâja* **Âlhaṇadêva of Naddûla.**[4] According to lines 18-23, this chief, **on Sunday, the 14th** *tithi* (described as *mahâchaturdaśî-parvan*[5]) of **the bright half of Śrâvaṇa in the year 1218,** after worshipping the Sun and Îśâna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brâhmaṇs and *gurus*, granted to (the Jaina temple of) **Mahâvîradêva** in the **Saṇḍêraka** *gachchha*,[6] at the holy place[7] (*mahâsthâna*) of **Naddûla,** a monthly sum of five *drammas*, (to be paid) from the custom-house (*śulka-maṇḍapikâ*[8]) in the grounds[9] of **Naddûla.**

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[1] See his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,* Vol. I. p. 698; my *Northern List,* No. 141.

[2] *Indian Inscriptions,* No. 10, not yet published.

[3] For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see *e.g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 135.

[4] So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3. See above, p. 62, note 4.

[5] For the similar use of *parvan* in other dates see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 413, and Vol. XXV. p. 289 f.

[6] In Mount Âbû inscriptions this *gachchha* is also called *Saṇḍêra-gachchha* and *Shaṇḍêraka-gachchha.* The town of *Saṇḍêra* (the Sanderao of the map of the Râjputâna Agency) is mentioned below in C., line 16.

[7] According to Colonel Tod Naddûla was one of the ancient seats of the Jainas.

[8] For passages in which the term *maṇḍapikâ* occurs, compare *e.g. Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 114, l. 27; p. 173, l. 6 (*Sîyaḍôṇi-satka-maṇḍapikâ*); p. 175, l. 19; p. 177, l. 29 and l. 30; p. 179, l. 45; p. 262, l. 3 (*pattana-maṇḍapikâ*); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10, col. 2 (*Śrîpathâ-stha-maṇḍapikâ*); *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 47, iv., and p. 48, v.; *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* p. 205, l. 7. *Śulka-maṇḍapikâ* occurs *e.g.* in *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* p. 158 f., ll. 10, 15 and 18.— The meaning of *maṇḍapikâ* is suggested by the Marâṭhî *mâṁḍavî*, 'a custom-house.'

[9] The word *talapada* (in *śrî-Naddûla-talapada-śulkamaṁḍapikâyâṁ*) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, *svatala,* which occurs in some of the Valabhî inscriptions, and for which see Dr. Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p. 166. Compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 339, note 30.

The inscription, after the words '*ôṁ*, adoration to the Omniscient,' opens with a verse in which the holy **Mahâvîradêva**, 'the youngest of the Jinas,' is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor:—

In the **Châhumâna** race there was first at **Naddûla** the king **Lakshmaṇa**. His son was **Sôhiya**, and his son **Balirâja**. After him came his paternal uncle **Vigrahapâla**. His son was **Mahêndra**, his son **Aṇahilla**, and his son **Bâlaprasâda**. His brother was **Jêndrarâja**, and his son **Pṛithivîpâla**. His brother was **Jôjalla**, and his younger brother **Âśârâja**, whose son was **Âlhaṇadêva**. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the *dûta* of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretaryship (*śrîkaraṇa*),[1] Lakshmîdhara, the son of Dharaṇigga, of the Prâgvâṭa race; and the grant was composed and written by Śrîdhara, the son of Vâsala (Vîsala ?), who was the son of Manôratha, of the family of the Naigamas. The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* sign-manual) of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Âlhaṇadêva**.'

Naddûla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahâvîra to which the grant was made apparently still exists.[2] **The date** of the grant, for the expired *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1218, regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1161**, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.[3]

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[5] || Ôṁ namaḥ Sarvvajñâyaḥ[6] | Diśatu[7] Jina-kanishṭhaḥ karmmavaṁ(baṁ)dha-kshayishṭhaḥ parihṛita-madamârakrôdha-

2 lôbhâdivâraḥ | duritaśikhari-saṁvaḥ[8] svô(śvô)vaśîyaṁ cha śaṁ vas=tribhuvanakṛita-sêvaḥ |[9] śrî-Mahâvî-

3 radêvaḥ || [1*] Asti[10] parama â-jalanidhi jagati-talê[11] **Châhumâna**-vaṁśô hi | tav(tr)=âsîn=**Nadû(ddû)lê** bhûpaḥ

4 śrî-**Lakshmaṇa** âdau[12] || [2*] Tasmâd=va(ba)bhûva putrô râjâ śrî-**Sôhiyas**[13]=tad=anu sûnuḥ | śrî-**Va(ba)lirâjô** râ-

5 jâ **Vigrahapâlô**=nu cha pitṛivyâ(vyaḥ) || [3*] Tasy=ât=[14]tanûjô bhûpâlaḥ |[15] śrî-**Mahêndradêv**-âkhyaḥ | taj-jaḥ śrî-[16]

6 **Aṇahilô(llô)**[17] nṛipati-varô=bhût=prithula-têjâḥ || [4*] Tat-sûnuḥ śrî-**Vâ(bâ)laprasâda** ity=ajani pârthiva-

7 śrêshṭhaḥ | tad-bhrât=âbhû[t*]=kshitipaḥ subhaṭaḥ śrî-**Jêndrarâj**-âkhyaḥ || [5*] **Śrî-Pṛithivîpâlô**=bhû[t*]=tat-putraḥ sai-[18]

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[1] Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III. p. 317, l. 45, *śrîkaraṇa* by itself is used to denote the official ('a secretary').

[2] See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X. p. 142.

[3] Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 30, No. 35.

[4] From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.

[5] Denoted by a symbol.

[6] Read °*jñâya*.

[7] Metre: Mâlinî.

[8] Read -*śamvaḥ*, 'a thunderbolt.'

[9] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[10] Metre of verses 2-9: Âryâ.

[11] For the sake of the metre for *jagati-talê*.

[12] Read °*nas=ch=âdau*.

[13] Mr. Dhruva's text has *Lôhiyas=*; but *Sôhiyas=* is quite clear in the original. The same name, *Sôhiya*, I find above, Vol. VIII. p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Âbû inscription, No. 1699 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[14] Read =*âbhavat*=.

[15] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[16] Here and elsewhere the *i* of *śrî* has purposely not been changed to *y* before a vowel; compare below, lines 9 and 38, *śrî-Âlhaṇa*°, and other passages in B. and C. and elsewhere.

[17] The name is written *Aṇahilla* in B., line 7, and C., line 11, and the same spelling is required here by the metre.

[18] Read *śauryavṛittiśôbh-âḍhyaḥ*.

8 ryavṛitisôbh-âḍhyaḥ | tasmâd=abhavad=bhrâtâ śrî-Jôjallô raṇaras-âtmâ [|| 6*] Tad-avarajô=bhûch=chhrîmâ-
9 n=Âsâ(śâ)râjaḥ pratâpavara-nilayaḥ | tat-putraḥ kshôṇîpaḥ śrî-Âlhaṇadêva-nâm=âbhût || [7*]
10 Yasya pratâpa-psâ(?)laṁ[1] saṁkuladikchakra-pṛithulavistâraṁ | siṁchaṁti sva(sû)ditâhitagaṇa-lalanâ
11 nayanasalil-aughaiḥ || [8*] Sô=yaṁ mahâ-kshitîśaḥ sâram=idaṁ vu(bu)ddhimân=achiṁtayata [|*] iha saṁ-
12 sâra[2] asâraṁ |[3] sarvvaṁ janm-âdi jaṁtûnâṁ |(||) [9*] Yataḥ [|*] Garbhaḥ[4] strîkukshi-madhyê pala-rudhira-vasâ-
13 mêdasâ va(ba)ddha-piṁḍô mâtuḥ prâṇâṁtakârî[5] prasavana-samayê prâṇinâṁ syân=nu janmâ[5] dharmm-â-
14 dînâm=avêttâ bhavati hi niyataṁ vâ(bâ)la-bhâvas=tataḥ svâ(syâ)t=târuṇyaṁ svalpamâtraṁ svajana-pari-
15 bhavasthâ(?)natâ[6] vṛiddha-bhâvaḥ |(||) [10*] Khadyôtôdyô(ddyô)ta-tulyâḥ |[7] kshaṇam=iha sukhadâḥ saṁpa-

Second Plate; First Side.

16 dô dṛishṭa-nashṭâḥ prâṇitvaṁ chaṁchalaṁ syâd=dalam=upari yathâ tôya-viṁdur=nnalinyâḥ | jñâtv=aivaṁ[8] sva-pi-
17 trô spṛihayan=[9]amaratâṁ ch=aihikâṁ[10] dharmma-kîrtti dêśâṁtô[11] râjaputrân[12] janapada-gaṇân vô(bô)dhayaty=êva
18 vô=stu[13] || [11*] **Saṁ 1218 varshê | Śrâvaṇa-śudi 14 Ravau | asminn=êva mahâchaturddaśî-parvvaṇi ||** Snâtvâ[14] dhauta-
19 paṭê nivêsya(śya)[15] dahanê datv=âhutîn[16] puṇya(ṇya)kṛin=Mâṁrtvaḍasya[17] tamaḥprapâṭana-paṭôḥ saṁpûrya ch=âghaṁjiliṁ[18] [|*]
20 trailôka(kya)sya prabhuṁ charâchara-guruṁ saṁsnapya paṁch-âmṛitair=Îśânaṁ kanak-ânna-vastra-dadanaiḥ[19] saṁpûjya viprâ-
21 n gurûn || [12*] Anu[20] tilakukshâtôdaka-[21]praguṇîbhûtâpasavyakaḥ[22] pâṇiḥ ||(|) śâsanam=ênam=[23]ayachchhata yâ-

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[1] Read *-jâlaṁ*.
[2] Observe the wrong *saṁdhi* (for *saṁsârê=sâraṁ*).
[3] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[4] Metre of verses 10 and 11: Sragdharâ.
[5] Read °*kâri* and *janma* |.
[6] The *th* of the *akshara sthâ* is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actua and intended reading. One would have expected *-paribhavasthânaṁ*, but this would not have suited the metre.
[7] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[8] Here a syllable, perhaps *vai*, has been omitted.
[9] Here, again, observe the wrong *saṁdhi* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible; *spṛihayann=* would have offended against the metre.
[10] Read *=aihikîṁ dharmma-kîrttiṁ*; one misses a second *cha*.
[11] I can only suggest that *dêśâṁtô* may stand for *dêśântâ*, i.e. *dêśântaḥ*, *dêśântar*, 'in (this) country.'
[12] After this word a short syllable is missing; perhaps the reading should be °*trân=sva-janapada-*.
[13] The words *vô=stu* cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase *viditaṁ vô=stu*.
[14] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[15] Mr. Dhruva read this *Maitapaṭê nivêśya*, which he translated by 'while encamped at Maitapaṭa.' Compare *dhauta-vâsasî paridhâya* in line 19 of B., and, *e.g.*, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 7 of the text.
[16] Read *dattv=âhutîḥ*.
[17] Read *=Mârttaṁḍasya*.
[18] Read *=ârghâṁjaliṁ*.
[19] *Dadana* in the sense of *dâna*.
[20] Metre: Âryâ.
[21] Read *tilakuśâkshatôdaka-*. The *ka* of °*ôdaka* is treated as a short syllable before *pr*; see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII. p. 224.
[22] The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this; what he intended was °*pasavya-pâṇiḥ* (=*dakshiṇa-pâṇiḥ*).
[23] Wrong for *ênad=*, or, better, *êtad=*.

22 vach-chaṁdrârkkapûpâlaṁ[1] |(||) [13*] Śrî-Naddûla-mahâsthânê śrî-Saṁḍêraka-gachchhê śrî-Mahâvîradêvâya śrî-Naddûla-

23 talapada-śulkamaṁḍapikâyâṁ mâsânumâsaṁ dhûpavêlârthaṁ |[2] śâsanêna dra[3] 5 paṁcha prâdât [|*] Asya

24 dêvarasyanaṁ[4] bhuṁjânasya asmadvaṁśêjair=[5]bhâvi-bhôktribhir=aparaiś=cha paripaṁthanâ na kâryâ | yataḥ [|*]

25 [6]Sâmânyô=yaṁ dharma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ sarvvân=êvaṁ bhâvinaḥ pâ-

26 rthivêṁdrân bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmachaṁdraḥ || [14*] Tasmât | [7]Asmadanva[ya*]jâ bhûpâ bhâvi-bhûpatayaś=cha yê [|*]

27 têshâm=ahaṁ karê lagnaḥ pâlanîyam=idaṁ sadâ |(||) [15*] Asmad-vaṁśê parikshîṇê yaḥ kaśchiṁ[8] nṛipatir=bhavêt [|*]

28 tasy=âhaṁ karê lagnô=smi sâ(śâ)sanaṁ nâ(na) vyatikramêt |(||) [16*] Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjanyaiḥ Sagar-â-

29 dibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmî(mi)s=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [|| 17*] Vvashṭhi-[9]varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati dâna-

30 daḥ [|*] âchchhêtâ(ttâ) ch=ânumaṁtâ cha tâny=êva narakaṁ[10] vasê[t] [|| 18*] Sva-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ vâ dêva-dâyaṁ harêta yaḥ [|*] sa

31 vishṭhâyâṁ krimir=bhûtvâ pitri(tṛi)bhiḥ saha majjati || [19*] Sû(śû)nyâṭavîvy(shv)=atôyâsu śushkakôṭara-vâsi-

Second Plate; Second Side.

32 naḥ | kṛishṇâhayô=bhijâyaṁtê dêva-dâyaṁ haraṁti yê || [20*] Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ||

33 [11]Prâgvâṭa-vaṁśê Dharaṇigga-[12]nâmnaḥ sutô mahâmâtya-varaḥ su-karmmâ | va(ba)bhûva dû-

34 taḥ prâ(pra)tibhâ-nivâsô Lakshmîdharaḥ śrîkaraṇê niyôgî || [21*] [13]Âsît=sva-

35 chchha-malâ(nâ) Manôratha iti prâk[14] Naigamânâṁ kulê sâ(śâ)stra-jñânasudhârasa-

36 plavita-[15]dhîs=taj-jô=bhavat[16] Vâsalaḥ | putras=tasya va(ba)bhûva lôka-vasani(ti)ḥ śrî-

37 Śrîdharaḥ Śrîdharê sûpâstî rachayâṁchakâra lilikhê ch=êdaṁ mahâ-śâ-

38 [sa]naṁ || [22*] Sva-hastô=yaṁ mahârâja-śrî-Âlhaṇadêvasya ||

B.—NADOL PLATES OF THE RÂJAPUTRA KÎRTIPÂLA; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1218.

Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Râjputâna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at **Nadol.** My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Ojha.

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1 Read °*bhûkâlaṁ;* compare °*kshitikâlaṁ* in line 26 of B.

2 Read *dhûpa-tail-ârthaṁ,* without the sign of punctuation.

3 I.e. *drammân.*

4 Read *dêvasy=ainaṁ* (for *=ainad=, =aitad=*).

5 Read °*sy=âsmadvaṁśajair=.*

6 Metre: Śâlinî.

7 Metre of verses 15-20: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

8 Read *kaśchin=.*

9 Read *shashṭi-* or *shashṭiṁ.*

10 Read *narakê.*

11 Metre: Upajâti.

12 The name *Dharaṇiga* occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter *g* seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

13 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

14 Read *prâg=.*

15 *Plavita* wrong for *plâvita,* which would not have suited the metre.

16 Read *=bhavad=,* and, perhaps, *Vîsalaḥ.*

These also are two plates, each of which measures about $9\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $6\frac{1}{2}''$ high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides.[1] The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring; I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses[2] of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name; the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards **orthography**, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labdhajanmâ*, l. 3; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahêsvaraṁ*, l. 22; and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *ṡṁgajaḥ*, l. 16. In line 29 the gerund *lagitvâ* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with.'

The inscription records a grant by the *Râjaputra* (or king's son) **Kîrtipâla**, a son of **Âlhaṇadêva** of **Naddûla**. After the words *ôṁ svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrîdhara (Vishṇu), and Śaṁkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinas' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy :—

In the town of **Śâkambharî** there was formerly, in the **Châhamâna**[3] lineage, the king **Vâkpatirâja**. His son was **Lakshmaṇa**, who was king at **Naddûla**; and his son was **Sôbhita**. From him sprang **Balirâja**, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle **Vigrahapâla**. Vigrahapâla's son was **Mahêndra**, his son **Aṇahilla**, and his son **Jêndrarâja**, from whom sprang **Âśarâja**.[4] His son was **Âlhaṇa**, the lord of **Naddûla**, who defeated the **Saurâshṭrikas**. This king married **Annalladêvi**,[5] a daughter of **Aṇahula** of the **Râshṭrauḍa**[6] race, who bore to him three sons — **Kêlhaṇa, Gajasiṁha**, and **Kîrtipâla**. Of these, **Kêlhaṇa**, the eldest son, was made *kumâra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Râjakula*[7] **Âlhaṇadêva** and the *Kumâra* **Kêlhaṇadêva** were pleased to give to the *Râjaputra* **Kîrtipâla** twelve villages appertaining to **Naddûlâî**. And then, on **Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa of the year 1218**, the *Râjaputra* **Kîrtipâla**, after bathing *etc.* at **Naddûla** and worshipping the Sun and Mahêśvara (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two *drammas* from each of the twelve villages of **Naddûlâî** to (the temple of) the **Jina Mahâvîra** at the village of **Naddûlâî**, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of Bhâdrapada of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were **Naddûlâîgrâma, Sûjêra, Ḍarijî, Kavilâḍa, Sônâṇam, Môrakarâ, Haravandam, Mâḍâḍa, Kâṇasuvam, Dêvasûrî, Nâḍâḍa**, and **Maüvaḍî**.

So far as I can judge, the village of **Naddûlâî** mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahâsthâna*) Naddûla, and the words *Naddûlâî-pratibaddha* in line 18 appear clearly to show that Naddûlâî not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to Kîrtipâla belonged.— On the map of the Râjputâna Agency I find,

[1] The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr. Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

[2] The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of Upêndravajrâ and Vasantatilakâ.

[3] So the name is spelt here and below in C.

[4] In C. the name is *Âśârâja*, while in A. the actual spelling is *Âsârâja*. Here we have *Âśarâja*, and in D. the actual spelling is *Âsarâja*.

[5] The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscription of Vîsaladêva-Vigraharâja, A., line 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 218) is *Ânnalladêva*, not *Avêlladêva*, and that therefore *Ânnalladêva* should be substituted for *Avêlladêva* also in my *Northern List*, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII. App. I. p. 14, col. 1 (after Arṇôrâja).

[6] For a Râshṭrôḍa *vaṁśa* see my *Northern List*, No. 273.

[7] On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV, p. 312, note 7. *Mahârâjakula* occurs below in D., and in other Mount Âbû inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Desuri, which most probably is the Dêvasûrî of this inscription; of the other villages I can find no traces on the map.

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* sign-manual) of the *Mahârâjaputra* (or *Mahârâja's* son), the illustrious Kîrtipâla,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhaṁkara, the son of Dâmôdara and grandson of the *Kâyastha* Sôḍha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of **the date**, for the *pûrṇimânta* and *amânta* month Śrâvaṇa, would be —

for the *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1218 current: Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and **Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160** (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162.

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amânta* month Śrâvaṇa of the *current Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion; but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.[1]

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[3] || Svasti || Śriyai[4] bhavaṁtu vô dêvâ |[5] Vra(bra)hma-Śrîdhara-Śaṁkarâḥ sadâ virâgavaṁ-

2 tô yê |[5] Jinâ jagati viśrutâḥ || 1 [6]**Śâkaṁbharî**-nâma-purê pur=âsî |[5]ch=chhrî-**Châha-**

3 **mân**-ânvaya-labdhajanmâ | râjâ mahârâjanat-âṁhriyugmaḥ khyâtô=vanau **Vâkpa-**

4 **tirâja**-nâmâ || 2 **Naddûlê**[7] samabhût=tadîya-tanayaḥ śrî-**Lakshmaṇô** bhûpatiḥs=[8] ta-

5 smât=sarvvaguṇ-ânvitô nṛipa-varaḥ śrî-**Sôbhit**-âkhyaḥ[9] sutaḥ | tasmâch=chh[r*]î-**Va(ba)lirâja**-nâ-

6 ma-nṛipatiḥ paśchât=tadîyô mahî-khyâtô **Vigrahapâla** ity=abhidhayâ râjyê pitṛivyô=bhavat || 3

7 Tasmât=tîvramahâpratâpa-taraṇiḥ putrô **Mahêṁdrô**=bhavat=taj-jâch=śrî-**Aṇahilladêva**-nṛipatêḥ śrî-**Jêṁ-**

8 **drarâjaḥ** sutaḥ | tasmâd=durddharavairikuṁjaravadha-prôttâlasiṁh-ôpamaḥ sat-kîrttyâ dhaval[î]kṛit-â-

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[1] With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Kêlhaṇadêva, which is dated in line 1: *saṁvat 1228 varshê Jy[ê*]shṭha-vadi 12 Sômê.* This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amânta* Jyaishṭha of the current *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1228, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

[2] From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

[3] Denoted by a symbol.

[4] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[6] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[7] Metre of verses 3-5: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[8] Read *bhûpatis=*.

[9] The inscription C. has *Śôbhita*; but as A. has *Sôhiya*, I do not alter the *Sôbhita* of the present inscription to *Śôbhita*.

9 khilajagach=chrî-Âśarâjô nṛipaḥ || 4 Tat-putrô nijavikramârjitaṁ-[1] mahârâjyapratâpôdayô
10 yô jagrâha jaya-śriyaṁ raṇa-bharê vyâpâdya **Saurâshṭrikân** | śauchâchâra-vichâra-dâna-vasatir=**Naddû-**
11 la-nâthô mahân=saṁkhyôtpâdita-vîravṛittir=amalaḥ śrî-**Alhaṇô**[2] bhûpatiḥ || 5 Anêna[3] râjñâ jana-viśrutê-
12 na |[4] **Râshṭrauḍa-**vaṁśaja-var-**Âṇahulasya** putrî | **Annalladêvir**=iti śîla-vivêka-yuktâ |[4] Râmêṇa vai Janakaj=êva vi-
13 vâhit=âsau || 6 Âbhyâṁ[5] jâtâḥ su-putrâ jagati vara-dhiyô rûpa-saundarya-yuktâḥ |[4] śastraiḥ śâstraiḥ praga-
14 lbhâḥ pravara-guṇagaṇâs=tyâgavantaḥ su-śîlâḥ | jyêshṭhaḥ śrî-**Kêlhaṇ**-âkhyas=tad=anu cha **Gajasiṁhas**=tathâ **Kî-**
15 **rttipâlô** |[4] yadvaṇ=nêtrâṇi Śaṁbhôs=tripurushavad=ath=âmî janê vaṁdanîyâḥ | (||) 7 [6]Madhyâd=amîshâṁ pari-

Second Plate ; First Side.

16 vâra-nâthô shṭhê(jyê)shṭhô śṛṁgajaḥ kshôṇi-talê prasiddhaḥ | kṛita[ḥ*] kumârô nijarâjya-dhârî
17 śrî-**Kêlhaṇa**[ḥ*] sarvva-guṇair=upêtaḥ | (||) [8*] Âbhyâṁ râjakula-śrî-**Âlhaṇadêva**- |[7] kumâra-śrî-**Kêlha-**
18 **ṇadêvâbhyâṁ** râjaputra-śrî-**Kîrttipâlasya** prasâdê datta-**Naddûlâî**-prativa(ba)ddha-dvâdaśa-grâmâṇi[8] ||
19 Tatô râjaputra-śrî-**Kîrttipâlaḥ** |[9] **saṁ 1218 Śrâvaṇa-vadi 5 Sômê** || ady=ê[ha*] śrî-**Naddûlê** snâtvâ dhô(dhau)-
20 ta-vâsasî paridhâya tilâkshatakuśa-praṇayinaṁ dakshiṇa-karaṁ kṛitvâ dêvân=udakêna saṁtarpya | va(ba)-
21 halatamatimirapaṭalapâṭana-paṭîyasô niḥśêshapâtakapaṁka-prakshâlanasya divâkarasya
22 pûjâṁ vidhâya | charâchara-guruṁ Mahêsva(śva)raṁ namaskṛitya | hutabhuji hômadravy-âhutîr=ddatvâ[10] nalinî-
23 dalagatajalalava-taralaṁ jîvitavyam=âkalayya | aihikaṁ pârachi(tri)kaṁ tha(cha) phalam=aṁgîkṛitya svapuṇya-
24 yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê śâsanaṁ prayachchhati yathâ || Śrî-**Naddûlâîgrâmê** | śrî-Mahâvîra-jinâya **Naddûlâî**-[11]
25 dvâdaśa-grâmêshu grâmaṁ prati dra 2 dvau drammau snapana-vilêpana-dîpa-dhûp-ôpabhôgârthaṁ | śâsanê
26 varshaṁ prati Bhâdrapada-mâsê chaṁdrârkkakshiti-kâla[ṁ] yâvat pradattau || **Naddûlâîgrâma** | **Sûjêra** | **Ḍarijî** [|*]
27 **Kavilâḍa** | **Sônâṇaṁ** | **Môrakarâ** | **Haravaṁdaṁ** [|*] **Mâḍâḍa** | **Kâṇasuvaṁ** | **Dêvasûrî** | **Nâḍâḍa** [|*] **Maüvaḍî** |
28 êvaṁ grâ[12] 12 êtêshu dvâdaśa-grâmêshu sarvvad=âpi asmâbhiḥ śâsanê dattau | êbhir=grâmair=adhunâ saṁvatsa-

[1] Read °*mârjita*-. [2] Read -*Âlhaṇô.*
[3] Metre : a mixture of Upêndravajrâ and Vasantatilakâ.
[4] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
[5] Metre : Sragdharâ. The last Pâda does not contain the proper cæsuras.
[6] Metre : Upajâti. [7] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[8] Wrong for -*grâmâḥ*. The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical.
[9] All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfluous. In some places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.
[10] Read -*ddattvâ.* [11] Read °*lâî*. [12] I. e. *grâmâḥ.*

29 râlagitvâ[1] sarvvad=âpi varshaṁ prati Bhâdrapadê dâtavyau | ataḥ ûrddh[v*]aṁ kên=âpi paripaṁthanâ na karttavyâ |

30 [2]Asmad-vaṁśê vyatikrâṁtê yô=nyaḥ kô=pi bhavishyati [|*] tasy=âhaṁ karê lagnô[3] na lôpya[ṁ*] mama śâsanaṁ || [9*] Shashṭhi[ṁ][4] va-

31 rsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati dâyakaḥ | âchchhêttâ ch=ânuma[ṁ]tâ cha tâny=êva narakaṁ[5] vasêt || [10*] Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ

Second Plate; Second Side.[6]

32 bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || [11*]

33 Sva-hastô=yaṁ mahârâjaputra-śrî-**Kîrttipâlasya** || Naigamânvaya-kâyastha-Sôḍha-naptâ Śubhaṁkaraḥ |

34 Dâmôdara-sutô=lêkhi[7] śâsanaṁ dharmma-śâsanaṁ || [12*] Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ||

C.—SUNDHÂ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHÂCHIGADÊVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1319.

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the **Sundhâ Hill**, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jôdhpur State of Râjputâna.[8] I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3′ 3″ broad by 1′ 7½″ high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2′ 10″ broad by 1′ 5″ high. The size of the letters is about ½″ on the first stone, and between ⅜ and 7/16″ on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nâmvasiṁha, a son of the physician Vijayapâla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sûtradhâra* Jisapâla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskṛit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *saṁvat 1319* in line 48, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śasya-*, l. 16, *śravaṁtî*, l. 19, *sahaśrâṁśu-* (for *sahasrâṁśu-*), l. 22, *śalila-*, l. 23, *śitaḥ*, l. 25, and *śitâṁśu-* (for *sitâṁśu-*), l. 37; *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayûsha-* (for *mayûkha-*), l. 10, and *pîyûkha-* (for *pîyûsha-*), l. 41; the *î* of *śrî* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrî-Âśârâja-*, l. 21, *śrî-Udayasiṁha-*, l. 35, and *śrî-Aparâjitêśa-*, l. 43; *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhalêna*, l. 7, and *chchhâyayâ*, l. 8; and the sign of *avagraha* is employed in *Saṁḍêrê ऽrka*, l. 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrîkarî*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *gupyadguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrîkarî-saptaka-vâdi-*), the former[9] may denote some kind of musical instrument; and as a *gupyadguru* must be

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[1] Read °*râl=lagitvâ*, 'commencing from the current year.'

[2] Metre of this verse and the rest: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[3] Read *lagnô=smi*. [4] Read *shashṭiṁ*. [5] Read *narakê*.

[6] Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

[7] The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alêkhît*.

[8] I owe this information to Mr. Ojha.

[9] From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrîkarî* occurs in the *Uttamacharitrakathânakam*, l. 234 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie*, 1884, Part I. p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female singer.'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalaśa* can be placed,[1] the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *kêli*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhûsphôṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugalî*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tâmbûlîya*, 'an areca-nut,' in verse 21; *bandhu* and *bândhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20; and a cousin is described as *pitṛivyaja-tayâ bândhava, i.e.* 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *praśasti*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *sûri* Jayamaṅgala (Jayamaṅgalâchârya), who belonged to the Bṛihad-gachchha and was a disciple of Râmachandra, himself a disciple of Dêvâchârya.[2] And its primary object is to glorify the **Châhamâna chief Châchigadêva,** during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes **a date**[3] **in the month of Vaiśâkha of the [Vikrama] year 1319,** falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the **Châhamânas of Naddûla** generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu's (*i.e.* Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pârvatî or Chaṇḍikâ to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero **Châhamâna,** a source of joy to the great *Ṛishi* **Vatsa.**[4] In his lineage there were :—

(1.) The lord of **Naddûla, king Lakshmaṇa,** who was a **Śâkambharî** prince[5] (vv. 5 and 6).

(2.) His son **Śôbhita** (v. 7; the Sôhiya and Sôbhita of A. and B.). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain **Arbuda.**[6]

(3.) His son **Balirâja** (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of **Muñjarâja,** *i.e.* the Paramâra Vâkpatirâja II. Amôghavarsha of Mâlava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.

(4.) His paternal uncle's son **Mahîndu** (v. 9).— He is the Mahêndra of A. and B., the son of Vigrahapâla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahêndra or Mahîndra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Râshṭrakûṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.

(5.) His son **Aśvapâla** (vv. 10 and 11; omitted in A. and B.).

(6.) His son **Ahila** (vv. 12 and 13; likewise omitted in A. and B.). He defeated an army of the **Gûrjara king Bhîma,** *i.e.* the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I. of Aṇahilapâṭaka.

(7.) His paternal uncle **Aṇahilla** (vv. 14-17; in A. and B. described as the son of Mahêndra). He also defeated the king **Bhîma** (Bhîmadêva I.); took **Śâkambharî;** and slew

[1] See verses 26 and 27.

[2] He is described as *śrîkarî-saptaka-vâdin* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śrîkarîs*.'

[3] The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akshaya-tṛitîyâ* or third *tithi* of the bright half of the month Mâdhava (Vaiśâkha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

[4] According to the inscription of Luṇṭigadêva treated of under D. the holy Vachchha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Châhumâna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sômêśvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Sâmanta, the first Châhumâna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gôtra* at Ahichchhattrapura.

[5] The original has *Śâkambharîndra*. It will be seen below under D. that Lakshmaṇa most probably had the epithet *Śâkambharî-māṇikya*, 'the jewel of Śâkambharî.' Mr. Ojha tells me that a Châhamâna even now will be addressed as *Sambharîrâja*, 'Śâkambharî prince.'

[6] *I.e.* Mount Âbû. With the expression *Himâdri-bhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himavataḥ sûnuḥ* in the unpublished Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalâta; *Himagiri-tanayaḥ* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurîvaraśvaśura-bhûdhara-sambhava* above, Vol. VIII. p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramâra family treated of in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pûrṇapâla, above, p. 10.

(or defeated) **Sâḍha**, a general of the **Mâlava** king **Bhôja** (*i.e.* the Paramâra Bhôjadêva), and the **Turushka**.

(8.) His son **Bâlaprasâda** (vv. 18 and 19; omitted in B.). He forced the king **Bhîma** (Bhîmadêva I.) to release from prison a king named **Kṛishṇadêva**.— This Kṛishṇadêva most probably is the Paramâra Kṛishṇarâja (the son of Dhandhuka[1] and grandson of (?) Dêvarâja), of whom we have two inscriptions at Bhinmâl (Śrîmâla), dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067 (Nos. 689 and 690 of my *Northern List*).

(9.) His brother **Jindurâja** (vv. 20 and 21; the Jêndrarâja of A. and B.). He fought victoriously at **Saṇḍêra** (the modern Sanderao in the Jôdhpur State, south-west of Nadol).

(10.) His son **Pṛithvîpâla** (vv. 22 and 23; omitted in B.). He defeated an army of the **Gûrjara** king **Karṇa**, *i.e.* Bhîmadêva's son and successor Karṇa Trailôkyamalla.

(11.) His brother **Yôjaka** (vv. 24 and 25; the Jôjalla of A., omitted in B.). He by force occupied **Aṇahillapura** (Aṇahilapâṭaka).

(12.) His brother **Âśârâja** (vv. 26-30; in B. described as the son of Jêndrarâja). He pleased **Siddhâdhirâja**, *i.e.* Karṇa's son and successor Jayasiṁha Siddharâja, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of **Mâlava**, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him.

With the account of Âśârâja ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *ôṁ*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v. 31) praying for the blessing of Śambhu (Śiva), 'the crest of the **Sugandhâdri**,'[2] *i.e.* the mountain **Sugandha**, which clearly is the Sundhâ Hill where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that Âśârâja's son was —

(13.) **Âhlâdana** (vv. 32 and 33; the Âlhaṇadêva of A. and B.). His assistance was sought by the **Gûrjara** king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of **Surâshṭra** (*girau Saurâshṭrê*). He built a Śiva temple at **Naddûla**.— We have seen above that the two inscriptions A. and B., which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A.D. 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son Kêlhaṇa), apparently as a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, in the Kerâḍu fragmentary inscription of Kumârapâla's reign which is dated in A.D. 1153 (No. 133 of my *Northern List*).

(14.) His son **Kêlhaṇa** (v. 34). He defeated the southern king **Bhilima**, and after destroying the **Turushka** erected a golden *tôraṇa*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sômêśa.'— For the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Kêlhaṇa I have given above, p. 68, note 1, a date in A.D. 1165. The southern king Bhilima, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Bhillama, whose Gadag inscription is dated in A.D. 1191 (No. 334 of my *Southern List*).

(15.) His brother **Kîrtipâla** (vv. 35 and 36). He defeated a **Kirâtakûṭa** chief named **Âsala**, and at **Kâsahrada** routed an army of the **Turushka**. As ruler of the kingdom of **Naddûla** he took up his residence at **Jâvâlipura**.— Of the places here mentioned Kirâtakûṭa is Kerâḍu, according to *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* p. 172,[3] 'a small village near Hâthamo under Bâḍamera' (Bârmer) in the Jôdhpur State. Jâvalipura, to which Kîrtipâla transferred his residence, is the

[1] He apparently is the Paramâra Dhandhu, who according to an inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Âbû which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from Bhîmadêva I. to king Bhôja, the lord of Dhârâ (*i.e.* Bhôjadêva of Mâlava).

[2] I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of Śiva on the mountain Sugandha.

[3] In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Kirâṭakûpa*.— According to the *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 265, 'Kherâru' is about 20 miles west of Bârmer.

town of Jâlor in the same State. A place named Kâsahrada has been identified by the late Prof. Bühler[1] with Kâsandra or Kâsandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Ḍholkâ to Palitânâ, in Long. 72° 11′, Lat. 22° 19′; but the Kâsahrada of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol.— According to verse 41 Kîrtipâla's daughter **Rûdaladêvî** built two temples of Śiva at Jâvâlipura.

(16.) His son **Samarasiṁha** (vv. 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the **Kanakâchala** (or 'gold hill') and founded the town of **Samarapura**.— This town I am unable to identify. *Kanakâchala* according to Mr. Ojha is the name of the fort[2] of Jâlor which, he informs me, is locally known as 'Sonalgarh,' and the *Sauvarṇa-giri* of Jâvâlipura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Âbû.[3] In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr. Ojha has sent me a quotation, it is called *Kâñchana-gaḍha*.— Samarasiṁha clearly is the *Châhu[mâna*]-râṇa[ka*]-Samarasîha*, whose daughter **Lîlâdêvî** was the (or a) queen of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II.[4]

(17.) His son **Udayasiṁha** (vv. 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled 'the glorious **Naddûla**, the glorious **Jâvâlipura**, **Mâṇḍavyapura**, **Vâgbhaṭamêru**, **Sûrâchaṇḍa**, **Râṭahrada**, **Khêḍa**, **Râmasainya**, **Śrîmâla**, **Ratnapura**, **Satyapura**, and other places.'— With the exception of Mâṇḍavyapura and Râṭahrada the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Râjputâna Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nádol, Jálor, Barmer, Suráchand, Kher (between Tilwára and Bálotra), Rámsen, Bhínmâl, Ratanpura and Sánchor. Mâṇḍavyapura is Mandor, according to the *Râjputâna Gazetteer* three miles from Jôdhpur; Râṭahrada I cannot identify.— Udayasiṁha's queen was **Prahlâdanadêvî**, who bore to him two sons, **Châchigadêva** and **Châmuṇḍarâja**. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he curbed the pride of the **Turushka**, was not to be conquered by the **Gûrjara** kings, and put an end to the **Sindhu** king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bharata[5] and others, and built two Śiva temples at **Jâvâlipura**.— Udayasiṁha clearly is identical with the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Udayasiṁhadêva of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bhinmâl (Nos. 697-699 of my *Northern List*) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A.D. 1205, A.D. 1218, and about A.D. 1248; and also with the *Mahârâjakula* Udayasiṁhadêva, for whom I have given a date, falling in A.D. 1249, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 175, No. 115. He was succeeded by—

(18.) his son[6] **Châchigadêva** (vv. 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as 'destroying the roaring **Gûrjara lord Vîrama**, hating the enemy **Śalya**, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking (or leaping) **Pâtuka**, depriving of his colour **Saṅga**, and a thunderbolt to the mountain— the furious **Nahara**.' As will be seen from this translation, the words *śalya*,[7] *pâtuka* and *saṅga* of the original must in my opinion, like *vîrama* and *nahara*, be taken as proper names; but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as 'Gûrjara lord,' **Vîrama** appears clearly to be the Vâghêlâ Vîramadêva, the son of Vîradhavala and elder brother of Vîsaladêva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasiṁha of Jâvâlipura,[8] and

[1] See his paper on the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana* of Arisiṁha, p. 25. For another identification of Kâsahrada see above, Vol. VIII. p. 206, note 2.

[2] For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 260.

[3] Line 33 of No. 1722 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[4] See the plates of Bhîmadêva II. (of A.D. 1206) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 195, Plate ii. line 1.

[5] *I.e.* apparently the *Bhâratîya-nâṭyaśâstra*.

[6] Udayasiṁha's other son Châmuṇḍarâja is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Châmuṇḍarâja whose name occurs under No. 703 of my *Northern List*.

[7] *Śalya* probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavaṇaprasâda, also in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 27, verse 19.—In our inscription the name may be *Śatruśalya*; compare Prof. Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 1510.

[8] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190. Compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 203, where Jâbâlipura has been taken to be Jabalpur.

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Châchigadêva.— The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrîmâla he remitted certain taxes, and at **Râmasainya** he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vigrahâditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kumbha*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparâjitêśa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mêkhalâ*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śâlâ*) with a car (*ratha*) richly decked with precious stones. Châchigadêva visited the **Sugandhâdri**, worshipped there the goddess Châmuṇḍâ, known by the name Aghaṭêśvarî, and at her temple established a *maṇḍapa* which was consecrated by the Brâhmaṇs on the *akshaya-tṛitîyâ* of the month Vaiśâkha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Châchigadêva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhinmâl inscriptions Nos. 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahârâjakula* Châchiga or Châchigadêva.

I may add that Châchigadêva is mentioned, under the name **Châcha**, in line 8 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Rûpâdêvî, published by me above, Vol. IV. p. 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Châva*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhâ Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Châcha*. This **Châcha** is called a Châhumâna in Rûpâdêvî's inscription and described as the son of Udayasiṁha[1] and grandson of Samarasiṁha, which exactly fits our Châchigadêva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Châcha's wife was **Lakshmîdêvî**, and that this lady bore to him **Rûpâdêvî**, who became the wife of a king **Têjasiṁha** (to whom she bore a son named **Kshêtrasiṁha**) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the *Mahârâjakula* **Sâmyantasiṁhadêva**.[2]

TEXT.[3]

First Stone.

1 || Ôṁ[4] || [5]Śvêtâṁbhôj-âtapatraṁ kim=u Giri-duhituḥ Svastaṭinyâ gavâkshaḥ kiṁ vâ saukhy-âsanaṁ vâ mahimamukhamahâsiddhidêvî-gaṇasya | trailôkyânaṁda-hêtôḥ kim=uditam=anaghaṁ ślâghya-nakshatram=uchchaiḥ Śaṁbhôr=bhâlasthal-êṁduḥ sukṛitikṛita-

2 nutiḥ pâtu vô râjya-lakshmîṁ || 1 [6]Îśasy=âṁk-âvanir=anupamânaṁdasaṁdôha-mûlâ chaṁchadvâsôṁchaladalamayî bhûshaṇa-prauḍhapushyâ(shpâ) | sallâvaṇyôdaya-suphalinî Pârvvatîprêma-vallî lakshmîṁ pushṇâtv= anu-dinam=ativyakta-bhaktyâ natânâṁ || 2 [7]Vikaṭamukuṭa-mâdyattêja-

3 sâ vyômni daityân=iva bhuvi maṇimayyâ mêkhalâyâḥ kvaṇêna | anaṇuraṇita-lîlâhaṁsakais=trâsayaṁtî phaṇipatibhuvan-âṁtaś=Chaṁḍikâ vaḥ śriyê=stu || 3 [8]Śrîmad-Vatsamaharshi-harshanayanôdbhûtâṁvu(bu)pûraprabha-[9]pûrvvôrvvîd h a r a - maulimukhyaśikharâlaṁkâra-tigmadyutiḥ | pṛithvîṁ trâtu-

4 m=apâsta-daityatimiraḥ śrî-Châhamânaḥ purâ vîraḥ kshîrasamudrasôdara-yaśôrâśiprakâśô=bhavat || 4 [10]Ratn-âvalyâm=iva nṛipa-tatau tat-kramê viśrutâyâṁ

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[1] The proper relation to Udayasiṁha of the Mânavasiṁha who is mentioned in my account of Rûpâdêvî's inscription, above, Vol. IV. p. 313, will be given below, under D.

[2] So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos. 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sâmvatasiṁhadêva*.

[3] From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

[4] Denoted by a symbol.

[5] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[6] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[7] Metre: Mâlinî.

[8] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[9] Originally °*prabhâ* was engraved, but the sign for *â* has been struck out.

[10] Metre of verses 5 and 6: Mandâkrântâ.

dharmmasthânaprakarakaraṇa-prâptapuṇyôtsavâyâṁ | śrî-**Naddûl-âdhipatir=abhaval=Lakshmaṇô** nâma

5 râjâ Lakshmîlîlâsadanasadṛiśâkâra- **Śâkaṁbhar-îṁdraḥ** || 5 Â pâtâlât=samara-jaladhiṁ Maṁdarô yasya khaḍgô mushṭi-vyâjâd=bhujagapatinâ śṛiṁkhalên=âvava(ba)ddhaḥ | nirmmathy=ôchchaiḥ sapadi Kamalâṁ lîlay=ôddhṛittya(tya) mattaś=chakrê nṛittaṁ raṇita-kaṭakaḥ kêlikaṁ-

6 pa-chchhalêna || 6 [1]Tasmâd=**Dhimâdribhavanâtha**-yaśôpahârî śrî-**Śôbhitô**=jani nṛipô=sya tanûdbhavô=tha | gâṁbhîryadhairya-sadanaṁ **Va(ba)lirâjadêvô** yô **Muṁjarâja**-va(ba)la-bhaṁgam=achîkarat=taṁ || 7 [2]Sâmrâjy-âśâkarêṇuṁ ripunṛipatigaja-stômam=âkramya jahrê yat-khaḍgô gaṁ-

7 dhahastî samararasa-bharê **Viṁdhya**śailâyamânê | muktâśuktîṁdukâṁt-ôjjvalaruchishu lasatkîrtti-**Rêvâ**taṭêshu prauḍhânaṁdôpachâr-ôlvaṇapulakatatiḥ pushkarâṇâṁ chchhalêna[3] || 8 [4]Tatpitṛivyajatay=âtha vâṁ(bâṁ)dhavaḥ śrî-**Mahîṁdur**=ajanishṭa bhûpatiḥ | yat-kṛipâṇa-

8 latikâm=upêyushâṁ chchhâyayâ[5] virahitaṁ mukhaṁ dvishâṁ || 9 Jajñê[6] kâṁtas=tad=anu cha bhuvas=**tat-tanûjô**=**śvapâlaḥ** kâlaḥ krûrê dvishi su-charitê pûrṇṇachaṁdrâyamâṇaḥ | yaḥ saṁlagnô na khalu tamasâ n=aiva dôshâkar-âtmâ têjô-**muktaḥ** kvachid=api na yaḥ kiṁcha mitr-ô-

9 dayêshu || 10 [7]Kêyûrâgranivishṭaratnanikara-prôdyatprabhâḍaṁva(ba)ra-vyaktaṁ saṁgararaṁga-maṁḍapatalê yaṁ vairi-lakshmîḥ śritâ | vîrêshu prasṛitêshu têshu rajasâ nîtêshu durllakshyatâṁ lavdhô(bdhô)pâyava(ba)l=âpi nirmmala-guṇair=vaśyâ praśasy-âkṛitiḥ || 11 Pu-[8]

10 tras=tasy=**Âhila** iti nṛipas=tanmayûsha(kha)-chchhalêna srashṭâ yasya vyadhita yaśasâṁ têjasâṁ tôlanaṁ nu | **Gaṁgâ**tôlê śaśi-tapanayôr=daṁbhataś=chârucheêlê madhyasthâyidhruvamisha-lasatkaṁṭakê kautukêna || 12 [9]**Gûrjarâdhipati-Bhîma**-bhûbhujaḥ sainya-pûram=a-

11 jayad=raṇêshu yaḥ [|*] **Śaṁbhu**vat=**Tripura**-saṁbhavaṁ va(ba)laṁ vâḍavô=nala iv=âṁvu(bu)dhêr=jalaṁ || 13 [10]Sainyâkrâṁt-âkhilavasumatîmaṁḍalas=tat-pitṛivyaḥ śrîmân râj=âbhavad=atha jit-ârâtimallô=**ṇahillaḥ** | **Bhîma**-kshôṇîpati-gajaghaṭâ yêna bhagnâ raṇ-âgrê hṛidyârth-âṁbhôni-

12 dhi-**Raghu**-kṛitê ch=êha paṁktiḥ khalânâṁ || 14 Aṁbhôjâni[11] mukhâny=ahô mṛigadṛiśâṁ chaṁdr-ôdayânâṁ mudô Lakshmîr=yatra narôttamânusaraṇavyâpâra-pâraṁgamâ | yânâni prasabhaṁ śubhâni śikhari-śrêṇ=îva gupyadguru-stômô[12] yasya narêśvarasya tulanâṁ sên=âṁ-

13 vu(bu)râśêr=dadhau || 15 Urvvîrut[13] viṭapâvalaṁva(ba)-sugṛihîharmyêshu datvâ[14] dṛiśaṁ dhyât-âtyaṁtamanôharâkṛitinijaprâsâdavâtâyanaḥ | bhûsphôṭâni vanâṁtarêshu vitatâny=âlôkya hâhêti-vâk sasmâr=âtapavâraṇâni śataśô yad-vairirâjavraja-

14 ḥ || 16 Dṛishṭaḥ kair=na **Chaturbhujaḥ** sa samarê **Śâkaṁbharîṁ** yô va(ba)lâj=jagrâh=ânu jaghâna **Mâlava-patêr=Bhôjasya Sâḍh-âhvayaṁ** | daṁḍ-âdhîśam=apâra-sainyavibhavaṁ tîvraṁ **Turushkaṁ** cha yaḥ sâkshâd=**Vishṇur**=asâ[dha]nîya-yaśasâ śṛiṁgâritâ yêna bhûḥ || 17 Jajñê[15] bhûbhṛit=tad=a-

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[1] Metre: Vasantatilakâ. [2] Metre: Sragdharâ. [3] Read *chhalêna*.

[4] Metre: Rathôddhatâ. [5] Read *chhâyayâ*. [6] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[7] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[8] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.—I am unable to explain this verse. See above, p. 70.

[9] Metre: Rathôddhatâ. [10] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[11] Metre of verses 15-17: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[12] The exact meaning of the word *gupyadguru* is unknown to me; it occurs again in verses 26 and 27. See above, p. 71.

[13] Read *urvvîrudvi°*. [14] Read *dattvâ*. [15] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

15 nu tanayas=tasya **Vâ(bâ)laprasâdô** **Bhîma**-kshmâbhṛich-charaṇayugalîmarddana-vyâjatô yaḥ | kurvan pîḍâm=ativa(ba)latayâ môchayâmâsa kârâgârâd=bhûmîpatim=api tathâ **Kṛishṇadêv**-âbhidhânaṁ || 18 Śrîkaryô[1] jalada-bhramaṁ dadhur=ahô sainyê=sya sê-

16 vârasâyâtartu-pratimê samujvala-paṭâ[2] vâsâ marâla-śriyaṁ | kampaṁ vâyu-vaśêna kêtu-nivahâ śa(sa)sy-ânukâraṁ cha tê[3] saṁgîtâni cha kôkilârava-tulâṁ chittê tu tâpaṁ dvishaḥ || 19 [4]Śrîmâṁs=tasy=âjani narapatir=vâṁ(bâṁ)dhavô **Jiṁdurâjô** yaḥ **Saṁḍêrê**

17 śrka[5] iva timiraṁ vairi-vṛiṁdaṁ vi(bi)bhêda | yasya jyôtiḥ-prakaram=abhitô vidvishaḥ kauśik-âbhâ drashṭuṁ śaktâ na hi giriguhâ-madhyam=adhyâśritâs=tat || 20 Gachchhaṁtînâṁ ripu-mṛigadṛiśâṁ bhûshaṇânâṁ prapâtê vâshp-âsârair=ghanatati-tulâṁ vi(bi)bhratînâm=araṇyê | dûrvvâ-

18 bhrâṁtiṁ marakatamaṇi- śrêṇayô yat-prayâṇê tâṁvû(bû)lîya-bhramam=iva chiraṁ chakrirê padmarâgâḥ || 21 Pṛithvîṁ[6] pâlayituṁ pavitramatimân yaḥ karshukânâṁ[7] karaṁ muṁchan prâpa yaśâṁsi kuṁda-dhavalâny=ânaṁdahṛidy-ânanaḥ | **Pṛithvîpâla** iti dhruvaṁ kshiti-

19 patis=tasy=âṁgajanm=âbhavat=pratyakshôrunidhiḥ[8] sa **Gûrjara**-patêḥ **Karṇṇasya** sainy-âpahaḥ || 22 Yat-sênâ kila kâmadhênu-sadṛiśî kîrttiṁ śra(sra)vaṁtî payaḥ svachchhaṁdaṁ sacharâcharê=pi bhuvanê śatrûṁs=tṛiṇîkurvatî | dharmaṁ vatsam=iva svakîyam=anaghaṁ vṛiddhiṁ nayaṁtî

20 mudâ kasy=ânaṁda-karî va(ba)bhûva na bhuvô=bhîshṭaṁ samâtanvatî || 23 [9]Śrî-**Yôjakô** bhûpatir=asya vaṁ(baṁ)dhur=vivêkasaudha-prava(ba)lapratâpaḥ | śvêt-âtapatrêṇa virâjamânaḥ śakty=**Âṇahillâkhyapurê**=pi rêmê || 24 Tyaktvâ[10] saudham=udâra-kêlivipinaṁ krîḍ-â-

21 chalê dîrghikâṁ palyaṁk-âśrayaṇaṁ karêṇushu mudâṁ sthânaṁ samaṁtâd=api | yasy=ârikshitipâla-vâ(bâ)lalalanâḥ śailê vanê nirjharê sthûlagrâva-śirassu saṁsmṛitim=aguḥ pûrvôpabhukta-śriyâṁ || 25 [11]Śrî-**Âśârâja**-nâmâ samajani vasudhâ-nâyakas=ta-

22 sya vaṁ(baṁ)dhuḥ sâhâyyaṁ **Mâlavânâṁ** bhuvi yadasi-kṛitaṁ vîkshya **Siddhâdhirâjaḥ** | tushṭô dhattê sma kuṁbhaṁ kanakamayam=ahô yasya gupyadguru-sthaṁ taṁ hartuṁ n=aiva śaktaḥ kalushita-hṛidayaḥ śêshabhûpâla-vâgbhiḥ || 26 [12]Udayagiriśiraḥ-sthaṁ kiṁ sahaśrâṁśu-viṁvaṁ[13]

23 vitata-viśadakîrttêr=mûrddhni kiṁ nu pratâpaḥ | upari subhagatâyâ udgatâ maṁjarî kiṁ kanaka-kalaśa âbhâd=yasya gupyadguru-sthaḥ || 27 Kanakaruchi-śarîraḥ śailasâr-âbhirâmaḥ phaṇipati-mahanîyasy=âvatâraḥ sa **Vishṇôḥ** | śa(sa)lilanidhi-su-

24 tâyâ maṁdirê skaṁdha-dêśê dadhad=avanim=udârâm=agrimaḥ puṇya-mûrttiḥ || 28 [14]Sattrâgâra-taḍâga-kânana-Haraprâsâda-vâpî-prapâ-kûp-âdîni vinirmmamê dvijajan-ânaṁdî kshamâ-maṁḍalê | dharmmasthâna-śatâni yaḥ kila vu(bu)dha-śrêṇîshu

[1] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.— Originally *śrîkiryô* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrîkaryô*. The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70.

[2] Read *samujjvala-*.

[3] Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out.

[4] Metre of verses 20 and 21: Mandâkrântâ.

[5] The sign of *avagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

[6] Metre of verses 22 and 23: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] Read *karshukâṇâṁ* (for the ordinary *karshakâṇâṁ*).

[8] This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading may be *pratyakshô=mbunidhiḥ*.

[9] Metre: Upajâti.

[10] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[12] Metre of verses 27 and 28: Mâlinî.

[13] Read *sahasrâṁśu-bimbaṁ*.

[14] Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

25 kalpadrumaḥ kas=tasy=êṁdutushâraśaila-dhavalaṁ stôtuṁ yaśaḥ kôvidaḥ || 29 Śvêtâny=êva. yaśâṁsi tuṁgaturaga-stômaḥ śi(si)taḥ subhruvâṁ chaṁchanmauktika-bhûshaṇâni dhavalâny=uchchaiḥ samagrâṇy=api | prêmâlâpa-bhavaṁ smitaṁ cha viśadaṁ śubhrâ-

26 ṇi vastraukasâṁ vṛiṁdân=îti nṛipasya yasya pṛitanâ Kailâsa-lakshmîṁ śritâ || 30 Praśastir=iyaṁ Vṛi(bṛi)hadgachchhîya-śrî-Jayamaṁgalâchârya-kṛitiḥ || Bhishag-Vijayapâla-putra-Nâmvasiṁhêna likhitâ | Sûtra-[1]Jisapâla-putra-Jisaraviṇâ[2] utkîrṇṇâ ||

Second Stone.

27 || Ôṁ[3] || [4]Jaṭâ-mûlê Gaṁgâprava(ba)lalaharîpûrakuhanâ-samunmîlachchhatraprakara[5] iva namrêshu nṛipatâṁ | pradâtuṁ śrî-Śaṁbhuḥ sakalabhuvan-âdhîśvaratayâ tayâ vâ dêyâd=vaḥ śubham=iha **Sugaṁdhâdri-mukuṭaḥ** || 31 [6]**Âśârâja-kshitipa-tanayaḥ** śrî-

28 mad-**Âhlâdan-âhvô** jajñê bhûbhṛid=bhuvana-viditaś=**Châhamânasya** vaṁśê | śrî-**Naddûlê** Śivabhavana-kṛid=dharmmasarvasva-vêttâ yat-sâhâyyaṁ pratipadam=ahô **Gûrjjarêśaś**=chakâṁksha || 32 [7]Chaṁchatkêtakachaṁpaka-pravilasattâlîtamâlâguru-sphûrjjachchaṁda-

29 nanâlikêrakadalîdrâkshâmra-kamrê girau | **Saurâshṭrê** kuṭilôgrakaṁṭakabhid-âtyuddâmakîrttês=tadâ yasy=âbhûd=abhimâna-bhâsuratayâ sênâcharâṇâṁ ravaḥ || 33 [8]Śrîmâṁs=tasy=âṁgaja iha nṛipaḥ **Kêlhaṇô** dakshiṇâśâdhîś-ôdaṁchad-**Bhili-**

30 **ma**-nṛipatêr=mânahṛit-sainyasiṁdhuḥ | nirbhidy=ôchchaiḥ prava(ba)la-kalitaṁ yas=**Turushkaṁ** vyadhatta śrîSômêśâspadamukuṭavat=tôraṇaṁ kâṁchanasya || 34 [9]Bhrât=âsya prava(ba)lapratâpa-nilayaḥ śrî-**Kîrttipâlô**=bhavad=bhû-nâthaḥ pratipakshapârthivachamûdâv-âṁvu(bu)vâh-ô-

31 pamaḥ | yat-khaḍgâṁvu(bu)nidhau hat-ârikariṇâṁ kuṁbhasthalîbhyaḥ ksharan=muktânâṁ nikarô marâla-lalitaṁ dhattê sma dhâr-âśrayaḥ || 35 Yô durddâṁta-**Kirâtakûṭa**-nṛipatiṁ bhittvâ śarair=**Âsalaṁ** tasmin=**Kâsahradê**[10] **Turushka**-nikaraṁ jitvâ raṇa-prâṁgaṇê | śrî-**Jâvâli-**

32 **purê** sthitiṁ vyarachayan=**Naddûlarâjy**-êśvaraś=chiṁtâratna-nibhaḥ samagra-vidushâṁ niḥsîmasainy-âdhipaḥ || 36 [11]**Śrî-Samarasiṁhadêvas**=tat-tanayaḥ kshôṇimaṁḍal-âdhipatiḥ | **Iṁdra** iva vivu(bu)dhahṛiday-ânaṁdî purushôttamô Harivat || 37 Prâkâraḥ[12] **Kanakâ-**

33 **chalê** virachitô yên=êha puṇy-âtmanâ nânâyaṁtramanôjña-kôshṭa(shṭha)katatir=vidyâdharîśîrshavân [| *] kiṁ Śêshaḥ phaṇavṛiṁdamêdura-tanur=vakshaḥsthalê vâ bhuvô hâraḥ kiṁ bhramaṇa-śramâd=uḍu-gaṇaḥ kiṁ v=aisha bhêjê sthitiṁ || 38 [13]Kamala-vanam=iv=êdaṁ vapraśîrshâli-daṁ-

34 bhân=nikhilavipuladêśaśrî-samâkarshaṇâya | likhitaviśadaviṁduśrêṇivan=mattavairi-kshitipativiphalâjistôma-saṁkhyânimittaṁ || 39 Tôlayâmâsa[14] yaḥ svarṇṇair=âtmânaṁ sôma-parvaṇi | ârâma-ramyaṁ **Samarapuraṁ** yaḥ kṛitavân=atha || 40

35 [15]**Śrî-Kîrttipâlabhûpati**-putrî **Jâvâlipura**varê chakrê | śrî-**Rûdaladêvî** Śivamaṁdira-yugalaṁ pavitra-matiḥ || 41 **Śrî-Samarasiṁhadêvasya** naṁdanaḥ prava(ba)-

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[1] I.e. *sûtradhâra-*; compare the same abbreviation *e.g.* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 243, l. 27, and above, Vol. III. p. 304, l. 5.

[2] Read °*ṇ=ôt*°.

[3] Denoted by a symbol.

[4] Metre: Śikhariṇî.

[5] Read °*chchhattraprakara*.

[6] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[7] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[8] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[9] Metre of verses 35 and 36: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[10] Here the *a* of the second syllable is (before *hr*) treated as a short vowel; see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII. p. 226.

[11] Metre: Âryâ.

[12] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[13] Metre: Mâlinî.

[14] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[15] Metre of verses 41 and 42: Âryâ (*pathyâ* and *âdi-vipulâ*).

Then there came **Lakshmaṇa,** who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddûla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śâkambharî*; and it is certain that Lakshmaṇa is described in the verse as king of **Naddûla,** and highly probable that he is spoken of as **Śâkambharî-mâṇikya,** 'the jewel of Śâkambharî.'[1] After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' **Balirâja,**[2] and Balirâja's 'son,' whose name I read as **Sôhî,**[3] regarding this to be another form of the name Sôhiya (Sôbhita, Śôbhita) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, Sôhiya was Lakshmaṇa's son, and his son again was Balirâja; the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate **Mahîndu,**[4] **Jindurâja,**[5] **Âśarâja, Âlhaṇa, Kîrtipâla** and **Samarasiṁha.** From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the Châhamânas of Naddûla from Mahîndu to Samarasiṁha, except that, between Mahîndu and Jindurâja, Aṇahilla, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted.— So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samarasiṁha, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called **Udayasiṁha,** who also is already known to us from the inscription C., succeeded him in the government. Udayasiṁha's elder brother[6] was **Mânavasiṁha** (v. 20); his son was **Pratâpa** (v. 21), and his son **Vîjaḍa,** also named **Daśasyandana**[7] (v. 22). This chief married **Nâmalladêvî** (v. 23), who bore to him four sons — **Lâvaṇyakarṇa, Luṇḍha,**[8] **Lakshmaṇa,** and **Lûṇavarman** (v. 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When Lâvaṇyakarṇa died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly **Luṇṭigadêva,** in verse 28 **Luṇṭiga,** in verse 30 **Luṇḍhâgara,** and in the prose passage in line 29 **Lûṇṭâgara. Luṇṭiga** conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly **Chandrâvatî** and the divine territory of **Arbuda** (*Arbuda-divya-dêśaṁ*, v. 27). On the mountain Arbuda he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of Achalêśvara. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of **Hêṭhuñjî**[9] (v. 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that **in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, in the Kshaya-saṁvatsara,** Luṇṭiga, described as the *Mahârâjakula*, the glorious **Lûṇṭâgara,** resided at **[Vû ?]huṇḍha which belonged to Chandrâvatî.**[10] This date regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kârttikâdi*

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[1] The Translation, after Lakshmaṇa, mentions "the hero, named Mâṇikya, whose distinguished capital was Śâkambharî;" but this is erroneous.

[2] The Translation has Adhirâja instead.

[3] The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is: *Sôhî-saṁjña[s=ta]tô vaṁśê śôbhî bhûmau hi tat-suta[ḥ]*.—The name *Sôhi* occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, l. 13.

[4] The original actually has *Mahidu*.

[5] The Translation has Sindhurâjâ, Kulaviverddhana, Prabhurâsa Râjâ (derived from the actual reading *prabhur=Âsarâja*), Dandana (for Âlhaṇa), Kîrtipâla and Samarasinha.

[6] According to the Translation Mânavasiṁha was Udayasiṁha's son; but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning Udayasiṁha, clearly has: *yô vai parô dâna-guṇair=garishṭhas=tasy=âgrajô Mânavasiṁha-nâmâ*.

[7] *I.e.* Daśaratha. The original text of verse 22 is: *Tasy=âtmajô ऽpû[r]vaguṇ-âdhivâsa [â]sî(sî)d=Daśasyaṁdana-nâma[dhâ(dhê)?]yaḥ* [।*] *va(ba)sâ(bhâ)ra vîjâni tu Vîjaḍô yô(yaś=)chatvâri râjyâya Harêḥ prasâdât* । (॥). I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vîjaḍa*. The name Daśasyandana (Daśaratha) may have been given to him because, like Râma's father Daśaratha, he, according to the account here given, had four sons.—Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 215, v. 18.

[8] The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

[9] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 222, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount Âbû inscription (No. 1794 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Hêṭhaûṁjî*.

[10] The text has: *saṁvat* 1377 *varshê Vai[śâ]kha-śudi* 8 *Sômê Kshaya-saṁvatsarê* ऽ*dy=êha Chaṁdrâvatî-prativa(ba)ddha-[Vû?]huṁḍha-samâvâsita-mahârâjakula-śrî-Lûṁṭâgarê Chaṁdrâvatî-prabhṛiti-dêśêshu tathâ* . . . . .

Vikrama year 1377, to **Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321**, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise; the day did fall in the Jovian year **Kshaya**, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321.

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known **Arbuda** or Mount Âbû, **Chandrâvatî** according to the *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banâs river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Luṇṭiga from the Paramâras.[1] **Hêṭhuñjî** is the small village of 'Hetamji' on Mount Âbû.[2] **Vûhuṇdha**— if this is really the name— I am unable to identify.

On Mount Âbû there are at least two other inscriptions,[3] of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Luṇṭigadêva, described as the *Mahârâjakula*, the glorious **Lûṇḍhâka** or **Lûṇḍha(?)**. One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to **Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316**; the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373. And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,[4] which also mentions the *Mahârâjakula*, the glorious **Lûṇḍhâka** or **Lûṇṭhâka**, and speaks of the glorious **Nâmaladêvî**, who clearly is the Nâmalladêvî of the present inscription, the mother of Luṇṭigadêva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Châhamânas is found in an inscription[5] which is on a stone at a temple— the *Vimala-vasahikâ*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sâh's or Shâh's[6] temple— which was founded on Mount Âbû, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,[7] by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prâgvâṭa race,' after he had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhîmadêva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*râjâvalî*':—

There was a hero, **Âsarâja**[8] by name, a moon to the lotus-flower— the **Châhuvâma**[9] family, who was king of the town of **Nadûla**[10] (v. 14). Then there came **Samarasiṁha**; and his son was **Mahaṇasiṁhabhaṭa** (v. 15). Then came **Pratâpamalla**; and of him was born **Vîjaḍa**, who ruled the Marusthalî-maṇḍala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king **Lûṇiga** (v. 17). After him the text mentions **Luṇḍha** (v. 18) and **Lumbha** (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers. It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20); says further that **Lûṇiga's** son was **Têjasiṁha** (v. 21); and after him eulogizes **Tihuṇâka**, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22).

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious **Lumbhaka**, together with **Têjasiṁha** and **Tihuṇa**, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda;

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[1] See my *Northern List*, Nos. 193, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).

[2] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Râjputâna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 137 and 144.

[3] Nos. 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[4] No. 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[5] No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List. I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication.

[6] *Vimala sâha* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikâ*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find *e.g.* in line 8 of No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List.— I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Têjapâla-vasahikâ*, 'Têjapâla's temple.'

[7] The date is given in verse 11: *Śrî-Vikramâditya-nṛipâd=vyatîtê 'ṣṭâśîti-yâtê śaradâṁ sahasrê(srê)* | *śrî-Âdinâthaṁ śikharê=rbudasya nivêsi(śi)taṁ śrî-Vimalêna vaṁdê* ||.

[8] I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

[9] This may be a mistake for *Châhuvâna* or *Châhuvâṇa*.

[10] This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Têjasiṁha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyêshṭha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to **Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.**

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with **Âsarâja**[1] (Âśarâja, Âśârâja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasiṁha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mânavasiṁha of Luṇṭigadêva's inscription this account has **Mahaṇasiṁha** which must be regarded as another name of the same person; and while according to the former Vijaḍa had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—**Lûṇiga**, **Luṇḍha** and **Lumbha**. Of these, Lûṇiga undoubtedly is identical with the Lâvaṇyakarṇa of the other inscription,[2] and Luṇḍha with Luṇṭiga (Luṇḍha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Lûṇavarman. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given **Têjasiṁha**, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lûṇiga. According to No. 261 of my *Northern List* Têjasiṁha[3] was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331; and there is an unpublished Mount Âbû inscription[4] of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tihuṇâka (**Tihuṇa**) to Têjasiṁha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*[5]) of Têjasiṁha's son **Kânhaḍadêva**, who was reigning at Chandrâvatî in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the *Châhumânajñâtîya-râja-śrî*-**Têjasiṁha**, the *dêvaḍâ-śrî*-**Tihuṇâka**, the *râja-śrî*-**Kânhaḍadêva**, and the *Châhumânajâ(!)tîya-râja-śrî*-**Sâmatasiṁha**. Here Tihuṇâka is placed between Têjasiṁha and his son Kânhaḍadêva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of *râjan*. This and the order in which Tihuṇâka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Têjasiṁha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word *dêvaḍâ* prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dêvṛi*, *dêvara*, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother.'[6]

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In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that **Lakshmaṇa**, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. [illegible], and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vâkpatirâja of Śâkambharî, who was the grandfather of the Vigraharâja[7] of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the *Mahârâjakula* **Sâmvatasiṁha** or **Sâmyantasiṁha**, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and—if this should be a different chief—the *Râjâ* **Sâmatasiṁha**, mentioned in Kânhaḍadêva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

[1] If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for *Âśârâja*.

[2] Compare Lûṇigadêva for Lavaṇaprasâda in No. 249 of my *Northern List*.

[3] In the original of No. 261 (No. 1940 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *[illegible]*.

[4] No. 1947 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[5] No. 1919 of Mr. Cousens' List. The inscription has been roughly edited in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 256.

[6] In No. 1958 of Mr. Cousens' List a *Dêvaḍâ-vaṁśa* is mentioned. According to *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 146, 'the Sirohi chieftains, ... though Chohâns, are universally known by the name of their sub-tribe, the Devrâ.'

[7] The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddûla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vigraharâja's reign.

Lakshmaṇa of Naddûla (son of Vâkpatirâja of Śâkambharî).

- Sôhiya (Sôbhita, Śôbhita, Sôhî).
  - Balirâja.[1]
- Vigrahapâla.
  - Mahêndra (Mahîndu).[2]
    - Aśvapâla.
      - Ahila.[4]
    - Aṇahilla.[3]
      - Bâlaprasâda.[5]
      - Jêndrarâja (Jindurâja).
        - Pṛithivîpâla.[6]
        - Jôjalla (Yôjaka).
        - Âśârâja (Âśarâja).[7]
          - Âlhaṇa (Âhlâdana);[8] m. Annalladêvî. A.D. 1153-1161.
            - Kêlhaṇa.[9] A.D. 1165.
            - Gajasiṁha.
            - Kîrtipâla.[10]
              - Samarasiṁha.
                - Mânavasiṁha (Mahaṇasiṁha).
                  - Pratâpa.
                    - Vîjaḍa-Daśasyandana; m. Nâmalladêvî.
                      - Lâvaṇyakarṇa (Lûṇiga).
                        - Têjasiṁha. A.D. 1331-1336.
                          - Kânhaḍadêva. A.D. 1338.
                        - Tihuṇâka.
                      - Luṇṭiga[13] (Luṇḍha). A.D. 1316-1321.
                      - Lakshmaṇa.
                      - Lûṇavarman (Lumbha).
                - Udayasiṁha; m. Prahlâdanadêvî. A.D. 1205-1249.
                  - Châchiga (Châcha); m. Lakshmîdêvî. A.D. 1262-1277.
                    - Rûpâdêvî; m. by Têjasiṁha.[12] A.D. 1284.
                  - Châmuṇḍarâja.
                - Lîlâdêvî;[11] m. by Bhîmadêva II. (A.D. 1194-1238).
              - Rûdaladêvî.[11]

[1] At war with the Paramâra Muñjarâja (A.D. 974-93).

[2] Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî (A.D. 997).

[3] At war with the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I. (A.D. 1029) and the Paramâra Bhôjadêva (A.D. 1021).

[4] At war with Bhîmadêva I.

[5] Probably a contemporary of the Paramâra Kṛishṇadêva (A.D. 1060-67).

[6] At war with the Chaulukya Karṇa (A.D. 1091).

[7] Contemporary of the Chaulukya Siddharâja (A.D. 1138, 1139).

[8] Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla (A.D. 1145-69).

[9] At war with the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Bhillama (A.D. 1191).

[10] Transferred the seat of government to Jâvâlipura.

[11] It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters.

[12] This Têjasiṁha had a son named Kshêtrasiṁha.

[13] Took Chandrâvatî with Mount Âbû from the Paramâras.

No. 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

Ambâsamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tâmraparṇî river and is the head-quarters of the tâluka of the same name in the Tinnevelly district. The town has a local reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of **Kallidaikkurichchi**, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade in them is carried on mostly by the Brâhmaṇas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambâsamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. The greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the most important temple, now called **Erichcha-Uḍaiyâr**, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tâmraparṇî at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambâsamudram seems to have been a big place including some of the adjacent villages such as **Tiruvâlîśvaram**[1] and **Maṇṇârkôyil**.[2] In an inscription of [Jaṭâvarman Sundara-]Chôḷa-Pâṇḍya[3] the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyâr is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of **Râjarâja-chaturvêdimaṅgalam**. During the period of **Pâṇḍya** supremacy the town was called Iḷaṅgôkkuḍi or Iḷaṅgôykkuḍi,[4] which was altered into Râjarâja-chaturvêdimaṅgalam after the **Chôḷa** conquest.[5] The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chôḷa king **Râjarâja I.**, after whom the Pâṇḍya country was itself called **Râjarâja-maṇḍalam**.[6]

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyâr, of which two belong to the early Pâṇḍyas,[7] two to the Chôḷas,[8] one to the Chôḷa-Pâṇḍyas[9] and two to the later Pâṇḍyas,[10] while the eighth does not mention any king.[11] One of the early Pâṇḍya records[12] seems to belong to the reign of **Vîra-Pâṇḍya, 'who took the head of the Chôḷa.'** The Chôḷa king with whom he fought must be **Âditya (II.) Karikâla**,[13] who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vîra-Pâṇḍya.[14] The newly discovered Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. do not mention the name of the Pâṇḍya king against whom Âditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pâṇḍya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."[15] Accordingly, Vîra-Pâṇḍya reigned in the

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[1] The temple at Tiruvâlîśvaram is said to have been situated in Râjarâja-chaturvêdimaṅgalam, which was the name of Ambâsamudram in Chôḷa times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 48, Nos. 115 and 119 of 1905.

[2] The Vishṇu temple at this village, called Râjêndra-Chôḷa-viṇṇagar in ancient times, was also situated in Râjarâja-chaturvêdimaṅgalam; No. 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[3] No. 102 of the same collection.

[4] No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f. and 10 f. of the subjoined inscription.

[5] The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Râjarâja I.; No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[6] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 149.

[7] Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[8] Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

[9] No. 102 of the same.

[10] Nos. 100 and 103 of the same.

[11] No. 104 of the same.

[12] No. 101 of the same.

[13] He was the elder brother of Râjarâja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013).

[14] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 112.

[15] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part I. paragraph 8.

[16] *Ibid.* Part II. paragraph 16.

period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pâṇḍya country by the Chôḷas at the end of the 10th century A.D.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first circuit in the Erichcha-Uḍaiyâr temple, which is comparatively dark. The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp. At my request the Collector of Tinnevelly has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras. The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., after the removal of the stone to Madras.[1]—The alphabet of the document is **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** and the language **Tamiḻ** prose intermixed with a few **Sanskrit** words in the **Grantha** alphabet. The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81. The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved. The number of Sanskṛit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, *viz. svasti* (l. 1), *śrî* (ll. 1 and 3), *anugraha* (l. 1), *bhaṭâra* (ll. 1, 3 and 10), *maharaja* (l. 5), *maharâja* (ll. 12 and 81) and *râjyavasha* (l. 12).

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted. The horizontal stroke of *ka* is very often small and indistinct. But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli[2] and Cochin plates[3] of **Bhâskara-Ravivarman.** The variant of the letter *ya* noticed by Prof. Hultzsch in the Kôṭṭayam plates of **Sthâṇu-Ravi** and in certain **Chôḷa** inscriptions[4] does not occur here. Two slightly different forms of *t* are used, of which one (the first *t* of *śeluttu* in ll. 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient Vaṭṭeḻuttu record from Tirunâdarkuṉṟu in the South Arcot district.[5] The vowel *ai* occurs thrice in the inscription (ll. 9, 22 and 75). As in other Tamiḻ inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short *i* and the long *î* when they occur in combination with consonants. Double *kk* is occasionally written as a group, *e.g.* in *maharâjarkku* and *nâṅgâvadukku* in line 12; *poḻudaikku* in line 15; *kummâyattukku* in line 16; °*ḻakku* and °*kkaruvâḻai* in line 18. The *i*-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs; see *e.g. vî* of *viṟṟirundu* (l. 6), *li* of *poli* (l. 9), *ḍi* of *kuḍi* (l. 11), *mi* of °*vamidu* (l. 14), and *ḻi* of *nâ=ṇâḻi* (l. 16). The syllable *pô* is written as in the Madras Museum plates of **Jaṭilavarman**[6] without the addition of the *â*-symbol (on the right) found in the Chôḷa Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions[7] published by Prof. Hultzsch. The Tirunelli plates[8] distinguish by a similar addition the long *pô* from the short *po*, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant.[9] Thus the distinction between *po* and *pô* appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the Jaṭilavarman plates and to the subjoined inscription. If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of Bhâskara-Ravivarman must be later than Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya. And as Prof. Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the Chôḷa inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,[10] Bhâskara-Ravivarman may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks. The vulgar form *maharâja* occurs twice instead of the Sanskṛit *mahârâja* (ll. 12 and 81), while *maharaja* in line 5 is

[1] The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit. Accordingly, portions of the last letters in ll. 4 to 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambâsamudram in 1905 before the stone was removed to Madras.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

[3] Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72.

[4] Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

[5] No. 239 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 and *Annual Report* for 1903-4, paragraph 30.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, Plates facing p. 70, ll. 32 and 43.

[7] Above, Vol. V. Plate facing p. 46, E., line 1; and H., ll. 5, 8 and 9.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290; compare *poṉ* in ll. 13, 19 and 34 with *pôm* in l. 21.

[9] Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72; compare °*pôḻaṉ* in line 27 with *pôm* of the preceding note.

[10] Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

evidently a mistake. *Amidu* (l. 14) and *amirdu*[1] (l. 19 f.), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amudu*, are *tadbhavas* of the Sanskrit *amṛita*. The word *poli* (l. 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya[2] instead of the more common *poliśai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions[3] and survives in the Malayâḷam *paliśa*.[4] The word *nûṟu* (ll. 27 and 69) is still current in Malayâḷam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nîṟu*. The root from which they are both derived is *nûṟu*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil,[5] while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu.[6] The measure known as *śeviḍu* occurs four times in the form *śeviṭṭu* (ll. 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *nigadi* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *niśadi*, of which *niyadi* (l. 77) is a variant. *Vêṇa* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vêṇḍiya*. The form *kuṇi*, which occurs twice (ll. 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kuṟuṇi*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of **Varaguṇa-Mahârâja**, whose name occurs thrice (ll. 5, 11 f. and 81), and is dated in the **12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign.** From his camp at **Araiśûr** on the bank of the **Peṇṇai** river in **Toṇḍai-nâḍu**, the king granted 290 *kâśu* to the temple of **Tiruppôttuḍaiyâr**[7] (the ancient name of Erichcha-Uḍaiyâr) at **Iḷaṅgôkkuḍi** in **Muḷḷi-nâḍu**.[8] The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly[9] and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kâśu*.

The inscription of Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.[10] No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguṇa was at **Niyamam** in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named **Vêmbil**. At Râmanâthapuram near Dindigul in the Madura district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (*yâttirai*) of **Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ** against **Iḍavai** in the **Chôḷa** country.[11] The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that Maṟañjaḍaiyaṉ[12] was a surname of Varaguṇa,[13] and this inference is borne out by a

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[1] *Amirdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see *e.g. South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. *Amurdu* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII. p. 194, text line 8.

[2] See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 16.

[3] See *e.g. South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. The form *paliśai* also occurs in epigraphical records; see *ibid.* p. 122, text line 27.

[4] According to Dr. Gundert *paliśa* means 'interest on money.'

[5] According to Winslow *nûṟu* means 'to destroy, to kill.'

[6] According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *nûruṭa* means 'to grind or sharpen' and 'to reduce to powder.'

[7] This name means 'the blessed lord of the bull,' *i.e.* Śiva.

[8] According to an inscription of the Chôḷa king Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. (above, Vol. V. p. 47) Shêrmâdêvi in the Tinnevelly district was included in Muḷḷi-nâḍu. Muḷḷi-nâḍu belonged to the Tirvaḍi-râjya, *i.e.* Travancore, in the 17th century A.D. (*ibid.* Vol. III. p. 240).

[9] The expression *śavai-vâriyar* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the Chôḷa country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the Pâṇḍya kingdom in the 9th century A.D.; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraphs 58 to 73.

[10] See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 276.

[11] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 289) as being engraved on the "Pâṇḍiyaṉ Rock" in very old Tamil characters.

[12] Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ seems to have been a formal name of Varaguṇa, just as Râjakêsarivarman and Parakêsarivarman were of Chôḷa kings. Kôṉêriṉmaikoṇḍâṉ was a similar name assumed originally by Chôḷa kings and subsequently by the Pâṇḍyas too. Among the later Pâṇḍyas, Mâravarman and Jaṭilavarman were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil words *Mâṟaṉ* and *Śaḍaiyaṉ*. The former denotes in Sanskrit 'Cupid,' but has been so often applied to the Pâṇḍya king that it has become one of the synonyms of 'the Pâṇḍya king.'

[13] No. 277 of 1895 in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. It may be a record of Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named Raṇakîrti, the army of the Chêra king, and Viḷuñam.

record at Tillasthânam in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ and records a gift for the merit of Varaguṇa-Mahârâja.[1] Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguṇa *alias* Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ led the expedition against Iḍavai in the Chôḷa country. Iḍavai is evidently identical with the village of the same name[2] in **Maṇṇi-nâḍu**, a subdivision of **Râjêndrasiṁha-vaḷanâḍu** situated on the northern bank of the river **Kâvêri**.[3] The village of **Vêmbaṟṟûr** situated in the same subdivision[4] might be identical with Vêmbiḷ, whose fortifications Varaguṇa destroyed. The destruction of Vêmbil probably followed soon after the expedition against Iḍavai. In the same locality is **Tiruppirambiyam**,[5] where a battle was fought between the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa and the **Western Gaṅga Pṛithivîpati I.**[6] The expedition against Iḍavai in the Chôḷa country and the attack of Vêmbil were apparently acts of aggression[7] on the part of the Pâṇḍya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrîpuṟambiya (in Tamiḻ Tiruppirambiyam). The part which Pṛithivîpati I. played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya, I remarked :[8]—" How it was that the Gaṅgas of **Gaṅgavâḍi** in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakôṇam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming." The verse in the Udayêndiram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof. Hultzsch's corrections :[9]—

यः श्रीपुऴम्बियमहाहवमूर्ध्नि धीरः पाण्ड्येश्वरं वरगुणं सहसा विजित्य [।*]
कृत्वार्थयुक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्मप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवञ्जगाम [॥*]

With the approval of Prof. Hultzsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows :—" Having defeated by force the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa at the head of the great battle of **Śrîpuṟambiya**, and having made (his) friend's title **Aparâjita** (*i.e.* the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life." Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparâjita, and who with his ally Pṛithivîpati I. fought against the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa. The existence of a king named Aparâjita might be concluded already from one of the Ukkal inscriptions, where the other name of that village is **Aparâjita-chaturvêdimaṅgalam**.[10] From the Âmbûr inscriptions of the **Gaṅga-Pallava** king **Nṛipatuṅga** it may be supposed that Pṛithivîpati I. was his feudatory.[11] Accordingly, Aparâjita, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Gaṅga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Gaṅga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of **Vijaya-Aparâjitavikramavarman**, discovered by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttaṇi in the North Arcot district.[12] Aparâjitavikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nṛipatuṅga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

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[1] No. 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 325 and 336. [3] *Ibid*, p. 53.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 325, paragraph 88, and p. 336, paragraph 77.

[5] Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakôṇam is the modern Tamiḻ name of Śrîpuṟambiya mentioned in the Udayêndiram plates of Pṛithivîpati II.; see also the following note.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 387. Vaimbalguḻi, where another battle was fought by Pṛithivîpati I. according to the Udayêndiram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the place is identical with Vêmbil, whose fortifications Varaguṇa destroyed. But the name of Pṛithivîpati's enemy in the battle of Vaimbalguḻi is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful.

[7] That the Pâṇḍyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter L. of the Singhalese Chronicle *Mahâvaṁsa*; see Mr. L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 846-866.

[8] Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 273.

[9] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 384, verse 18.

[10] *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 2. [11] Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.

[12] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 8.

death) there was a Pâṇḍya invasion headed by Varaguṇa. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as **Araiśûr** on the Southern **Pennar** river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambâsamudram inscription. Subsequently, Aparâjita, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time,[1] appears to have been sent with the Western Gaṅga Pṛithivîpati I. to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śrîpuṟambiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Gaṅga king lost his life in it.[2]

The Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates of the Chôḷa king **Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.** help us to trace the fortunes of the Gaṅga-Pallavas to the very end. Verse 49 of the Sanskṛit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chôḷa king **Âditya I.**, runs as follows :—

अपराजितमप्यसौ रणे जितवान् पल्लवमुग्रसत्बलम्[3] । [।*]
दयितामपि तस्य मेदिनीं स्ववशीकृत्य [त*]थाप्यभूत् कृती ॥

"Having conquered in battle the **Pallava** who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparâjita (*i.e.* the unconquered), he (*viz.* the Chôḷa king Âditya) also took possession of his queen, (*viz.*) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object."[4] In other words, the Chôḷa king Âditya I. conquered the Pallava **Aparâjita**[5] and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparâjita[6] may now be identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparâjitavikramavarman of the Tiruttaṇi inscription, and with that Aparâjita who defeated Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya. And, evidently, Ukkal in the North Arcot district was called Aparâjita-chaturvêdimaṅgalam after this Gaṅga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pâṇḍyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chôḷas, who, under Âditya I., not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription at Aivarmalai in the Madura district,[7] copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for **Varaguṇa**. His 8th **year** is coupled with **Śaka-saṁvat 792.** Thus his accession took place in A.D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pâṇḍya king named Varaguṇa, the invasion of **Iḍavai** in the Chôḷa country and the destruction of the fortifications of **Vêmbil** must have taken place in or before A.D. 872-73.[8] Varaguṇa was at **Araiśûr** on the southern **Pennar** in A.D. 877-8. The battle of **Śrîpuṟambiya** might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that **Aparâjita** was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A.D. 880. His defeat by the Chôḷa king Âditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttaṇi inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

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[1] Aparâjita is called the friend (*suhṛid*) of Pṛithivîpati I., who was a Gaṅga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the "friend" of Pṛithivîpati I.

[2] Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chôḷas, the Gaṅgas, who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, seem to have acknowledged the Chôḷas as their overlords. In an inscription of Râjakêsarivarman which has to be attributed to Âditya I., Piridipati, son of Mâramaraiyar (*i.e.* perhaps Pṛithivîpati II., son of Mârasiṁha), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chôḷa feudatory; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

[3] Read °मुग्रसद्बलम्.

[4] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 10.

[5] The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Sholinghur in the North Arcot district; see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39.

[6] That Aparâjita is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the Bâhûr plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 181), the Gaṅga-Pallava Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman and his ancestors are called Pallavas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram.

Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25.

[8] The latter event is mentioned in the Trichinopoly inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king's reign.

Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A.D.[1]

The great Śaiva saint **Mâṇikkavâśagar** mentions the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa twice[2] in his *Tiruchchiṟṟambalakkôvaiyâr*. The time of Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr, who probably flourished in the 8th century A.D., is the upper limit of the date of Mâṇikkavâśagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai*, *i.e.* the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chôḷa king Parakêsarivarman Râjêndradêva (A.D. 1052 to 1063),[3] because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (=A.D. 1056-57) reference is made to the poem [*Tiru*]*vembâvai* composed by Mâṇikkavâśagar.[4] It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A.D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as *kalam* consisted of 90 *nâḻi*, instead of 12 *kuṟuṇi* or 96 *nâḻi*, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamiḻ country. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuṟuṇi*, and a *kuṟuṇi* equal to 6 *nâḻi*. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 *kalam* of paddy for each *kâśu*; while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 *kuṟuṇi* for one *kâśu*. Thus the rate in the **Pâṇḍya** country at the time of **Varaguṇa** would be nearly eight times higher[5] than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the **Chôḷa** king **Râjarâja I.** (A.D. 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the *kâśu*. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two articles had not to be paid for in the Pâṇḍya country during the reign of Varaguṇa.

TEXT.

First Side of the Stone.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrî-Bhaṭârar=anugra[ha]tti[ṉâ]-
2 ṟ[6] **Muḷḷi-nâṭṭ=Iḷaṅgôykkuḍi T[i]-**

[1] The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Âdoṇḍai, an illegitimate son of Kulôttuṅga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Puralûr, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Âdoṇḍai was then forced to retreat to Sholinghur. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the brazen gates of the Puralur fort were carried to the temple (!) of Tanjore;" see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39. If there be any truth in this tradition, Kulôttuṅga must have been a surname of Vijayâlaya, and Âdoṇḍai of his son Âditya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphical records that Âditya was the illegitimate son of Vijayâlaya. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chôḷa king Kôkkiḷḷi had an illegitimate son named Âdoṇḍai by a Nâga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Toṇḍai-nâḍu or Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. It looks as if this Âdoṇḍai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

[2] Verse 306 in illustration of *Maruvudaluraittal*, and verse 327 in illustration of *Viṉaimuṟṟiniṉaittal*.

[3] Above, Vol. VII. p. 7.

[4] No. 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Vîraṭṭânêśvara temple at Kîḻûr near Tirukoilûr.

[5] In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeeveram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chôḷa king named Parakêsarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent. in the same place. Again the interest on 250 *kaḻañju* of gold was 500 *kâḍi* of paddy, and 150 *kâḍi* on 50 *kaḻañju*; G. O. No. 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, p. 5.

[6] Read °*ṉâl*; the *ha* of *anugraha* is slightly different from *ha* in ll. 5, 12 and 81.

3 ruppôttuḍaiyâr śrîkôyil-Bhaṭâra[r*]kku mu[dal*]
4 [ke]ḍâmai poli koṇḍu[1] nâ[ṉ]gu kâlamun=di[ruv-amu*]-
5 du śelu[t]tuvadâ[ga] **Varaguṇa-Maharajar Toṇḍai-nâṭ[ṭu-P*]-**
6 **peṇṇai-kkarai Araiśûr** vîṟṟirundu Iḷaṅ[gôkku*]-
7 ḍi=chchavaiyâr kaiyyiṟ=kuṇḍutta kâśu iru-nûṟ[ṟu-to*]-
8 ṇṇûṟu [|*] ivaṟṟâṟ=kâśiṉvây=iru-galamâga âṉ[ḍu*]-
9 varai śavaiyâr=aḷakkum poli-nel ai-nnûṟṟ-e[ṉba][di*]-
10 ṉ kalam [|*] ivai koṇḍu Bhaṭârar paṇi-makkaḷum Iḷa[ṅ*]-
11 gôkkuḍi=chchavai-vâriyarum uḍa=ṉiṉṟu Varagu[ṇa*]-
12 Mahar[â]jarkku **râjya-va[r*]sham nâṉgâvadukku ęḍ[ir*]**
13 **paṇṇiraṇḍâ[m*] yâṇḍu Tulâ-ñâyiṟu** mudalâga niga[di*]-
14 yâga nâṉgu kâlam[u]n=diruv-amidu śeluttum [pa]-
15 ḍi [|*] oru-poḷudaikku vêṇḍuvaṉa ariśi senn[e]ṟ=
16 ṟîṭṭal nâ=ṉâḷi kummâyattukku pa[ya]ṟṟu=
17 pparupp=uri nivêdikka paśuviṉ=ṉaṟu-ney[y]=u-
18 ḷakku=ppaśuviṉ=ṟôy-tayir=uri=kkaruvâḷai-
19 ppaḷa=nâṉgu śarkkarai oru-palam kaṟi-am[i]-
20 rdu kâyk[ka]ṟi oṉṟu puḷiṅgaṟi iraṇḍu puḷu-
21 [k]kukkaṟi oṉṟu porikkaṟi oṉṟu êṟṟi=kkaṟi
22 aiñjiṉukkuṅ=gaṟi padiṉ-pala[m]
23 [ka]ṟi tumikkavum porikkavum paśuvi=ṉaṟu-ne-
24 y âḷakku=k[kûṭ]ṭukku paśuviṉ [t]ô[y]-tayi-
25 r=uri=kkâyam iru-śeviṭṭu ilai-amirdu
26 veḷḷilai îr-aḍukku aḍaikkây pattu
27 nûṟu oru-śeviṭṭu [|*] âga nigadi nâṉgu
28 poḷudaikku vêṇḍuvaṉa ariśi śe-
29 nneṟ=ṟîṭṭal padiṉ-aṟu-nâḷi

Second Side of the Stone.

30 âga ôr=âṭṭai[k]ku ariśi śen[ne]-
31 [ṟ]=ṟîṭṭal aṟuba[t]tu-nâṟ=
32 [ka]lam [|*] ivai [ka]lav-ariśikku mu=[kkala]-
33 nellâga nûṟṟu-tton[ṉû]ṟṟ-iru-gala-
34 m [|*] payaṟṟu=pparupp=iru-
35 nâḷi ivai nâḷi=pparuppu-
36 kku mu=nnâḷi nellâga ôr=[â]ṭ-
37 ṭaikku nel irubattu-nâṟ=kalam [|*]
38 paśuviṉ=ṉaṟu-ney nâḷiy-uri i-
39 vai nâḷ[i] ne[y*]kku muppadi=ṉâḷi ne-
40 [2]llâga ôr=â[ṭ*]ṭaikku nel nûṟṟ-eṉba-
41 diṉ kalam [|*] paśuviṉ=ṟôy-[tayi]-
42 r nâ=ṉâḷi ivai nâḷi=t[ta]yirkku
43 mu=nnâḷi nell[â]ga ôr=âṭṭaikku ne-
44 l nâ[ṟ]patt-eṉ-galam [|*] karuvâḷaippa-
45 ḷam padiṉ-âṟu ivai iraṇḍu[kku]
46 nâḷi nellâga ôr=âṭṭaikku ne[l]

[1] The phrase *mudal keḍâmai poli koṇḍu* corresponds to *muda=ṉiṟka poli koṇḍu* of the Trichinopoly inscription; Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 275, text line 15 f.

[2] At the beginning of this line is a symbol which looks like *ra*, but which is probably a mere crack on the stone.

47 muppatt-iru-galam [|*] śarkkarai [1]nâṟṟa[p]ṟ
48 [la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nâḻi-
49 y-uri nellâga ôr=âṭṭaikku nel
50 irubattu-nâṟ=kkalam [|*] kaṟi nâṟpa-
51 diṉ palam ivai paṉ-pa[la]-
52 ttukku nâḻi nellâga ôr=â[ṭ]-
53 ṭaikku nel pa[di*]ṉ-aṟu-kalam [|*] kâyam
54 âḷakkê mu=chchevittu idu
55 uḷakku kâyattukk=aṟu-nâ-

Third Side of the Stone.

56 [ḻi] nell[â]ga ôr=âṭ[ṭai]-
57 kku nel patt[o]ṉ[ba]-[4]
58 [di]ṉ kalaṉê mu=kku[ṟu*]ṇi [|*]
59 ilai-amirdu veḷ-
60 [li]lai iraṇḍu paṟṟu
61 [i]vai oru-paṟṟuk[k=i]-
62 [ru]-nâḻi nellâga ôr=[â]-
63 ṭṭaikku nel pa[di]-
64 [ṉ-a]ṟu-galam aḍai[kkâ]-
65 y nâṟpadu ivai [i]-
66 rubad=aḍaikkây[kku] mu=n-
67 [nâ]ḻiy-uri nellâga
68 ôr=âṭṭaikku nell=[i]-
69 r[u]ba[tt]-eṇ-galam [|*] nûṟ[u]
70 n[â]ṟ=chevittu idu
71 nâḻikk=iru-nâḻiy[âga]
72 ôr=âṭṭaikku nel
73 pann-iru-ku[ṟu*]ṇi [|*] el-
74 l[â]m êṟṟi ôr=â[ṭ]-
75 ṭaikku vêṇa nel [ai=n]-
76 nûṟṟ-[e]ṇbadiṉ kala[m] [|*]
77 i=ppariśu niyadi-
78 [p]paḍi muṭṭ[â]mai
79 n[e]ḍuṅ=gâlamuñ=je-
80 lu[t]tuv[adâ]ga vai[t*][t]â-
81 r śrî-**Varaguṇa-Mahar̂âja[r*] [||*]**

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8.) Hail! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhaṭârar*)! **Varaguṇa-Mahârâja**, being encamped[2] at **Araiśûr** on the bank of the (*river*) **Peṇṇai** in **Toṇḍai-nâḍu**, gave into the hands[3] of the members of the assembly of **Iḷaṅgôkkuḍi** two hundred and ninety *kâśu*, from the interest of which— the capital remaining unspent[4]— offerings had to be provided for four times

[1] Read *nâṟ=palam*.

[2] *Viṟṟirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically.'

[3] This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly.

[4] Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed;' see note 1 on page 90 above.

(*a day*) to the lord of the glorious temple[1] of **Tiruppôttuḍaiyâr** at **Iḷaṅgôkkuḍi** in **Muḷḷi-nâḍu**.

(Ll. 8 to 10.) For this (*amount*) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy per year (*as*) interest, at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kâśu*.

(Ll. 10 to 14.) Out of this (*income*) the servants of the lord (*bhaṭârar*) and the committee of the assembly of **Iḷaṅgôkkuḍi** shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,[2] commencing from the month of **Tulâ** in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of **Varaguṇa-Mahârâja**, (*according to the following*) scale :—

(Ll. 15 to 27.) (*The following*) are the requirements for a single offering :[3]— four *nâḻi* of clean superior rice ;[4] (one) *uri* of split green gram for the *kummâyam* ;[5] (one) *uḻakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered[6] (*by itself*) ; (one) *uri* of cows' curds ; four black plantain fruits ; one *palam* of sugar ; ten *palam* of vegetables (*for*) the vegetable offering (*kaṟi-amirdu*), (*viz.*) one *kâykkaṟi*,[7] two *puḷiṅgaṟi*,[8] one *puḻukkukkaṟi*[9] (and) one *porikkaṟi*— in all, five (*kinds of*) curry ; (one) *âḻakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning[10] and frying vegetables ; (one) *uri* of cows' curds for the compound curry (*kûṭṭu*) ;[11] two *śeviṭṭu* of asafœtida ; two bundles of betel-leaves,[12] ten areca-nuts (*and*) one *śeviṭṭu* of lime (*nûṟu*) for the leaves offering.

(Ll. 27 to 73.) The aggregate requirements for (*the offerings*) four times a day[13] (*are*) :— At the rate of sixteen *nâḻi* of clean superior rice (*a day*), sixty-four *kalam* of clean superior rice

[1] The word *śrîkôvil* means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr. Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil *tirukkôyil*, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions *śrikôyil* is used to designate the orthodox Hindû temple as opposed to the temples of the Drâviḍian village deities and to the Jaina temples (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 48, note 8, and p. 59).

[2] The word *nigadi* occurs again in line 27.

[3] Literally '(the offering) at one time.'

[4] With *śennel* compare *tiruchchennaḍai-nel* in a Chôḷa inscription from Conjeeveram; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 117.

[5] This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Râjakêsarivarman found at Tiruveḷḷaṟai near Trichinopoly (No. 518 of 1905). In an unpublished record of the Chôḷa king Râjakêsarivarman from Guḍimallam in the North Arcot district, split green gram (*śiṟu-payaṟṟu-paruppu*) is provided for *kummâya-amudu* (No. 222 of 1903). The modern meaning of the word *kummâyam*, *viz.* 'mortar,' will not do here. In Malayâḷam and in Kanarese the root *kummu* means 'to beat with a pestle,' and *kummâyam* might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root.

[6] The verb *nivêdikka* in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words *tayir* (l. 18), *karuvâḻaippaḻam* (l. 18 f.) and *śarkkarai* (l. 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll. 19 to 27.

[7] According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Râjarâja I. (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulse, pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called *appakkâykkaṟi*.

[8] Pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse-gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. *Puḷiyiṭṭaduṅgaṟi* (consisting of pepper, cumin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

[9] *Puḻukkukkaṟi*, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from *porikkaṟi*, 'fried curry.' The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently *porikkaṟi* consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

[10] The verb *tumi* means 'to sprinkle.' Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called *poḍittûval*, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb *tumi* here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kambaṉ, which shows that the noun *tumi* was not in common use during his time.

[11] *Kûṭṭu* is a liquid preparation still in use and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds. (1) and (2) do not, generally, require any curds.

[12] The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is *veḷḷilai*, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is *veṟṟilai*, 'empty leaf.'

[13] Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 146) and twice in the case of two other shrines (*ibid.* pp. 70 and 71).

for a year. At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,[1] this (*comes to*) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy). The split green gram (*required for a day*) is two *nâḻi*. At the rate of three *nâḻi* of paddy for (one) *nâḻi* of split (*green gram*),[2] twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (*have to be allotted*) for this (*item*). Cows' ghee of the best quality (*required for a day*) is (one) *nâḻi* and (one) *uri*. At the rate of thirty *nâḻi* of paddy for (one) *nâḻi* of ghee,[3] this (*comes to*) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year. (*The quantity of*) cows' curds (*required for a day*) is four *nâḻi*. At the rate of three *nâḻi* of paddy for (one) *nâḻi* of curds,[4] this (*amounts to*) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually. (*The number of*) black plantain fruits (*required for a day*) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nâḻi* of paddy for two (*fruits*),[5] these (*cost*) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually. The sugar (*required for a day is*) four *palam*. At the rate of (one) *nâḻi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,[6] this (*item costs*) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year. (*The daily consumption of*) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (*have to be allotted*) for this (*item*) every year— at the rate of (one) *nâḻi* of paddy for ten *palam*.[7] (One) *âḻakku* and three *śeviṭṭu* of asafœtida (*being required daily*), nineteen *kalam* and three *kuṟuṇi*[8] of paddy (*have to be allotted*) for this (*item*) annually— at the rate of six *nâḻi* of paddy for (one) *uḻakku* of asafœtida.[9] (*For*) the leaves offering (*are required*) two bundles[10] of betel-leaves (*daily*), which, at the rate of two *nâḻi* of paddy for one bundle, (*come to*) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year; forty areca-nuts (*daily*), which, at the rate of three *nâḻi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (*cost*) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually;[11] (*and*) four *śeviṭṭu* of lime (*daily*), which, at the rate of two *nâḻi* (of paddy) for (one) *nâḻi* (of lime), (*cost*) twelve *kuṟuṇi*[12] of paddy per year.

(Ll. 73 to 81.) Altogether, the (*quantity of*) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam*.[13] The glorious **Varaguṇa-Mahârâja** thus deposited (*this money*), in order that

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[1] In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Râjarâja I.

[2] Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Râjarâja I. at Tanjore.

[3] In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Râjarâja I.

[4] The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Râjarâja I.

[5] There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nâḻi* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 75 and 77); five *nâḻi* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid.* p. 127); the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kâśu* (*ibid.* p. 151).

[6] Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. in the Chôḻa capital and the country surrounding it. Of the cheaper kind 3⅜ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nâḻi*, 1 *uri*, 1 *âḻâkku* and 4 *śeviḍu* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nâḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid.* pp. 70 and 71).

[7] In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nâḻi* of paddy. The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned.

[8] If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kuṟuṇi*, and a *kuṟuṇi* equal to 6 *nâḻi*.

[9] Asafœtida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 75, 77 and 130). The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambâsamudram record. Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pâṇḍya country during the time of Varaguṇa. It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment.

[10] From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*paṟṟu*) was equal to 4 *aḍukku* of betel-leaves.

[11] Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel-leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos. 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II.): 1 *nâḻi* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No. 6); 4 *nâḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts and 60 betel-leaves (No. 26); and 1 *nâḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca-nuts and 24 betel-leaves (No. 35).

[12] The actual calculation yields 36 *nâḻi* of lime annually, costing 72 *nâḻi* of paddy, *i.e.* 18 *nâḻi* less than a *kalam* (=90 *nâḻi* according to this inscription) or 12 *kuṟuṇi*. But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kuṟuṇi* (note 8 above). Thus the *kuṟuṇi* was equal to 6 *nâḻi* instead of the more common 8 *nâḻi*. With this equivalent of the *kuṟuṇi* the calculation in the text would be correct.

[13] This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuṟuṇi* and a *kuṟuṇi* equal to 6 *nâḻi*; see the preceding note.

(*the members of the village assembly*) might provide (*the requirements*) day by day[1] for a long time[2] without (*any*) obstruction.

No. 11.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.; SAKA-SAMVAT 984.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

This inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I do not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions[3] supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the plates as follows:—

"The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank; it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them; and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a dagger. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5″ and 4½″. The thickness of the ring is ⅝″. The seal is roughly 2½″ in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case:—

Average breadth of plates	9¼″	9½″	9¼″
Average height of plates	4½″	4″	4½″

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4¼″ at the ends and almost 4″ in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nâgarî of the same kind as in the Naḍagâm plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Samvat 979.[4] The class nasal, and not the *Anusvâra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are °सौत्तुंग° in l. 9, and पंच° in l. 48. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in °निर्जिता°, l. 26. व is written for ब throughout. स has been substituted for श in महीस:, l. 25, and °सत°, l. 49. On the other hand, we find श for स in °यौतंशक:, l. 21, भाशौने, l. 39, and °रवस्यं, l. 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Naḍagâm plates. Note further such writings as समुज्वल, ll. 7 and 24, प्रद्यालित instead of प्रचालित, l. 3, and प्रश्चोदन्मद° instead of प्रश्च्योतन्मद°, l. 19.

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[1] The word *niyadi* is apparently synonymous with *niśadam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *niśadi* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguṇa (Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 19).

[2] In later inscriptions the phrase *neḍuṅ-gâlamum* is replaced by the Sanskrit *chandrâdityavat*, 'as long as the moon and the sun (endure).'

[3] Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr. Venkayya.

[4] Above, Vol. IV. p. 183 ff.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Naḍagâm plates of Śaka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Naḍagâm plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and give several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king **Vajrahasta (III.)**, the son of **Kâmârṇava (II.)** of the **Gâṅga** lineage, and of **Vinayamahâdêvî** of the **Vaidumba** family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Naḍagâm plates, from **Guṇamahârṇava** downwards, including the **date of Vajrahasta's coronation.**[1] The inscription then goes on to state (l. 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the lord of the three **Kaliṅgas**, the glorious **Anantavarman Vajrahastadêva**, being in good health, issues the following order from **Kaliṅganagara**, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers:'—"Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourself, the village named **Tâmaracheru** in **Varâhavartanî**, combined with the **Chikhalî** hamlet (*vâṭaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahâra*, to five hundred learned Brâhmaṇas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, **in the Śaka year of the dice (4), the Vasus (8) and the treasures (9), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.** Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kôṭîśvara[2] for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali, Charu, Naivêdya, Dîpapûjâ*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brâhmaṇas living there."

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name **Anantavarman**, like his grandson Chôḍagaṅgadêva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, **Kaliṅganagara** has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti[3] with the villages Mukhaliṅgam and Nagarakaṭakam in the Ganjam district. **Varâhavartanî** occurs in several Gâṅga grants.[4] The village of **Tâmaracheru** is also known from Gâṅga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the *Mahârâja* Dêvêndravarman,[5] in which the village Tâmarachheru is granted to three hundred Brâhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gâṅga *Mahârâja* Indravarman, issued from Kaliṅganagara in Gâṅgêya-Saṁvat 128,[6] further state that the village of Tâmaracheruva was granted to certain Brâhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mârgaśira. The latter inscription mentions *Tâmaracheruva-grâmaṁ bâ(vâ)ṭakâ(ka)-sahita[ṁ]* (l. 8 f.). This *vâṭaka* is perhaps identical with the **Chikhalî-vâṭaka** of our inscription. The village of Tâmaracheru has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The **date** of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *kṛita* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly **the Śaka year 984.** If we take this to be

[1] Above, Vol. IV. p. 185; Vol. V. Appendix, p. 50, No. 355.

[2] This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tâmaracheru.

[3] Above, Vol. IV. p. 187 f.

[4] Above, Vol. III. p. 127, note 5; Vol. V. p. 185, note 5, *etc.*

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273 ff.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 119 ff.

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A.D. 1061-62. Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] स्वस्त[3] श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]च्चिण्यसत्य[शौ]-
2 चशौर्य्यधैर्य्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाणामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रच्यालितकलिकालिकल्मषमषीणां[4] [महाम]हेन्द्राचल-
4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
5 र्म्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य [5]शशाङ्क[चू]डांमणेर्भ्भगवतो गो-
6 कर्ण्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्खभेरीप-
7 [6]ञ्चमाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[ा*]मरवरवृषभलाञ्छनसमुज्वल-
8 [7]सत्यस्तसाम्राज्यमाहिम्नामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलमी-
9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तुं]ग[भु]जदण्डम[ण्डि]तानां त्रिकलिङ्गम[हो]भुजां [गा-]

Second Plate; First Side.

10 [ङ्गा]नामन्वयमलङ्करि[ष्णोर्व्विष्णोरि]व[8] विक्र(ा)माक्रान्तधरामण्डल-
11 स्य गुणमहार्ण्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व्वं[9] भूपतिभर्व्विभज्य
12 वसुधा या पञ्चभि[:*] [10]पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो [11]भुजवलात्त[ा*]मे-
13 क एव स्वयं [।*] एकीक्रत[12] विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्[13] श्रीव-
14 [14]ज्रहस्तश्चतुचात्वारिंशतमत्युदार(ा)[स्म]रित्व[:*] सर्व्वा-
15 मरच्चीत्समाः ॥ [१*] तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज[15] [व]षत्रयं-
16 मप[ा*]लयद्धर्मी ॥ तदनुजः कामार्ण्णवदे[व]: पञ्चविं[श]तम-
17 [ब्द]कान[16] ॥ तस्यानुजो विनयादित्य[:*] समासस:[17] ॥ ततः[18] कामार्ण्णवा-
18 जातो जगतीक[ल्पभू]रुहः [।*] योराजद्राजितः[19] च्चयो वत्सह(ा)-

[1] From the original plates.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read स्वस्ति.

[4] Read °प्रचालितकलिकाल°.

[5] Read °चूडामणेर्भ्भ°. The ū-stroke is not visible in the ink-impression.

[6] Read °महाशब्द°, °च्छत्र°, °समुज्ज्वल°.

[7] Read समस्त°, °महिम्ना°, °समुपलब्ध°, °लक्ष्मी°.

[8] This looks like °ष्णोर्ष्णोर्व्विव.

[9] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita; read भूपतिभि°.

[10] Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write च, but subsequently cancelled it.

[11] Read °बला°.

[12] Read °कृत्य.

[13] Read शत्रुनिवहांश्च्छ्री°.

[14] Read °हस्तश्चतुश्चत्वा°, °रचिरत:.

[15] Read °राजो वर्षत्रय-.

[16] Read °मब्दकान्.

[17] Read समास्थितः.

[18] Metre: Ślôka; read °वाज्जातो.

[19] Read °द्राजितच्छायो.

Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III. — Saka-Samvat 984.

i.

ii a.

ii b.

Scale ·6

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

iii a.

28

30

32

34

36

iii b.

38

40

42

44

iv a.

46

48

50

52

Second Plate; Second Side.

19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२*] [1]प्रश्चोदन्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्यालीढगण्डा[न्ग]जान्नार्थि-[2]
20 भ्यस्समदात्सहस्रमतुलो य[स्त्य]ागिनामग्रणी[: ।*] स(:) [श्रीम]ाननिय-
21 ङ्कभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोत्तंसकः[3] (।) पञ्चत्रिंशतमब्दकान्मम-[4]
22 भुनक्पिथ्वीं[5] [स्तु]तः पार्थिवैः ॥ [३*] तदग्रसूनुः[6] सुरराजसूनुना
23 समस्समस्तां [प्र*]मितारिमण्डलः [।*] स पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुवं[7]
24 सम्रुद्धिमानद्वसमा[8] समुज्वलः ॥ [४*] तदनु[9] तदनुजन्मो[10] चित्तजन्मो(प)-
25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीसः[11] [।*] [स*]कलमिदमरच्चत्रीणि[12]
26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवलयमलघुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५*] ततो[13] हेमातुरस्तस्य म-
27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेताम[ब्द]ामेकार्णविंशतिं[14] ॥ [६*] ० ॥

Third Plate; First Side.

28 अथ[15] वज्रहस्तनृपतेरग्रसुतादखिलगुणिजनाग्रण्यः [।*] कामा[र्णवा]-
29 [16]त्कवन्द्रप्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्त्तेः ॥ [७*] श्रीय[17] इव [18]वैदुम्बान्वय[प]-
30 यःपयोनिधिससुद्भवायाश्च [।*] य(ा)ः समजनि [19]विनयम[हा*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-
31 स्त इति त[न*]यः ॥[८*] [20]वियदृतुनिधिसंख्या[21] याति [22]शाकाव्दसङ्घे दिन[क्र]-
32 [ति] वृवृषभस्ते[23] रोहिणीभे सुलग्ने [।*] धनुषि च सितपये[24] सूर्य्य[वारे] तृ-
33 तीयांयुजि[25] सकलवरिची रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः ॥ [९*] न्याय्येन[26] यत्र
34 सममाचरितुं त्रिवर्ग्गे[27] मार्ग्गेण रक्षति महीम[28] महितप्रतापे [।*] नि-
[र्व्या]धय-
35 श्च निरसाश्च[29] निरापदश्च शश्वत्पजा[30] भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमत्यः ॥ [१०*] व्या-[31]
36 म्ने [32]गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्वशसा[33] दि[क्र]क्रवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

Third Plate; Second Side.

37 स्य भुवन(:)प्र[ह्ल]ादसम्पादिना [।*] सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्क[प*]टलै[:*] [कुम्भ]स्थली-
38 पट्टके[ष्व]ालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान[34] ॥ [११*] [35]अनुरागे-

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1 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita; read प्रश्च्योत°, °लुब्ध°.
2 Read °न्गजानर्थि-.
3 Read °नृपतिर्गाङ्गान्वयोत्तंसकः.
4 Read °मब्दकान्समा-.
5 Read भुनक्पृथ्वीं.
6 Metre: Vaṁśastha.
7 Read °र्भुवं.
8 Read °समां समुज्वलः.
9 Metre: Mâlinî.
10 Read °जन्मा.
11 Read महीशः.
12 Read °रक्षत्रीणि.
13 Metre: Ślôka; read हेमा°.
14 Read °मब्दानेकान्नविंशतिं.
15 Metre: Gîti.
16 Read त्कवीन्द्र°.
17 Metre: Gîti; read श्रिय.
18 Read वैदुम्बा°.
19 Read विनयमहा°.
20 Metre: Mâlinî.
21 Read °संख्यां.
22 Read शाकाब्द°.
23 Read वृषभस्थे. The second वृ seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.
24 Read सितपक्षे.
25 Read °यायुजि सकलधरित्रीं.
26 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
27 Read त्रिवर्ग्गं.
28 Read महीम्.
29 Read निरघाश्च.
30 Read शश्वत्प्रजा.
31 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
32 Read गाङ्ग°.
33 Read यशस(:).
34 Read °णान्.
35 Metre: Ślôka.

39 ण गुणीनो[1] यस्य वच्चोसुखावयो:[2] [।*] आशीने[3] श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूले
40 विराजत: ॥ [१२*] ०॥ [4]कलिङ्गनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
41 रक[म*]हाराजाधिराजत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्म्मा व-
42 ज्रहस्तदेव[:*] कुशली [5]समस्तामात्यप्रमुखजनपदान्समा[ह्]य [स]-
43 माज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहव[र्त्त]न्यां । तामरचे-
44 रुग्रामो नाम (।) चिखलीवाटकेन[6] सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुस्सीमा-
45 [7]वच्छिन्नस्सजलस्थलस्सर्व्वपीडाविवर्ज्जितमाचन्द्रार्क्कक्षितिस-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

46 मकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मन: पुण्ययशोभि[वृद्धये कृत]व-
47 सुनिधिशाकाब्दे[8] । सूर्य्यग्रहोपरागे । विद्वद्भ्यो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-
48 नाध्यापन[दान*]प्रतिग्रहषट्कर्म्मनिरतेभ्यो [9]वह्मव[र्चो]मद्भ्य: ॥ पंच-
49 [10]सत[ब्राह्मणे]भ्य उदकपूर्व्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारोस्माभि:
50 प्रदत्तस्तस्माद्भाविभि[र्भू]मि[पा]लैर्म्मुनुनोधर्म्मांगौ-[11]
51 रवात्परिपालनीयमिति[12] ॥ अपरं च । कोटीश्वर-
52 देवाय आचन्द्रार्क्कपर्य्यन्तं निर्व्विरोधा । [13]वलिचरुनैवेद्यदीपपू-
53 जाद्यर्थं धान्यसुरकशतद्वयोत्पत्या[14] भूमिर्द्दत्ता । तत्र च । खण्डस्फु-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

54 टितभग्नघटनं [15]तत्रस्थवाह्मणैरवश्यं कर्त्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12.—TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I.; A.D. 660.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was first published by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Che their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the I were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapalli Venkaṭa Reḍḍi of Párle

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[1] Read गुणिनो. [2] Read °खाश्रयो:. [3] Read भासीने.

[4] Read °नगरात्परम°. [5] Read °मात्य°.

[6] The engraver had originally written °वाटाकेन.

[7] The engraver originally wrote °जस्थलस्थल°, but cancelled the first स्थ. Read °विवर्ज्जित°; after the त has been cancelled.

[8] Read °शाकाब्दे.

[9] The reading of this word is very uncertain; read perhaps ब्रह्मवर्चो°.

[10] Read शतब्राह्म°. [11] Read °र्भूमिपालैर्म्मनुनोक्तधर्म्मांगौ-.

[12] Read °पालनीय इति. [13] Read बलि°. [14] Read °त्पत्त्या.

[15] The engraver seems to have begun to write तात्र°, but the â-stroke has been left unfinished; °ब्राह्मणैरवश्यं.

while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipâdu in **Talamanchi** of Nellore taluk[1] where a flourishing village is said to have once stood." They "have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner." I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the original as follows:—

"**Three copper-plates,** of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only. They measure $7\frac{1}{2}''$ in breadth. The height of the plates is not uniform. Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle.

	Height in the margins.	*Height in the middle.*
1st plate :	$3\frac{1}{4}''$	$3\frac{1}{8}''$
2nd plate :	$3\frac{3}{8}''$	$3\frac{1}{4}''$
3rd plate :	$3\frac{1}{4}''$ & $3\frac{3}{8}''$	$3\frac{1}{4}''$

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring $2\frac{3}{4}''$ by $3\frac{1}{8}''$. It is nearly $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of **a seal,** which is also oval and measures $1''$ by $\frac{7}{8}''$. The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas."

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the **margins** of plate i. and plate ii. *a*. The **alphabet** resembles that of two other grants of Vikramâditya I.[2] The *upadhmânîya* is used once (l. 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll. 24, 27), and one of *n* once (l. 17). The three Dravidian letters *ḻ*, *ḷ* and *ṟ*, the second of which has the same shape as the *upadhmânîya*, occur in the two village names *Eḷasatti* (l. 23) and *Koḻchuṁko[nṟa]* (l. 22). The **language** is Sanskrit. There are four well-known Anushṭubh verses : one at the beginning and three near the end; the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

The document was issued **in the sixth year of the reign** (l. 20) **of the (Western) Chalikya** (l. 5) **Vikramâditya (I.),** the son of Satyâśraya (*i.e.* **Pulakêśin II.**), grandson of **Kîrtivarman (I.)** and great-grandson of **Polikeśin (I.).** Each of these four kings receives the same laudatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period. The new inscription records the grant of the village of **Eḷasatti,**[3] north of **Koḻchuṁko[nṟa],** to **Śrîmêghâchârya** (l. 22 and 31 f.), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramâditya I., and was written by **Vajravarman** of the **Vaidya** family.

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the **date** of the grant (l. 20 f.), regarding which Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p. 102 below. On the strength of the latter I have added the date "**A.D. 660**" to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्ण्णवं [।*] दक्षि[णो]न्नतदंष्ट्राग्र-
विश्रान्तभु-

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[1] On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions,* Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town.

[2] *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. pp. 235 and 238.

[3] Messrs Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village; see *Nellore District Inscriptions,* Preface, p. vi.

[4] From three sets of ink-impressions.

2 वन वपुः [॥ १*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्रा-

3 णां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तक-

4 ल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्ष-

5 णक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोरश्वमे-

6 धावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-

7 स्य प्रपौत्रः [1]पराक्रमाक्रांन्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्ध-

8 [2][वि]शुद्धकीर्त्तिश्श्रीकीर्त्तिश्श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-

9 [सं]सक्तसकलोत्तराप[थे]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्द्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[ब्ध]परमेश्वरा-

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व[र]-

11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः[3] चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेणैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-

12 मरमुखेषु रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलास्वादनरनायज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-[4]

13 धारया च धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः[5]

14 आत्मकवचावमम्नानेकप्रहारस्वगु[रोश्श्रिय]मवनिपतित्रितया-

15 [6]न्तरितांमात्मसात्कृत्य [7]क्यतैकाधिष्ठितागे[षरा]ज्यभरस्तस्मिन्राज्य-

16 त्रये विनष्टानि देवस्वब्रह्मदेयानि धर्म्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वमुखेन स्था-

17 पितवान् रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी प्राप्य च

18 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः[8] विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृ-

19 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्वरस्सर्व्वां]ना[ज्ञा]प[यति] [।*] विदित-[9]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

20 [म]स्तु [10]भोस्माभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यषड्वत्सरतमे[11] श्राव-

21 णमाससूर्य्यग्रहणे[12] उदकपूर्व्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-

22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्य्याय स्वकीयगुरवे कोꣳचुंको[न्ꣳ]ग्राम-

23 स्योत्तरपार्श्वे[13] एकसत्तिग्राम ग्रामः[14] मातापित्रोरात्मन-

24 ×पुण्ययशोवाप्तये सर्व्वबाधापरिहारं[15] दत्तम् [।*] आचन्द्रार्क्क-

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[1] Read °क्रान्त°.

[2] Cancel the second °विशुद्ध° and the second °कीर्त्तिश्श्री°; read °कीर्त्तिवर्म्म°.

[3] Read °तनयश्चित्र°.

[4] Instead of °रनाय° read °रसनायमान°.

[5] Read °षुरात्म°.

[6] Cancel the *anusvâra* of तां and read °सात्कृत्वा.

[7] Read कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेष°.

[8] Read °दित्यो.

[9] Read विदित°.

[10] Read वो°.

[11] Read °षष्ठसंवत्सरे.

[12] Read °ग्रहण.

[13] Read °पार्श्वे.

[14] Read ग्रामो.

[15] Read सर्व्वबाधापरिहारो दत्तः.

Talamanchi plates of Vikramaditya I. — A. D. 660.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

iib.
20
22
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iii.
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25 धरास्स्वंवस्थितिसमकालं यशश्चिचीषुभिस्स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परि-

26 पालनीयं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [।*] दानं

27 वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिम्[1] [॥ २*]

Third Plate.

28 उक्त च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन[2] [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता

29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

30 तदा फलं [॥ ३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म् ।*] षष्टिं व-

31 र्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिरिति । [४*] श्रीमेघाचा-

32 र्य्यस्यान्वयस्य शासनं वैद्यान्वयश्रीवत्सवर्म्मणा लिखितं [॥*]

33 स्वस्त्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः [।*] ओं[3] ॥—

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu.]

(Line 2.) The great-grandson of the glorious **Polikêśi**-Vallabha-Mahârâja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (*and*) who adorned the family of the glorious **Chalikyas**;[4]

(L. 7.) The grandson of the glorious **Kîrtivarma**-Prithivîvallabha-Mahârâja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as **Vanavâsi**, which had been subdued by (*his*) valour;

(L. 8.) The dear son of **Satyâśraya**-Śrîprithivîvallabha-Mahârâjâdhirâja-Paramêśvara,[5] who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (*paramêśvara*) by defeating the glorious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (*him*) in battle;

(L. 11.) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (*assisted*) by none but (*his*) noble steed named Chitrakantha and by the edge of (*his*) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth; into whose own armour many blows had plunged; who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,[6] caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (*himself*) alone; who, for the increase of (*his*) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brâhmaṇas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms; the sun of whose valour (*became*) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (*paramêśvara*); **Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya**-Śrîprithivîvallabha-Mahârâjâdhirâja-Paramêśvara commands all people (*as follows*):—

(L. 19.) "Be it known to you (*that*), in **the sixth year of** (*Our*) **reign** of growing victory, **at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrâvaṇa**, the village named **Eḷasatti** on

[1] Read °नमिति.

[2] The *á* of व्या is expressed twice.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

[5] *I.e.* Pulakêśin II.

[6] *Viz.* the Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya and Kêraḷa. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramâditya I. in the grants of his son Vinayâditya, above, Vol. V. p. 202, note 16.

the northern side of the village of **Kolchumko[nra]** has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) **Śrîmêghâchârya** of the Vâsishtha *gôtra*, who knows the Vêdas with (their) *Aṅgas* and *Upâṅgas*, in order that (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself might obtain merit and fame. As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame."

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 31.) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of **Śrîmêghâchârya** was written by the illustrious **Vajravarman** of the **Vaidya** family. Let there be welfare to cows and Brâhmaṇas! *Ôṁ.*

POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W. Chalukya Vikramâditya I., at the time of a **solar eclipse in the month Śrâvaṇa.** From page 2 of Appendix II. to Vol. VIII. of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685; and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was **visible at Bâdâmi,** the capital of the W. Chalukyas, situated in about Long. 76° and Lat. 16°.

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pûrṇimânta* and the *amânta* month Śrâvaṇa, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at Bâdâmi, *viz.* the eclipse which took place 3 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660.** That eclipse, an annular one, was **fully visible at Bâdâmi,** and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* **Śrâvaṇa.** We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the Paṭṭadakal duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W. Chalukya Kîrtivarman II. (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pûrṇimânta* Śrâvaṇa; and to show that in early times the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in Śaka-saṁvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date; that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the Nerûr plates of the queen Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to **the 23rd September A.D. 659,** and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of Vikramâditya's eldest brother Chandrâditya or of Vikramâditya himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of Vikramâditya I., the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that **Vikramâditya I. commenced to reign between some time in September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.**[1]

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[1] Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . . A.D. 655."

No. 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II. OF MALAVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the **Paramâra kings**, who ruled over **Mâlava** for more than three hundred years, there ve been published hitherto the texts of **twelve copper-plate** and **three stone inscriptions**. e have besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small ent or importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 4, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by zEdward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these tiones *principes* the genealogy of the Paramâras of Mâlava, with most of their dates, might re been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. p. I. pp. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayâditya we even to-day hardly sess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing Udayâditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt ut Mâlava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to officials of the Archæological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the histhry of that ntry. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mâlava country be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has a well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhâr the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were ad, at or near Mândhâtâ, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates of some value inasmuch as they show how **Dêvapâla**, one of the later kings of Mâlava who already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two of his, **Jaitugidêva** and **Jayavarman** [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MÂNDHÂTÂ PLATES OF DÊVAPÂLA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1282.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhêśvara at **Mândhâtâ**, an id in the Narmadâ (Narbadâ, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nimâr district of the Central vinces.[1] They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8¼" long by " broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur, to which they have been ented by Rao Jaswant Singh of Mândhâtâ. The first account of them was given by an old I of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhâr State;[2] and a transcript of the ription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the orities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimâr. The text and a translation, with an oduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, tor of the Nâgpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on e plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on **three plates**, which are stated to measure about 1' 5¼" broad by gh, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

[1] See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 257 ff.; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and Vol. III. p. 46. On the temple of Siddhêśvara see also *Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-04,

[2] Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other ated from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhâr inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.

inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1′ 4″ and 1′ 4⅝″ broad by between 10½″ and 11¼″ high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2″ broad by 3″ high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuḍa, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph.[1] The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate; these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three *aksharas*, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 40 a vacant space is left for four *aksharas* which may have been illegible in the original from which the inscription was copied; and there is a similar vacant space for two *aksharas* in line 54. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$″ and ⅜″. The **characters** are Nâgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the **language** is Sanskṛit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial *i* and *î* (*e.g.* in *iva*, l. 4, and *Udaî*°, l. 50), and to the initial *ê* (in *êsha*, l. 17) and *au* (*e.g.* in *Audalya-*, l. 27, and *Aurvva-*, l. 40); perhaps also to the forms of *th* (*e.g.* in *purushârtha-*, l. 1,) and *ksh* (*e.g.* in *sâkshât=*, l. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for *t* and *bh*, and those for *ddh* and *dv*, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all **numeral figures**; and in lines 28, 34, 49 and 50, it gives the **fraction** ½, denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought.[2] In line 79, before the word *rachitam=*, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain.— As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as *śutaḥ* for *sutaḥ*, l. 9, *Śâmavêda-* for *Sâmavêda-*, l. 29, *etc.*); *ri* is used for *ṛi* in *Rishi-*, l. 60, and *ṛi* for *ri* in *tṛi*° for *tri*° (i.e. *trivêda-*), l. 29 and elsewhere, and in *Śaktṛi-* for *Śaktri-*, ll. 23 and 71; *j* is employed instead of *y* in *jasô-* for *yaśô-*, l. 73, and in the names *Jasôdhara-*, l. 29, and *Jasadêva-* (for *Yaśôdêva-*), l. 64; and *ksh* for *khy* in *Śâṁkshâyana-*, l. 46. The occasional employment of *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* for *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv* need perhaps hardly be mentioned; but I may add that the word *tâmratâṁ* is written *tâmvratâṁ* in line 2, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed three times, in *sôsḍbhuta*°, l. 15, °*dâyôsyam=*, l. 75, and *vudhvâssmad*°, l. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected.— The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of king Arjunavarman.[3] In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with *Vâtâbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam* which, with a single exception,[4] occurs in all Paramâra plates; and in lines 75-79 four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with *Iti kamaladalâmbuvindu-lôlâm*, is common to all Paramâra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective *uddâman*,[5] instead of *uddâma* which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and

[1] Similar representations of Garuḍa are found on all complete plates of the Paramâras of Mâlava, of which facsimiles have been published; compare *e.g.* above, Vol. III. Plate opposite p. 50.

[2] Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 85.

[3] Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my *Northern List*.

[4] *Viz.* the Ujjain plates of Vâkpatirâja, published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 160.

[5] I know of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of *ud* and *dâman* (in the sense of *dâmna udgataḥ*) would become *uddâma*, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under *uddâma*, might just as well be placed under *uddâman*. In his commentary on *Raghuvaṁśa* I. 78, Mallinâtha actually explains *uddâma-diggajê* by *uddâmânô dâmna udgatâ diggajâ yasmin*.

73, the strange revenue term *shamhalâtama*[*ka*]-*samanvita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the **Paramâra** (or **Pramâra**) king — *Mahârâja*, as he is styled in line 80— **Dêvapâla** of **Mâlava**. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the Paramâra Arjunavarman, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over Mâlava: **Bhôjadêva, Udayâditya,** his son **Naravarman,** his son **Yaśôvarman,** his son **Ajayavarman,** his son **Vindhyavarman,** his son **Subhaṭavarman,** and his son **Arjuna** (**Arjunavarman**). Vindhyavarman and Subhaṭavarman were at war with the **Gûrjaras,** and the first of them recovered Dhârâ, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy.[1] Arjuna in his youth put to flight **Jayasiṁha,** of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of Gûrjara and belonged to the Chaulukya family (of Aṇahilapâṭaka).[2] To the nineteen verses of Arjunavarman's grants only three new verses (vv. 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on Arjuna's death he was succeeded in the government of Mâlava by **Dêvapâla** and record the name of this king's father. When I published the Harsaudâ inscription of Dêvapâla, I had to point out[3] that by certain epithets in that inscription Dêvapâla was clearly connected with the *Mahâkumâras* Lakshmivarmadêva, his son Hariśchandradêva, and his son Udayavarmadêva of Dhârâ. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that Dêvapâla actually was a son of **Hariśchandra** (and therefore a brother of the *Mahâkumâra* Udayavarman, whose plates are dated in A.D. 1200). In the Harsaudâ inscription, which is dated in A.D. 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known grant of Arjunavarman, Dêvapâla, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled *Mahârâjâdhirâja*. This, together with the fact that he succeeded Arjunavarman, would indicate that in him the two branches of the Paramâra family which till then had separately held sway over Mâlava became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist.[4] Besides the Harsaudâ stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of Dêvapâla's reign, dated in about A.D. 1229 and probably 1232.[5]

In lines 17 ff. **Dêvapâla** informs all king's officers, Brâhmaṇs and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of **Satâjuṇâ** in the **Mahuaḍa** *pratijâgaraṇaka*, that, while staying at **Mâhishmatî, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon**[6] **on the full-moon** *tithi* **in the month Bhâdrapada in the year 1282** (given in words), after bathing in the **Rêvâ** (*i.e.* Narmadâ) and worshipping Śiva (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of Vishṇu) Daityasûdana, he granted the village of Satâjuṇâ, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (*kaṅkaṭa*), *etc.*, to certain Brâhmaṇs enumerated in lines 22-71; and (in line 74) he orders the resident *Paṭṭakila* and others to give to these Brâhmaṇs the customary share of the produce and money-rent, *etc.*, excepting what was already enjoyed

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[1] The context would indicate that Dhârâ had been taken by the Gûrjaras.

[2] See now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99; compare also below, p. 118, note 2.—In Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 249 f., we are told that the Mâlava king Sôhaḍa (*i.e.* Subhaṭavarman), when about to invade the Gûrjara country, turned back from its frontier on hearing the verse: *Pratâpô râjamârtaṇḍa pûrvasyâm=êva râjatê | sa êva vilayaṁ yâti paśchimâśâvalambinaḥ* ||; but that afterwards the Gûrjara country was 'broken' by his son Arjunadêva.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 311.

[4] See *ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 348.

[5] Nos. 207 and 214 of my *Northern List*.

[6] The text has *sôma-parvvaṇi* instead of the fuller and ordinary *sômagrahaṇa-parvaṇi*; similarly *sûrya-parvaṇi* is used instead of *sûryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi*, *e.g.* in the dates of No. 356 of my *Northern List* and of Nos. 339 and 380 of my *Southern List*.— I may add that, excepting the Mândhâtâ plates of Jayasiṁha, published above, Vol. III. p. 48, the word *parvaṇi* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved Paramâra plates that have been hitherto published. We have *pavitraka-parvvaṇi* in No. 46 of my *Northern List*, *sômagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi* in Nos. 49 and 121, *udagayana-parvvaṇi* in No. 57, *saṁjâta-sûryaparvaṇi* in No. 172, *Mahâ-Vaiśâkhyâṁ parvvaṇi* in No. 189, *abhishêka-parvaṇi* in No. 195, *sûryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi* in No. 197, and *chandrôparâga-parvaṇi* in No. 198.

by gods (*i.e.* temples) and Brâhmaṇs. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect. The full-moon *tithi* of Bhâdrapada ended—

- in the current *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1282 : 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 30th August A.D. 1224 ;
- in the expired *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1282 : on Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225 ; and
- in the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1282 : on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there *was* an eclipse of the moon— a partial one— from 17 h. 45 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 'Thursday' has been erroneously put down instead of 'Tuesday.'

Of the localities mentioned above, **Mâhishmatî**, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long. 75° 37′ and Lat. 22° 11′, on the northern bank of the Narmadâ (Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, B d). The village of **Satâjuṇâ** exists still under the same name— the *Indian Atlas* has 'Satajana'— about 13 miles south-west of Mândhâtâ in Long. 76° 3′ and Lat. 22° 8′ (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 54). **Mahuaḍa**, after which the *pratijâgaraṇaka* or district was called, probably is the village of 'Mohod,' about 25 miles south of 'Satajana,' in Long. 76° and Lat. 21° 48′. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B., we have *Mahuaḍa-pathakê*, clearly equivalent to *Mahuaḍa-pratijâgaraṇakê*. Among other Paramâra grants, the word for 'district' is *pathaka* also in No. 57 of my *Northern List*, and *pratijâgaraṇaka* in Nos. 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern *parganâ*, 'a district or tract of country including a number of villages.'

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (*vaṇṭaka*),[1] in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half a share each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the *mahârâja-paṇḍita* or 'king's Paṇḍit' Gôsê[2]) two shares. The original in each case gives the *gôtra* and *pravaras* of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin ; also, with two exceptions, the Vêdic *śâkhâ* or Vêda studied by him. The *gôtras*, *śâkhâs* and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list ; the names of the donees' fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are : *agni°*, i.e. *agnihôtrin* ; *âva°* or *âvasathika* ; *upâ°*, i.e. *upâdhyâya* ; *cha°* or *chaturvêda* ; *ṭha°*, i.e. *ṭhakkura* ; *tṛi°* (for *tri°*), i.e. *trivêda* ; *dî°*, i.e. *dîkshita* ; *dvi°*, i.e. *dvivêda* ; *paṁ°* or *paṁḍi°*, i.e. *paṇḍita* ; *pâṭha°*, i.e. *pâṭhaka* ; *yâjñi°*, i.e. *yâjñika* ; *śu°* or *śukla* ; *śrôtri°*, i.e. *śrôtriya*. In addition to these, we have *pañcha°* in line 71, *râjan* in line 37, and *mahârâjapaṇḍita* in line 39. About the meaning of *pañcha°* I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was *pañchakula* ; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

[1] The inscription B. (in lines 32, 34, 36 and 37) shows that the word *vaṇṭaka* is synonymous with *pada*, 'a share.'

[2] He probably is the Gôsêka, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.

take *pañcha*° to be equivalent to *pañchakalpin* (*pañchôlî*) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. II. p. 96. In the case of 20 donees the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son; in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one; and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs. In the four remaining cases we have the sequences: *dîkshita, âvasathika, śukla; upâdhyâya, agnihôtrin, dîkshita; agnihôtrin, dîkshita, âvasathika;* and *agnihôtrin, upâdhyâya, âvasathika.* Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames — Dikshit, Padhye, Pathak, Pandit, Shukle, *etc.*— which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children's children.

Of the places with which the donees are connected, I take **Mahâvana-sthâna** to be Mahâban, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, C b); **Tripurî-sthâna** is Tewar, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur; **Akôlâ-sthâna** probably is Akola in Berar (*ibid.* Plate 31, D a), and **Mathurâ-sthâna** is Muttra in the United Provinces (*ibid.* Plate 27, C b). **Ḍiṇḍvânaka-sthâna** apparently is the Ḍêṇḍvânaka, mentioned above, Vol. V. p. 210, now the town of Didwâna[1] in Jôdhpur, Râjputâna (*ibid.* Plate 27, B b). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions. **Mutâvathû-sthâna** is the same place which is mentioned as Muktâvasthû-sthâna in the three grants of Arjunavarman;[2] and **Hastinâpura** may be the village of Hathiṇâvara (on the northern bank of the Narmadâ in the Pagârâ *pratijâgaraṇaka*), which was granted by Arjunavarman's grant published in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27. With **Ṭakârî-sthâna** compare 'Ṭakârî,' above, Vol. III. p. 350, and note 13. The names **Âśrama-sthâna** and **Sarasvatî-sthâna** I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, **Madhyadêśa** is too well known to call for any remark here.

After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three *aksharas dû*° *śrî mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photo-lithograph. The first *akshara* of course stands for *dûtakaḥ* or *dûtaḥ*, and should be followed by a name to which the word *śrî* would have been prefixed; but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by *mu 3* and the following symbol. We find the same *mu 3* (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

The inscription then has the statement that 'this was composed by the king's preceptor (*râja-guru*) **Madana**, with the approbation of the *mahâsândhivigrahika* (or great minister of peace and war), the learned **Bilhaṇa**'— a statement which occurs also in Arjunavarman's grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 33, and (with *mahâpaṇḍita* instead of *mahâsândhivigrahika-paṇḍita*) in the same king's grant in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379. On Madana, who may reasonably be taken to have composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99. As regards Bilhaṇa, in verse 7 of the *praśasti* at the end of Âśâdhara's *Dharmâmṛita*[3] 'the learned Bilhaṇa, the lord of poets,' is described as 'the *mahâsândhivigrahika* of the glorious king Vindhya (*Vindhya-bhûpati*).' Since this king Vindhya can be no other than Arjunavarman's grandfather Vindhyavarman,[4] it might seem as if his *mahâsândhivigrahika* Bilhaṇa could not be the Bilhaṇa of Arjunavarman's grant and of the present inscription. But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

[1] In Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. I. p. 335, the town is called *Ḍiṁḍavâṇanagara*.

[2] See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 32, and *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379 (where the published text has *Muktâvasu-sthâna*).

[3] See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.* during 1883-84, p. 391.

[4] *Vindhya-bhûpati* has been taken to mean 'king of the Vindhyas or Mâlava'; but as *Arjuna-bhûpati* in the same *praśasti* denotes Arjunavarman, the former can only denote Vindhyavarman.

two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing; and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A.D. 1211 to A.D. 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Âśâdhara himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mâlava, from Vindhyavarman to Dêvapâla's son Jaitugidêva.[1]

The inscription ends with the words: 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* the sign-manual) of the *Mahârâja*, the glorious Dêvapâladêva,' followed by the usual *maṅgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ.*

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[3] || Ôṁ namaḥ purushârtha-chûḍâmaṇayê dharmmâya || [4]Prativiṁva-[5]nibhâd=bhûmêḥ kṛitvâ sâkshât=pratigrahaṁ | jagad=âhlâdayan=diśyâ[d*]=dvijêṁ-

2 drô maṅgalâni vaḥ |(||) 1 |(||) Jîyât=Paraśurâmô=sau kshatraiḥ kshuṇṇaṁ raṇ-âhataiḥ | saṁdhyârkka-vimvam=[6]êv=ôrvvî-dâtur=yasy=ê(ai)ti tâmvratâṁ[7] |(||) 2 ||

3 Yêna Maṁdôdarîvâshpa-vâribhiḥ sa(śa)mitô mṛidhê | prâṇêśva(śva)rî-viyôgâgniḥ sa Râmaḥ śrêyasê=stu vaḥ |(||) 3 |(||) Bhîmên=âpi dhṛitâ mû[r*]ddhni yat-pâdâḥ

4 sa Yudhishṭhiraḥ | vaṁs(ś)-âdyên=êṁdunâ jîyât=su-tulya[8] iva nirmitaḥ |(||) 4 |(||) Paramârakul-ôttaṁsaḥ Kaṁsajin-mahimâ nṛipaḥ | śrî-Bhôjadêva ity=â-

5 sîn=nâsîrâkrâṁnta-bhûtalaḥ |(||) 5 |(||) Yad-yaśaśchaṁdrik-ôdyôtê[9] digutsaṁga-taraṁgitê | dvishannṛipa-yaśaḥpuṁjapuṁḍarîkai[r*]=nimîlitaṁ |(||) 6 |(||) Tatô=bhû-

6 d=Udayâdityô nityôtsâh-aikakautukî | asâdhâraṇa-vîraśrîr=aśrî-hêtur=virôdhinâṁ |(||) 7 |(||) Mahâkalaha-kalpâṁtô yasy=ôddâmabhir=âsu(śu)-

7 gaiḥ | kati n=ônmûlitâs=tuṁgâ bhûbhṛitaḥ kaṭak-ôlvaṇâḥ |(||) 8 |(||) Tasmâch=chhinna-dvishanmarmâ Naravarmâ narâdhipaḥ | dharmô(rm-â)-bhyuddharaṇê dhîmân=abhût=sîmâ

8 mahîbhujâṁ |(||) 9 |(||) Prati-prabhâtaṁ viprêbhyô dattai[r]=grâma-padaiḥ svayaṁ | anêkapadatâṁ ninyê dharmmô yên=aika-pâd=api |(||) 10 |(||) Taty(sy)=âjani Yaśôvarmmâ

9 putraḥ kshatriya-śêkharaḥ | tasmâd=Ajayavarm=âbhûj=jayaśrî-viśrutaḥ śu(su)taḥ |(||) 11 |(||) Tat-sûnur=vvîra-mûrddhanyô dhany-ôtpati(tti)r=ajâyata | Gûrjarô-chchhêda-

10 nirvvaṁdhî[10] Viṁdhyavarmâ mahâ-bhujaḥ |(||) 12 |(||) Dhâray=ôddhṛitayâ sârddhaṁ dadhâti sma tridhâratâṁ | sâṁyugînasya yasy=âsis=trâtuṁ lôka-trayîm=iva |(||) 13 |(||)

11 Tasy=âmushyâyaṇaḥ putraḥ Sutrâma-śrîr=ath=âśishat | bhûpaḥ Subhaṭavarmm=êti dharmmê tishṭhan=mahî-talaṁ |(||) 14 |(||) Yasya jvalati dig-jêtuḥ pratâpas=tapana-dyu-

12 têḥ | dâvâgni-chchhadman=âdy=âpi [11]garjjad-Gûrjjara-pattanê |(||) 15 |(||) Dêva-bhûyaṁ gatê tasmin=naṁdanô=rjjuna-bhûpatti(ti)ḥ | dôshṇâ dhattê=dhunâ dhâtrî-valayaṁ valayaṁ

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[1] See the inscription B., below.

[2] From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens.

[3] Denoted by a symbol.

[4] Metre of verses 1-22: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Read *pratibimba-*.

[6] Read *-bimbam-*.

[7] Read *tâmratâṁ*.

[8] Read *sva-tulya*.

[9] Read *-ôddyôtê*.

[10] Read *-nirbbandhî*.

[11] The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have *garjan-*; but *garjjad-* is the reading also of R., below, p. 121, line 14.

13 yathâ |(||) 16 |(||) Vâ(bâ)lalîl-âhavê yasya Jayasiṁhê palâyitê | dikpâlahâsa-vyâjêna yaśô dikshu vijṛiṁbhitaṁ |(||) 17 |(||) Kâvyagâṁdharvva-sarvvasva-nidhinâ

14 yêna[1] sâṁpratam | bhâr-âvataraṇaṁ[2] dêvyâś=chakrê pustaka-vîṇayôḥ |(||) 18 |(||) Yêna trividha-vîrêṇa tridhâ pallavitaṁ yaśaḥ | dhavalatvaṁ dadhus= trîṇi ja-

15 gaṁti katham=amya(nya)thâ |(||) 19 |(||) Ath=ârthinâm=apuṇyêna puṇyêna svargga-subhruvâṁ | sô ṣdbhutatyâgaśîlaś=cha śṛiṁgârî cha divaṁ gataḥ |(||) 20 |(||) Ta-

16 taḥ Pramâra-chaṁdrasya Hariśchaṁdrasya naṁdanaḥ | raraksha Mâlava-kshôṇîṁ Dêvapâlaḥ pratâpavân |(||) 21 |(||) Pavitra-karapadmaśya(sya) dânavâri-vijṛiṁ-

17 bhitaiḥ | na vidmô Dêvapâlasya dêvapâlasya ch=âṁtaraṁ |(||) 22 |(||) Sa êsha nara-nâyakaḥ sarvv-âbhyudayî ||[3] Mahuaḍa-pratijâgaraṇakê Satâ-

18 juṇâ-grâmê samasta-râjapurushân=vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân=pratinivâśi(si)-paṭṭakila-jana-pad-âdîṁś=cha vô(bô)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁvidi-

19 taṁ yathâ |[3] śrî-Mâhishmatî-sthitair=asmâbhiḥr=[4]dvyaśîtyadhika-dvâdaśaśata-saṁvatsarê Bhâdrapadê mâsê paurṇṇamâsyâṁ sô-

Second Plate; First Side.

20 ma-parvvaṇi Rêvâyâṁ snâtvâ śrî-Daityasûdana-sannidhau bhagavantaṁ Bhavânî-patiṁ samabhyarchchya saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ dṛishṭvâ | tathâ hi || Vâ-[5]

1 tâbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vaśu(su)dh-âdhipatyam=[6]âpâtamâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgaḥ | prâṇâs=tṛiṇâgrajalaviṁdu-samâ narâṇâṁ dha-

2 rmmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô paralôka-yânê || iti sarvvaṁ vimṛiśy=âdṛishṭa-phalam=aṁgîkṛitya ||[7] Âśramasthâna-vinirggatâya Vâjimâdhyaṁdinaśâ-

3 kh-âdhyâyinê Parâśa[ra*]-gôtrâya Parâśa-Śaktṛi-Vaśishṭh-êti[8] tri-pravarâya śrôtri°[9] Dâmôdara-pautrâya śrôtri° Vra(bra)hma-putrâya śrôtri° Gaṁgâdha-

4 rasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Mahâvanasthâna-vinirggatâya Pavitra-gôtrâya Gârggya-Gaurivît-Âṁgiras-êti tri-pravarâya Âśva-

lâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê dî°[10] Gaṁgâdhara-pautrâya âvaśa(sa)thika-Mahâditya-putrâya śukla-Bhadrêsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=ê-

kaṁ 1 Mahâvanasthâna-vinirggatâya Pavitra-gôtrâya Gârggya-Gaurivît-Âṁgiras-êti tri-pravarâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê dî° Śiṁ(siṁ)ha-

kaṁṭha-pautrâya śu°[11] Madhukaṁṭha-putrâya śu° Chaṁdrakaṁṭhasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Mahâvanasthâ[na*]-vinirggatâya Audalya-gôtrâya[12] Mâ-

dhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê dî° Padmasvâmi-pautrâya dî° Trilôchana-putrâya dî° Nârâyaṇasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya sârdhaṁ vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1½ Ma-

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Originally *yêma* was engraved.

The edition of the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 26, has *bhârâvatâraṇaṁ.*

These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

Read *=asmâbhir=.*

[5] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

Instead of the *akshara dhâ* originally *dhau* seems to have been engraved.

T[illegible]s sign of punctuation is superfluous. Here and in other places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been ed[illegible]

[illegible]ginally *Parâśâ-Śa°* was engraved. Read *Parâśara-Śaktri-Vasishṭh-êti,* where the name *Śaktri,* [illegible]e, would stand for the more correct *Śakti.* See below, line 71.

[illegible], here and below, *śrôtriya-*

[10] *I.e.,* here and below, *dîkshita-.*

[illegible], here and below, *śukla-.*

[12] Here the *pravaras* are omitted.

29 hâvanasthâna-vinirggatâya Kâtyâyana-gôtrâya[1] Śâ(sâ)mavêd-âdhyâyinê tri°[2] Râmêsva(śva)ra-pautrâya tri° Jasôdhara-[3]putrâya tri° Sûraśarmmaṇê[4] vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=ê-
30 kaṁ 1 Ṭakârîsthâna-vinirggatâya Bhâradvâja-[5]gôtrâya Bhâradvâj-Âṁgirasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspaty-êti tri-pravarâya Kauthumaśâkh-âdhyâyi-
31 nê tri° Ḍâlaṇa-pautrâya tri° Âśâdhara-putrâya tri° Visvêsvaraśarmmaṇê[6] vra(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Ṭakârîsthâna-vinirggatâya Bhâradvâ-
32 ja-gôtrâya Bhâradvâj-Âṁgirasa-Vâ(bâ)rhasya(spa)ty-êti tri-pravarâya Mâdhyaṁdina-śâkh-âdhyâyinê dî° Kêlhaṇa-pautrâya dî° Madhu-putrâya dî° Râ-
33 masa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâ[y]a vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Tripurîsthâna-vinirggatâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Bhâradvâj-Âṁgirasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspaty-êti tri-prava-
34 râya paṁ |[7] Haridhara-pautrâya paṁ | Mahîdhara-putrâya paṁ° Bhṛigu-śarmmaṇê[8] vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya sârddhaṁ vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1½. Mutavathûsthâna-[9]vinirggatâya
35 Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyapa(p-Â)vatsâra-Naidhruv-êti tri-pravarâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê cha°[10] Pṛithvîdhara-pautrâya cha° Âśâ(śâ)dhara-pu-
36 trâya agni°[11] Nârâyaṇaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Akôlâsthâna-vinirggatâya Parâvaśu(su)-gôtrâya Parâvaśu(su)-Kâṁkâya-
37 na-Kaikaśêya[12] tri-pravarâya ṭha |[13] Bharatapâla-pautrâya ṭha | Ḍâllaṇa-putrâya râja-Gôśa(sa)laśarmmaṇê[14] vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Mathurâsthâ-
38 na-vinirggatâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Vaśi(si)shṭha-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Vâśi(si)shṭh-êti tri-pravarâya chaturvvêda-Janârddana-pautrâ-

Second Plate; Second Side.

39 ya chaturvvêda-Dharaṇîdhara-putrâya mahârâjapaṁḍita-śrî-Gôsêśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭaka-dvayaṁ 2 Mathurâsthâna-vinirggatâya Â-
40 śvalâyanaśâkh-âdhâyinê Bhârggava-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnuvân[15] Aurvva-Jâmadagny-êti paṁcha-pravarâya cha° . . . . [16]-pautrâya cha°
41 Vishṇu-putrâya cha° Râmêsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Mathurâsthâna-vinirggatâya Âśvalâ[ya*]naśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâśyapa-gôtrâ-
42 ya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhruv-êti tri-pravarâya cha° Samuddhara-pautrâya cha° Dêvadhara-putrâya cha° Gadâdharasa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Ma-
43 thurâsthâna-vinirggatâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhârggava-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Vaitahavya-Sâvêtas-êti tri-pravarâya cha° Pavitra-pautrâ-
44 ya cha° Dharaṇîdhara-putrâya cha° Garbhêsva(śva)raśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 Mathurâsthâna-vinirggatâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyi-

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[1] *Kâtyâyana-gôtrâya* was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. Here, again, the *pravaras* are omitted.

[2] Here and below for *tri°*, i.e. *trivêda-*.

[3] For *Yaśôdhara-*.

[4] For *Sûraśarmmaṇê*.

[5] In the place of the *akshara ra* originally *dva* was engraved.

[6] Read *Viśvêśvara°*.

[7] This, or *paṁ°*, here and below, = *paṁḍita-*.

[8] The *śâkhâ* of this man is omitted.

[9] Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Mutâvathâ°*.

[10] *I.e.*, here and below, *chaturvêda-*.

[11] *I.e.*, here and below, *agnihôtri-*.

[12] Read *Kaikas-êti*.

[13] *I.e.*, here and below, *ṭhakkura-*.

[14] The *śâkhâ* of this man is omitted.

[15] Read *-Âpnavâna-*; see below, lines 52 and 66.

[16] Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.

iib.

40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58

iii.

45 nê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhruv-êti tri-pravarâya cha° Samuddhara-pautrâya cha° Dêvadhara-putrâya cha° Lôhaṭaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâ-

46 ya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Ḍiṁḍvânakasthâna**-vinirggatâya [1]**Śâṁkshâyanaśâkh**-âdhyâyinê Gautama-gôtrâya Gautam-Âṁgirasa-Autatthy-êti[2] tri-prava-

47 râya cha° Dharaṇîdhara-pautrâya cha° Vra(bra)hma-putrâya cha° Purushôttama-śarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkâṁ 1 **Mutâvathûsthâna-vinirggatâya** Mâdhyaṁ-

48 dinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhruv-êti tri-pravarâya dvi°[3] Gôviṁda-pautrâya dvi° Vâsadhara-putrâya dvi° Gadâ-

49 dharaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭaka(k-â)rddhaṁ ½ **Mutâvathûsthâna**-vinirggatâya Mâdhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhru-

50 v-êti tri-pravarâya dî° [4]Gaṁgâdhara-pautrâya dî° Kêśava-putrâya Udaiśar-mmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭaka(k-â)rddhaṁ ½ **Mahâvanasthâ[na*]**-vinirggatâya Kau-

51 thumaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Gautama-gôtrâya Gautam-Âṁgirasa-Autatthy-êti tri-pravarâya paṁ° Madana-pautrâya paṁ° Kâhna(nha)ḍa-putrâya paṁ° Kuladharasa(śa)rmmaṇê

52 vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Ṭakârîsthâna**-vinirggatâya[5] Kauthumaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnuvân[6] Aurvva-Jâmadagny-ê-

53 ti paṁcha-pravarâya tri° Janârddana-pautrâya tri° Naraśiṁ(siṁ)ha-putrâya âva°[7] Abhinaṁdaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Madhyadêśa**-vinirggatâ-

54 ya Mâdhyaṁdi[na*]śâkh-âdhyâyinê Mudgala-gôtrâya Âṁgiraśa(sa)-Bhara . . sa-[8] Mudgal-êti tri-pravarâya agni° Chchhîtû-pautrâya agni° Dharaṇîdhara-putrâ-

55 ya agni° Anantaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Madhyadêśa**-vinirggatâya Mâdhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Śâṁḍilya-gôtrâya Śâṁḍilya-Aśi(si)ta-

56 Dêval-êti tri-pravarâya yâjñi°[9] Nâgadêva-pautrâya yâjñi° Krishṇa-putrâya agni° Sthânêsva(śva)raśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Mathurâsthâna**-vini-

57 rggatâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Dhaumya-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-[Nai*]dhruv-êti[10] tri-pravarâya cha° Vishṇu-pautrâya cha° Sâdhâraṇa-putrâ-

58 ya cha° Ûdha[ra]śarmmaṇê[11] vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Mathurâsthâna**-vinirggatâya [12]Râṇâyinîśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Âṁgi-

59 rasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya tri° Mâdhava-pautrâya[13] tri° Sômêsva(śva)ra-putrâya tri° Kuladharaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1

Third Plate.

60 **Mathurâsthâna**-vinirggatâya Râṇâyinîśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Âṁgirasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya tri° Ri(ṛi)shi-pautrâya tri°

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[1] Read *Śâṁkhyâyana*° or, more correctly, *Śâṁkhâyana*°.

[2] *Autatthy-* = *Auchatthy-*; see below, B., line 33.

[3] *I.e.*, here and below, *dvivêda-*.

[4] Originally *Gâṁgâ*° was engraved, but the first *â* has been struck out.

[5] Originally °*sthânaṁ vi*° was engraved.

[6] Read *-Âpnavâna-*.

[7] *I.e.*, here and below, *âvasathika-*.

[8] In this name an open space is left for two syllables. The name which one would have expected is *Bhârmyaśva*.

[9] *I.e.*, here and below, *yâjñika-*.

[10] The *akshara vê* is engraved above the line.

[11] Originally *Ûdhapa*° was engraved.

[12] Read, here and below, *Râṇâyanîyaśâkh-*.

[13] The *akshara dha* is engraved above the line.

61 Mârkaṇḍa-putrâya tri° Madhusûdanaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Sarasvatîsthâna**-vinirggatâya Kaṭhaśâkh-âdhyâyinê [Har]ita-Kutsa-
62 gôtrâya Âṁgiraśa(sa)-[1] Aṁva(ba)rîsha-Yauvanâsv(śv)-êti tri-pravarâya cha° Vijayî-pautrâya cha° Ajayî-putrâya cha° Alliśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1
63 **Madhyadêśa**-vinirggatâya Mâdhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâśyap-Âvatsâra-Naidhruv-êti tri-pravarâya upâ°[2] Nârâyaṇa-pautrâya agni°[3]
64 [4]Jasadêva-putrâya dî° Lâhaḍaśarmmaṇê[5] vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Madhyadêśa**-vinirggatâya Mâdhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Śâṁḍilya-gôtrâya A-
65 śi(si)ta-Dêvala-Sâṁ(śâṁ)ḍily-êti tri-pravarâya agni° Kaṭuka-pautrâya dî° Purushôttama-putrâya âva° Narasiṁhaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Ma**-
66 **dhyadêśa**-vinirggatâya Mâdhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Mârkaṁḍêya-gôtrâya Bhârggava-Chyavana-Âpnuvân[6] Aurvva-Jâmadagny-êti paṁcha-pravarâya agni° Chchhîtû-pau-
67 trâya upâ° - Dâmôdara-putrâya âva° Mârkaṁḍêyaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1 **Madhyadêśa**-vinirggatâya Mâdhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Bhâradvâja-gô-
68 trâya Âṁgiraśa(sa)-[7]Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya dvi° Nârâyaṇa-pautrâya dvi° Padmanâbha-putrâya pâṭha°[8] Vâyudêvaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭaka-
69 m=êkaṁ 1 **Mathurâsthâna**-vinirggatâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Kautsa-gôtrâya Âṁgiraśa(sa)-Aṁva(ba)rîsha-Yauvanâsv(śv)-êti tri-pravarâya cha° Hari-pau-
70 trâya cha° Janârddana-putrâya cha° Râjêśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=arddhaṁ ½ **Hastinâpura**-vinirggatâya Kauthumaśâkh-âdhyâyinê Pârâsa(śa)ra-gôtrâ-
71 ya Pârâsa(śa)ra-Śaktṛi-[9]Vaśi(si)shṭh-êti tri-pravarâya paṁcha°[10] Kâhna(nha)ḍa-pautrâya paṁcha° Kumara-putrâya paṁḍi°[11] Kusumapâlaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya vaṁṭakam=êkaṁ 1
72 samastô=pi grâmaś=chatuḥkaṁkaṭa-[12]visu(śu)ddhaḥ sa-vṛikshamâlâkulaḥ sa-hiraṇyabhâgabhôgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ sarvvâdâya-samêtaḥ sa-nidhinikshêpaḥ sha-
73 mhalâtama[ka]-[13]samanvitô mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇyajasô-[14]bhivṛiddhayê chaṁdrârkârṇṇavakshiti-samakâlaṁ yâvat=paraya(yâ) bhaktyâ śâsâ(sa)nên=ôdaka-pûrvvaṁ pradattaḥ [|*] tan=ma-
74 tvâ tannivâsi(si)-pa[ṭṭa]kilajanapadair=yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakarahiraṇyâdikaṁ dêvavrâ(brâ)hmaṇabhukti-varjjam=âjñâ-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ sarvvam=êbhyô vrâ(brâ)-hmaṇêbhyô dâtavyaṁ [|*]
75 sâmânyaṁ ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vudhvâ[15] smadvaṁśajair=anyair=api bhâvi-bhôktṛibhir=asmatpradatta-dharmmâdâyô[16] syam=anumantavyaḥ pâlanîyaś=cha[17] || Uktaṁ cha || [18]Va(ba)hubhir=vaśu(su)dhâ

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[1] Originally *Âṁgiriśa-* was engraved.

[2] *I.e.*, here and below, *upâdhyâya-*.

[3] This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

[4] For *Yaśôdêva-*.

[5] Originally *Lôhaḍa°* was engraved.

[6] Read *-Âpnavâna-*.

[7] Originally *Âṁgiriśa-* was engraved.

[8] I.e. *pâṭhaka-*.

[9] Read *Śaktri-*, and see above, p. 109, note 8.

[10] *I.e.*, here and below, *pañchakalpi-*(?).

[11] I.e. *paṁḍita-*.

[12] Read *chatushkaṁkaṭa-*.

[13] The *akshara* in brackets might possibly be read *chha*. As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *lâ* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *aksharas*.

[14] Read *puṇyayaśô-*.

[15] Read *buddhvâ*.

[16] One would have expected *dharmmadâyô*; but *dharmmâdâyô* is the reading of most of the Paramâra copper-plates.

[17] Originally *'śa=chaṁ* was engraved.

[18] Metre of this verse and the next: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

76 bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ | sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha

77 majjati || [1]Sarvvân=êvaṁ bhâvinô bhûmipâlân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ [|*] sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanî-

78 yô bhavadbhiḥ || Iti[2] kamaladalâṁvu(bu)vindu-lôlâṁ śriyam=anuchiṁtya manushya-jîvitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udâhṛitaṁ cha vudhvâ[3] na hi pu-

79 rushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilôpyâ iti || **Saṁvat 1282 varshê Bhâdra-sudi 15 Gurau** || Dû°[4] śrîmu 3||[5] Rachitam=ida[ṁ*] mahâsândhi-

80 vigrahika-paṁḍita-śrî-Vi(bi)lhaṇa-saṁmatêna |[6] râja-guruṇâ Madanêna | Sva-hastô=yaṁ mahârâja-śrî-**Dêvapâladêvasya** || Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-22.

Ôṁ ! Ôṁ ! Obeisance to *dharma*,[7] the crest-jewel of the aims of man !

(Verse 1.) May (the Moon), the Lord of the twice-born, gladdener of the world, after having openly accepted the earth in the guise of its reflection,[8] bestow blessings on you !

(V. 2.) May that Paraśurâma be victorious, for whom, when he granted the earth (*to the Brâhmaṇs,*) the very orb of the twilight-sun, pierced by the Kshatriyas slain (*by him*) in fight, became the copper-plate ![9]

(V. 3.) May Râma minister to your welfare, he who in battle quenched the fire of separation from his life's mistress by the water of Mandôdarî's[10] tears !

(V. 4.) May Yudhishṭhira be victorious, whose feet even Bhîma placed on his head, (*and*) whom the Moon, the progenitor of his race, framed as it were equal unto himself !

(V. 5.) There was a king, great like Kaṁsa's conqueror,[11] an ornament of the **Paramâra** family, the glorious **Bhôjadêva**, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army.[12]

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[1] Metre : Śâlinî. [2] Metre: Pushpitâgrâ. [3] Read *buddhvâ.*

[4] I.e. *dûtakaḥ* or *dûtaḥ* (as in the inscription B.).

[5] For the exact shape of this mark, which is not a sign of punctuation, see the accompanying photo-lithograph.

[6] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[7] I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskṛit *dharma ;* in the present case 'religious merit' would perhaps best convey some idea of what is intended. The four aims of man are *dharma, artha, kâma* and *môksha.*

[8] The spot (*kalaṅka*) in the moon is by poets taken to be the reflected image of the earth. Prof. Jacobi, who first drew my attention to this notion, quotes *Raghuvaṁśa* XIV. 40, and especially *Haravijaya* XLI. 64; and I find that the idea is clearly expressed in verse 1982 of the *Subhâshitâvali,* according to which 'others have said' that the spot in the moon is 'the reflected image of the earth' (*bhûmêś=cha bimbaṁ parê*) ; compare also *ibid.* v. 2584, *śaśalakshmaṇaḥ pariṇatâ pṛithvî kalaṅkâyatê.* With *pratibimba-nibhât* compare *pratibimba-mishât* in the *Pârijâtamañjarî,* above, Vol. VIII. p. 110, line 50 ; and with *jagad=âhlâdayan,* as applied to the moon, *âhlâdayan=viśvam* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 208, line 1.— The Moon being a *dvija* (or Brâhmaṇ), one of his privileges is to receive gifts (*pratigraha*), just as it is his duty to make them (*dâna*).

[9] The verse has been called awkward, because it has not been understood. Since warriors slain in battle enter heaven through the sun, this luminary, covered with their blood, assumes the reddish hue of copper. In this state it appears in the twilight sky, and is thus represented to be the very copper-plate charter (*tâmra*) by which Paraśurâma gr[illegible]ted the earth to the Brâhmaṇs. For the idea of warriors who are slain in battle splitting the sun compare, e[illegible] [illegible]. *Ind.* Vol. II. p. 192, v. 33 ; *Subhâshitâvali,* v. 2274 ; and the pretty verse, given to illustrate the fig[illegible]re of [illegible]a, in *Êkâvalî,* Bombay ed., p. 325 : *Navêshu kântêshu kṛitâbhilâshâḥ svargâṅganâḥ prêkshya* [illegible] *[illegible]ri[illegible]iṁha bhûpâla tav=âhavêshu kampâkulaṁ darśayati svabimbam* || ; afraid of being split, the s[illegible] trem[illegible]

[10] M[illegible] [illegible] Râvaṇa's favourite wife. [11] *I.e.* the god Kṛishṇa.

[12] T[illegible] [illegible]d [illegible]*istra* (i.e. *sênâ-mukha*) occurs in the *Pârijâtamañjarî,* above, Vol. VIII. p. 116, l. 78 ; also, c[illegible] in [illegible] *[illegible]yacharita,* XII. 73 and XIII. 23.

(V. 6.) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings.

(V. 7.) Then came **Udayâditya**, whose one desire was constant enterprise; who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made inglorious his adversaries.

(V. 8.) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V. 9.) From him sprang king **Naravarman**, who cleft the vital parts of adversaries; the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion.

(V. 10.) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brâhmaṇs, he made religion, one-footed though it is (*in this Kali age*), possessed of several feet.[1]

(V. 11.) His son was **Yaśôvarman**, the chaplet of Kshatriyas; (*and*) from him sprang his son **Ajayavarman**, renowned for the glory of victory.

(V. 12.) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was **Vindhyavarman**, long of arm, eager to extirpate the **Gûrjaras**.

(V. 13.) The sword of this (*king*) skilled in war, with **Dhârâ** rescued by it, assumed three edges,[2] to protect as it were the three worlds.

(V. 14.) Then the son of that illustrious one, king **Subhaṭavarman**, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like Indra.

(V. 15.) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town[3] of the blustering **Gûrjara**.[4]

(V. 16.) Now[5] that he has attained unto godhead, his son king **Arjuna** supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet.

(V. 17.) When in the battle which was his childhood's frolic **Jayasiṁha** took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters' guardians.

(V. 18.) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatî) of the burden of her books and lyre.

(V. 19.) This triple hero[6] made his fame triply sprout. How otherwise did the three worlds acquire their whiteness?

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[1] In the golden age *dharma* had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (*Parâśarasmṛiti*, ed. by Vâman Śâstri Islâmpurkar, Vol. I. P. I. p. 82). The word for 'share' in the original being *pada*, *i.e.* 'foot,' the king by granting shares of villages increased the number of *dharma's* feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 218, l. 19: *mahâdânâdy-aśûnyâni kurvvan=parvvâṇy=anêkaśaḥ* | *dharmmasy=âvirvvidhad=yô=mhrîn;* see also *ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 159, l. 7.

[2] By itself the sword had two edges (*dhârâ*); the town of Dhârâ, retaken by it, became its third edge (*dhârâ*). The author suggests that the sword became like the *tridhârâ*, *i.e.* the 'three-streamed' Gaṅgâ, which flows through, and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions.

[3] The word *pattana* may also be taken as a proper name of the well-known Pattana (see *e.g.* above, Vol. VIII. p. 224, No. XII., and p. 229, No. XXXII.).

[4] *Garjjad-Gûrjjara-* occurs also above, p. 85. l. 27; compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 217, l. 11: *m=aivaṁ G[û]rjjara garjja.*

[5] This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman's successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king's own grants.

[6] *I.e.* a hero in fight, in compassion (like Jîmûtavâhana), and in bounty (like Bali)—*yuddha-vîra*, *dayâ-vîra*, and *dâna-vîra*; compare Vâmanâchârya in his edition of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, p. 113; *Śṛiṅgâratilaka*, III. 14 (*trividhô nâyakaḥ*); and similar works. In the *Pârijâtamañjarî*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 102, l. 7, and p. 103, l. 18, Arjunavarman is styled *trividhavîra-chûḍâmaṇi*. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Âbû inscriptions of the Vikrama years 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Cousens' List, Nos. 1725, 1726 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare *Êkâvalî*, p. 258: *Narasiṁha mahîpâla kîrtis=tripathagâ tava* | *sa kasya bhavitâ ślâghyâ punânâ bhuvanatrayam* ||

(V. 20.) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven.

(V. 21.) Then **Dêvapâla**, full of prowess— the son of **Harischandra**, the moon of the **Pramâras**— came to rule the **Mâlava** country.

(V. 22.) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kuśa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between **Dêvapâla** and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dânavas caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (*to make a respectful offering*)].[1]

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71.

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gôtra.	Śâkhâ or Vêda.	Place of origin.	Shares.
1	Gaṅgâdhara[2]	śrôtriya	Parâśa[ra]	Vâjimâdhyaṁdina	Âśrama[3]	1
2	Bhadrêśvara	śukla	Pavitra	Âśvalâyana	Mahâvana	1
3	Chandrakaṇṭha	,,	,,	,,	,,	1
4	Nârâyaṇa	dîkshita	Audalya	Mâdhyaṁdina	,,	1½
5	Śûra	trivêda	Kâtyâyana	Sâmavêda	,,	1
6	Viśvêśvara	,,	Bhâradvâja	Kauthuma	Ṭakârî	1
7	Râma	dîkshita	,,	Mâdhyaṁdina	,,	1
8	Bhṛigu	paṇḍita	,,	*omitted.*	Tripurî	1½
9	Nârâyaṇa	agnihôtrin	Kâśyapa	Âśvalâyana	Mutâvathû	1
					Carried over .	10

[1] The king Dêvapâla and the guardian of the gods (*dêvapâla, i.e.* the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dânavâri-vijṛimbhitaiḥ pavitrakarapadmaḥ*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt; it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dâna-vâri*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the Dânavas' (*Dânava-ari, i.e.* the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (*i.e. kuśa* or *darbha* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus-hand.' Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, pleased with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dânavas, took up the *pavitra* (*i.e.* the *argha* vessel) to make a respectful offering to Vishṇu. In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 124, v. 2, where Brahman offers to Vishṇu the *argha-salila*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Bali. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound.— From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 218, ll. 19 and 20: *Śriyaṁ babhâra vidhivad=dânavârâtitôshitaḥ* | *Mahêṁdravad=dvijaśrêshṭha-varggas=tat-saṁgam-âgataḥ* ||, where *dânavârâtitôshitaḥ* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dânavas.' *Dânavâri* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting-juice of elephants' (*mada-jala*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dânavas' the word is used in the *Naishadhîyacharita*, XIII. vv. 3 and 23, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the *śriyaṁ babhâra* . . . *dânavârâtitôshitaḥ Mahêndra*[*ḥ*] of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanalîya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 13th *sarga* of the *Naishadhîyacharita*). In *Êkâvalî*, p. 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the *dânavâri*.

[2] All these names have the word *śarman* attached to them.

[3] With the exception of *Madhyadêśa* and *Hastinâpura*, these names have the word *sthâna* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd.*

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gôtra.	Śâkhâ or Vêda.	Place or origin.	Shares.
					Brought forward	10
10	Gôsala	râjan	Parâvasu	*omitted.*	Akôlâ	1
11	Gôsû	mahârâjapaṇḍita	Vasishṭha	Âśvalâyana	Mathurâ	2
12	Râmêśvara	chaturvêda	Bhârgava	"	"	1
13	Gadâdhara	"	Kâśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhêśvara	"	Bhârgava	"	"	1
15	Lôhaṭa	"	Kâśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushôttama	"	Gautama	Śâṅkhâyana	Ḍiṇḍvânaka	1
17	Gadâdhara	dvivêda	Kâśyapa	Mâdhyaṁdina	Mutâvathû	½
18	Udaî (Udayî)	*omitted.*	"	"	"	½
19	Kuladhara	paṇḍita	Gautama	Kauthuma	Mahâvana	1
20	Abhinanda	âvasathika	Vatsa	"	Ṭakârî	1
21	Ananta	agnihôtrin	Mudgala	Mâdhyaṁdina	Madhyadêśa	1
22	Sthânêśvara	"	Śâṇḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ûdha[ra]	chaturvêda	Dhaumya	Âśvalâyana	Mathurâ	1
24	Kuladhara	trivêda	Bhâradvâja	Râṇâyinî	"	1
25	Madhusûdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvêda	Harita-Kutsa	Kaṭha	Sarasvatî	1
27	Lâhaḍa	dîkshita	Kâśyapa	Mâdhyaṁdina	Madhyadêśa	1
28	Narasiṁha	âvasathika	Śâṇḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mârkaṇḍêya	"	Mârkaṇḍêya	"	"	1
30	Vâyudêva	pâṭhaka	Bhâradvâja	"	"	1
31	Râjê	chaturvêda	Kautsa	Âśvalâyana	Mathurâ	½
32	Kusumapâla	paṇḍita	Pârâśara	Kauthuma	Hastinâpura	1
					TOTAL	82½

NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajayî, chaturvêda, l. 62.
Âśâdhara, trivêda, l. 31; chaturvêda, l. 35.
Bharatapâla, ṭhakkura, l. 37.
Brahman, śrôtriya, l. 23; chaturvêda, l. 47.
Chhîtû, agnihôtrin, ll. 54, 66.
Ḍâlaṇa, trivêda, l. 31.
Ḍâllaṇa, ṭhakkura, l. 37.
Dâmôdara, śrôtriya, l. 23; upâdhyâya, l. 67.
Dêvadhara, chaturvêda, ll. 42, 45.
Dharaṇîdhara, chaturvêda, ll. 39, 44, 47; agnihôtrin, l. 54.

Gaṅgâdhara, dîkshita, ll. 25, 50.
Gôvinda, dvivêda, l. 48.
Hari, chaturvêda, l. 69.
Haridhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
Janârdana, chaturvêda, ll. 38, 70; trivêda, l. 53.
Jasadêva, agnihôtrin, l. 64.
Jasôdhara, trivêda, l. 29.
Kânhaḍa, paṇḍita, l. 51; pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.
Kaṭuka, agnihôtrin, l. 65.
Kêlhaṇa, dîkshita, l. 32.
Kêśava, dîkshita, l. 50.
Kṛishṇa, yâjñika, l. 56.
Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.
Madana, paṇḍita, l. 51.
Mâdhava, trivêda, l. 59.
Madhu, dîkshita, l. 32.
Madhukaṇṭha, śukla, l. 27.
Mahâditya, âvasathika, l. 25.
Mahîdhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
Mârkaṇḍa, trivêda, l. 61.
Nâgadêva, yâjñika, l. 56.
Narasiṁha, trivêda, l. 53.
Nârâyaṇa, upâdhyâya, l. 63; dvivêda, l. 68.
Padmanâbha, dvivêda, l. 68.
Padmasvâmin, dîkshita, l. 28.
Pavitra, chaturvêda, l. 43.
Pṛithvîdhara, chaturvêda, l. 35.
Purushôttama, dîkshita, l. 65.
Râmêśvara, trivêda, l. 29.
Ṛishi, trivêda, l. 60.
Sâdhâraṇa, chaturvêda, l. 57.
Samuddhara, chaturvêda, ll. 42, 45.
Siṁhakaṇṭha, dîkshita, l. 26.
Sômêśvara, trivêda, l. 59.
Trilôchana, dîkshita, l. 28.
Vâsadhara, dvivêda, l. 48.
Vijayî, chaturvêda, l. 62.
Vishṇu, chaturvêda, ll. 41, 57.

B.—MÂNDHÂTÂ PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN II.; [VIKRAMA-]SAṀVAT 1317.

These are two plates which were found by Mr. Lele,[1] some time in 1904, at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of Mândhâtâ, on the southern bank of the Narmadâ in the Nimâr district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimâr to the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1′ 5⅛″ broad by 10¾″ high, and are held together by two rings, now cut, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1′ 4″ broad by between 9½″ and 10″ high, that on the second side of the second plate 1′ 4½″ broad by 8″ high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well-engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3″ broad by 4″ high, which contains an engraving of Garuḍa, with, below it, the words *sva-hastô-yaṁ mahârâjasya* ||, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ⅜″. The characters are Nâgarî, closely resembling those of the inscription A., and the language is Sanskṛit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata-*, l. 25; as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv*; *Janârddana-* is written *Janârjjana-* in line 34, and *shaḍbhir=* as *shaṭbhir=* in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times; and, excepting in *sâṁpratam*, l. 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

[1] The plates were first mentioned by Mr. Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archæological work in the Dhâr State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvâra*.— In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A.; and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vâtâbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-âdhipatyam*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *Iti kamaladalâmbuvindu-lôlâm.* There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmâbhiḥ . . . Gâṅgadêva-pârśvât . . . grâmô=yaṁ tribhyô brâhmaṇêbhyô dâpitaḥ*, 'we have caused Gâṅgadêva to give this village to three Brâhmaṇs.'[1]

The inscription records an order by the **Paramâra** *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Jayavarman [II.]** of **Mâlava**, dated, as will be shown below, in A.D. 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings[2]) with the same verses of the inscription A., and contain therefore the same list of kings from **Bhôjadêva** to **Dêvapâla.** The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus :—

"When [3] that king, the glorious **Dêvapâla**, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king **Jaitugidêva,** the glorious **Mâlava** chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young Nârâyaṇa."[4]

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king **Jayavarman,** rules the land."

Dêvapâla, therefore, was succeeded by his son **Jaitugidêva,** and he by his younger brother **Jayavarman [II].**— Jaitugidêva was known already from the *praśasti* in Âśâdhara's *Dharmâmṛita*, referred to above,[5] according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Pramâra Dêvapâla's son Jaitugidêva, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A.D. 1243. In my *Northern List*, No. 223, I have assumed that Jaitugidêva is identical with a king who is mentioned in a Râhatgaḍh inscription of the 28th August A.D. 1256, noticed by me in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 84, where I have given the king's name as *Jaya[siṁha]dêva*. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham[6] was not right in reading the same name as *Jaya[varmma]dêva*, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at Udaypur in Gwâlior,[7] which seems to be of the reign of a king Jayasiṅghadêva and to be dated in the [Vikrama] year 1311 (in Jan-

[1] Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p. 11: *têna . . . lêkhaka-Sôhaḍa-pârśvâl=likhâpitâ*, 'he caused the writer Sôhaḍa to write (a certain MS.).' With the use of *pârśvât* we may compare that of *hastât* in Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 29: *Udayachaṁdragaṇinâ Jinabhadralêkhaka-hastâd=Vimalachaṁdragaṇi-hastâch=cha Ôghaniryuktisûtraṁ lêkhitam.*

[2] In verse 17 this inscription has *Jaitrasiṁhê* instead of *Jayasiṁhê*, and in verse 21 *praśâsti* instead of *raraksha*.— For the reading *Jaitrasiṁhê* see above, Vol. VIII. p. 203, where a certain person is called both *Jayantasiṁha* and *Jaitrasiṁha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the Jayasiṁha, who was defeated by Arjunavarman, undoubtedly was the Chaulukya Jayantasiṁha (Jayasiṁha) Abhinavasiddharâja.

[3] The text actually has: "Now that Dêvapâla has resorted to Indra's abode, his son Jaitugidêva rules this land." The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of Jaitugidêva himself.

[4] 'Bâla-Nârâyaṇa' most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare *Kumâra-Nârâyaṇa*, as an epithet of the Paramâra Sindhurâja, in the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, I. 59.

[5] See above, p. 107.

[6] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *aksharas* between *Jaya* and *dêva* are almost completely broken away.

[7] I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me.

uary 1255). For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugidêva[1] was reigning in A.D. 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A.D. 1260-61.

In lines 23 ff. of our inscription **Jayavarman** informs all king's officers, Brâhmaṇs and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of **Vaḍaüda** in the **Mahuaḍa** *pathaka*, that, while staying at **Maṇḍapadurga**, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratîhâra*[2] **Gâṅgadêva** to give the village of **Vaḍaüda** to three Brâhmaṇs.

And, according to lines 28 ff., the *Pratîhâra* **Gâṅgadêva, on Sunday, the third** *tithi* **of the bright half of Âgrahâyaṇa (Mârgaśirsha) of the year 1317,** while the *nakshatra* was **Pûrvâshâḍhâ** and the *yôga* Śûla, at **Amarêśvara-kshêtra** on the southern bank of the **Rêvâ (Narmadâ)**, after bathing at the confluence of the **Rêvâ** and **Kapilâ** and worshipping the holy Amarêśvaradêva (Śiva) with the five offerings,[3] gave the village of **Vaḍaüda**, divided into six shares (*vaṇṭaka*) so that—

four shares (*pada*) were assigned to the *agnihôtrin*[4] Mâdhavaśarman— a son of the *pâṭhaka* Hariśarman and grandson of the *dvivêda* Vêda— a Brâhmaṇ of the Bhârgava *gôtra*[5] and student of the Mâdhyaṁdina *śâkhâ*, who had come from **Navagâmva**;[6]

one share (*pada*) to the *chaturvêda* Janârdana— a son of the *dvivêda* Lîmadêva and grandson of the *dvivêda* Lâshû— a Brâhmaṇ of the Gautama *gôtra* and student of the Âśvalâyana *śâkhâ*, who had come from **Ṭakârî**; and

one share (*pada*) to the *dvivêda* Dhâmadêvaśarman— a son of the *dîkshita* Divâkara and grandson of the *dîkshita* Kêkû— a Brâhmaṇ of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and student of the Mâdhyaṁdina *śâkhâ*, who had come from **Ghaṭâushari.**

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information :—

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyêshṭha of the year 1317, this king's order (*râja-śâsana*) was written 'here, at **Maṇḍapadurga**,' by Harshadêva, a son of the learned Gaviśa, with the approbation of the *sândhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war), the *paṇḍita* Mâlâdhara, an official of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Jayavarmadêva**; and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*śâbdika*) Âmadêva, a disciple of the learned Gôsêka (Gôsê)[7] 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science.' The grant was engraved by the *rûpakâra* Kânhaḍa. The *dûta* was the great minister (*mahâpradhâna*), *Râjâ* Ajayadêva.

The words 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* the sign-manual) of the *Mahârâja*' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of Garuḍa on the second side of the second plate.

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 28 and 29, for the expired (*Chaitrâdi* or *Kârttikâdi*) Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to **Sunday, the 7th November A.D. 1260.** On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m.; the *nakshatra* was **Pûrvâshâḍhâ**, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 4 m., according

[1] In the first half of the 13th century A.D. we find the name *Jaitugi* twice in the family of the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri; and there was a [Śîlâra] *Koṅkaṇachakravartin Jaitugidêva*, an unpublished inscription (belonging to the Bombay As. Soc.) of whom apparently is dated in A.D. 1207.

[2] Given in the abbreviated form *pratî°*. The word *pratîhâra* means 'a door-keeper', but denotes a high official.

[3] Compare *pañchôpachâra-pûjâ*, *e.g.* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 10, and above, Vol. III. p. 215, l. 5, and p. 300, l. 42. The five articles presented are *gandha, pushpa, dhûpa, dîpa* and *naivêdya*; compare *Śûdra-kamalâkara*, p. 140 f., where *pañchôpachâra, daśôpachâra* and similar terms are explained.

[4] These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni°, pâ°; dvi°, cha°*, and *dî°*.

[5] In the original the *pravaras* also are given.

[6] The names of the places of origin here also have the word *sthâna* attached to them.

[7] See above, p. 106.

to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system *from* 10 h. 30 m.; and the *yôga* was **Śûla** for 20 h. 46 m., after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to **Thursday, the 12th May A.D. 1261,** when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kârttikâdi* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, **Maṇḍapadurga,** from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogarh (Mâṇḍû), a deserted town in the Dhâr State, in Long. 75° 26′ and Lat. 22° 21′ (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Pipliânagar plates of king Arjunavarman.[1] On **Mahuaḍa,** see above, p. 106. **Vaḍaüda** perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuaḍa-pathakê* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuaḍa-pratijâgaraṇakê* of the inscription A.; and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vaḍaüda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramâras Yaśôvarman and Lakshmîvarman, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 352, ll. 5 and 13. **Amarêśvara-kshêtra** is the Amarêśvara-tîrtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27 was issued, and the Amarêśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasiṁha, above, Vol. III. p. 47; it is near the island of Mândhâtâ, on the southern bank of the river Narmadâ. The grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* quoted just now also mentions the **confluence of the Rêvâ and Kapilâ,** which is now called 'Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narbadâ.'[2] Of the places of origin of the donees, **Ṭakârî-sthâna** is one of the places mentioned in A.; **Navagâmva-sthâna** may be the town of Nawegâon in the Chândâ district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces; **Ghaṭâushari-sthâna** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 || Ôṁ namaḥ purushârtha-chûḍâmaṇayê dharmmâya || [4]Prativimva-[5]nibhâd=bhûmêḥ kritvâ sâkshât=pratigraham | jagad=â-

2 hlâdayan=diśyâ[d*]=dvijêṁdrô[6] maṁgalâni vaḥ || 1 [||*] Jîyât=Paraśurâmô=sau kshatraiḥ kshuṇṇaṁ raṇ-âhataiḥ |[7] saṁdhyârkka-vimvam=[8]ê-

3 v=ôrvvî-dâtur=yasy=aiti tâmratâm || 2 [||*] Yêna Maṁdôdarîvashpa-vâribhiḥ śamitô mṛidhê [|*] prâṇêśvarî-viyôgâgniḥ sa

4 Râmaḥ śrêyasê sstu vaḥ || 3 [||*] Bhîmên=âpi dhṛitâ mûrddhni yat-pâdâḥ sa Yudhishṭhiraḥ | vaṁś-âdyên=êṁdunâ jîyât=sva-tulya i-

5 va nirmmitaḥ || 4 [||*] **Paramârakul-ôttaṁsaḥ** Kaṁsajin-mahimâ nṛipaḥ | śrî-**Bhôjadêva** ity=âsîn=nâsîrakrânta-bhûtalaḥ[9]

6 || 5 [||*] Yad-yaśaśchaṁdrik-ôdyôtê[10] digutsaṁga-taraṁgitê | dvishannṛipa-yaśaḥpuṁjapuṁḍarîkair=nnimîlitam || 6 [||*] Tatô sbhûd=**U-**

7 **dayâdityô** nityôtsâh-aikakautukî | asâdhâraṇa-vîraśrîr=aśrî-hêtur=vvirôdhinâm || 7 [||*] Mahâkalaha-kalpâ-

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[1] See *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379.— The town is called *Maṇḍapapura* in line 16 of the Dêôgaḍh inscription published *ibid.* Vol. LII. P. I. p. 70.

[2] See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 258.

[3] From an impression supplied by Dr. Sten Konow.

[4] Metre of verses 1-21: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Read *pratibimba-*.

[6] After *drô* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

[7] This sign of punctuation was originally omitted.

[8] Read *-bimbam=*.

[9] In the place of *ta* originally *la* was engraved.

[10] Read *-ôddyôtê*.— Between the *aksharas śa* and *ścham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

8 [pa]ntê yasy=ôddâmabhir=âśugaiḥ | kati n=ônmûlitâs=tuṁgâ bhûbhṛitaḥ kaṭak-ôlvaṇâḥ |(||) 8 [||*] Tasmâch=chhinna-dvishanmarmmâ **Narava-**

9 **[va]rmmâ** narâdhipaḥ | dharmm-âbhyuddharaṇê dhîmân=abhût=sîmâ mahîbhujâm || 9 [||*] Prati-prabhâtaṁ viprêbhyô dattair=grâma-padaiḥ svaya-

10 [ṁ]m | anêkapadatâṁ ninyê dharmmô yên=aika-pâd=api || 10 [||*] Tasy=âjani **Yaśôvarmmâ** putraḥ kshatriya-śêkharaḥ | tasmâd=**Ajayava-**

11 **[va]rmm**=âbhûj=jayaśrî-viśrutaḥ sutaḥ || 11 [||*] Tat-sûnur=vvîra-mûrddhanyô dhany-ôtpattir=ajâyata | **Gûrjjarôchchhêda-nirvvaṁdhî**[1] **Viṁdhyavarmmâ** mah[â]-

12 **bhujaḥ** || 12 [||*] **Dhâray**=ôddhṛitayâ sârdhaṁ dadhâti sma tridhâratâm | sâṁyugînasya yasy=âsis=trâtuṁ lôka-trayîm=iva || 13 [||*] Tasy=â-

13 [mu]shyâyaṇaḥ putraḥ Sutrâma-śrîr=ath=âśishat | bhûpaḥ **Subhaṭavarmm**=êti dharmmê tishṭhan=mahî-talam || 14 [||*] Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jê-

14 tuḥ pratâpas=tapana-dyutêḥ | dâvâgni-chchhadmâ(dma)n=âdy=âpi | garjjad-**Gûrjjara-pattanê** || 15 [||*] Dêva-bhûyaṁ gatê tasmin=naṁdanô=**rjuna-**bhûpati[ḥ*]

15 | dôshṇâ dhattê sdhunâ dhâtrî-[2]valayaṁ valayaṁ yathâ || 16 [||*] Vâ(bâ)lalîl-âhavê yasya **Jaitrasiṁhê**[3] palâyitê | dikpâlahâ-

16 sa-vyâjêna yaśô dikshu vijṛimbhitam || 17 [||*] Kâvyagâṁdharvva-sarvvasva-nidhinâ yêna sâṁpratam | bhâr-âvataraṇaṁ dêvyâś=chakrê

17 pustaka-vîṇayôḥ[4] || 18 [||*] Yêna trividha-vîrêṇa tridhâ pallavitaṁ yaśaḥ | dhavalatvaṁ dadhus=trîṇi jagaṁti katham=anyathâ ||

18 19 [||*] Ath=ârthinâm=apuṇyêna puṇyêna svargga-subhruvâm | sô sdbhuta-tyâgaśîlaś=cha śṛiṁgârî cha divaṁ gataḥ

19 || 20 [||*] Tataḥ **Pramâra-chaṁdrasya Hariśchaṁdrasya** naṁdanaḥ ||(|) praśâsti[5] **Mâlava-kshôṇîṁ Dêvapâlaḥ** pratâpavâ-

Second Plate; First Side.

20 n || 21 [||*] [6]Tasminn=Aiṁdra-padaṁ mud=âśritavati śrî-**Dêvapâlê**[7] nṛipê tat-sûnur=dvishad-aṁtakô nija-guṇair=lôkâ-

21 n=sadâ raṁjayan | dhîmân(n)=**Jaitugidêva** êsha nṛipatiḥ śrî-**Mâlav-âkhaṁḍalaḥ** śâsti kshôṇim=imâm=udâra-cha-

22 ritaiḥ svair=Vvâ(bbâ)lanârâyaṇaḥ || 22 [||*] Bhuktvâ[8] râjya-sukhaṁ tasmin=prâptê tridaśa-maṁdiram | śâsti tasy=ânujaḥ kshôṇîṁ **Jaya-**

23 **varmmâ** janâdhipaḥ || 23 [||*] Sa êsha nara-nâyakaḥ sarvv-âbhyudayî ||[9] **Mahuaḍa-pathakê Vaḍaüda-grâmê** samasta-râjapurushân=vrâ(brâ)-

24 hmaṇ-ôttarân=pratinivâsi-paṭṭakila-janapad-âdîṁś=cha vô(bô)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ ||[9] śrîman-**Maṁḍapadurgga**-sthitair=a-

25 smâbhiḥ **saptadaśâdhika-trayôdaśasa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarê** ||[9] saṁsârasy=âsâratâṁ dṛishṭvâ || tathâ hi || [10]Vâtâbhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasu-

26 dh-âdhipatyam=âpâtamâtra-madhurô vishay-ôpabhôgaḥ | prâṇâs=tṛiṇâgrajalaviṁdu-samâ narâṇâṁ dharmmaḥ sakhâ param=ahô

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[1] Read *-nirbbaṁdhî.*

[2] Originally *dhâtri-* was engraved.

[3] In A. and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is *Jayasiṁhê.*

[4] In the place of *vî* originally *vê* was engraved.

[5] Instead of this word A. has *raraksha.*

[6] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] The *akshara pâ* of this word seems to be corrected out of *lê* which was originally engraved.

[8] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[9] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[10] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

27 paralôka-yânê [||*] iti sarvvaṁ vimṛiśya dâpan-âdṛishṭaphalam=aṁgîkṛitya |[1] pratî°[2] śrî-Gâṁgadêva-pârśvât[3] Vaḍaüda-grâmô=yaṁ
28 tribhyô vrâ(brâ)hmaṇêbhyô dâpitaḥ | Têna cha prati° śrî-Gâṁgadêvêna saṁmat[4] 1317 Âgrahaṇa-[5]śukla-tṛitîyâyâṁ tithau
29 Ravi-vâsarê Pûrvvâshâḍhâ-nakshatrê Śûla-nâmni yôgê śrîmad-Amarêśvara-kshêtrê Rêvâyâ dakshiṇê kûlê Rêvâ-Kapilâ-
30 saṁgamê snâtvâ bhagavaṁtaṁ charâchara-guruṁ śrîmad-Amarêśvara-[6]dêvaṁ paṁch-ôpachâraiḥ samabhyarchya ||[1] jîvitaṁ vidyuch-chaṁchalaṁ jñâtvâ
31 Navagâṁvasthâna-vinirgatâya Bhârgava-sagôtrâya Bhârgava-Chyâvana-[7]Âpnavâna-Aurva-Jâmadagny-êti paṁcha-pravarâya Mâdhyaṁ-
32 dinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê dvi°[8] Veda-pautrâya[9] pâ°[10] Hariśarmma-putrâya agni°[11] Mâdhavaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya padâni chatvâri
33 4 Ṭakâristhâna-vinirgatâya Gautama-sagôtrâya Gautam-Âṁgirasa-Auchatthy-êti tri-pravarâya Âśvalâyanaśâkh-âdhyâ-
34 yinê dvi° Lâshû-pautrâya dvi° Lîmadêva-putrâya cha°[12] Janârjjanaśarmmaṇê[13] vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya padam=êkam 1 Ghaṭâusharisthâ-
35 na-vinirgatâya Bhâradvâja-sagôtrâya Âṁgirasa-Vâ(bâ)rhaspatya-Bhâradvâj-êti tri-pravarâya Mâdhyaṁdinaśâkh-âdhyâyinê
36 dî°[14] Kêkû-pautrâya dî° Divâkara-putrâya dvi° Dhâmadêvaśarmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya padam=êkam 1 êvam=êbhyaḥs=[15]tribhyô
37 vrâ(bra)hmaṇêbhyaḥ shaṭbhir=[16]vvaṁṭakair=Vvaḍaüda-grâmô=yaṁ samastô=pi chatuḥkaṁkaṭa-[17]viśuddhaḥ sa-vṛikshamâlâkulaḥ sa-hiraṇyabhâ-
38 gabhôgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ sarvvâdâya-samêtaḥ sa-nidhê(dhi)nikshêpô mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇyayaśôsbhivṛiddhayê
39 chaṁdrârkkârṇṇava[ksh]iti-samakâlaṁ yâvat=parayâ bhaktyâ dêvavrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-bhukti-varjjaṁ śâsanên=ôdaka-pû-

Second Plate; Second Side.

40 rvva[ṁ] pradattaḥ || tan=matvâ tannivâsi-paṭṭakilajanapadair=yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhôgakarahiraṇyâdikam=âjñâ-vidhê-
41 yair=bhûtvâ sarvvam=êtêbhyaḥ samupanêtavyam[18] | sâmânyaṁ ch=aitad=dharma-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhv=âsmadvaṁśajair=anyair=api bhâvi-bhô[illegible]ibhir=a-
42 smatpradâpita-dharmmadâyô[19] syam=anumantavyaḥ pâlanîyaś=cha || Uktam cha [20]Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdi-
43 bhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâm

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[1] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[2] *I.e.*, here and below, *pratihâra-*.

[3] Read *-pârśvâd=*.

[4] Originally *saṁmatê* seems to have been engraved. Read *saṁvat*.

[5] Read *Âgrahâyaṇa-*.

[6] The *akshara rê* of this word in the engraving is really *rara*.

[7] Read *Chyavana-*; this correction may have been made already in the original.— Here and in some places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

[8] *I.e.*, here and below, *dvivêda-*.

[9] Originally *-shautrâya* was engraved.

[10] I.e. *pâṭhaka-*.

[11] I.e. *agnihôtri-*.

[12] I.e. *chaturvêda-*.

[13] Read *Janârddana°*.

[14] *I.e.*, here and below, *dîkshita-*.

[15] Read *=âbhyas=*.

[16] Read *shaḍbhir=*.

[17] Read *chatushkaṁkaṭa-*.

[18] Originally *°nêtavyaṁ* was engraved.

[19] Compare above, p. 112, note 16.

[20] Metre of this and the next two verses: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

44 | vishṭhâyâṁ **sa** kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati | (||) Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svargê tishṭhati bhûmidaḥ |

45 âchchhêttâ ch=ânumattâ(ntâ) cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt | (||) [1]Sarvvân=êvaṁ bhâvinô bhûmipâlân=bhûyô bhû-

46 yô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ | sâmânyô syaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô

47 bhavadbhiḥ || Iti[2] kamaladalâṁvu(bu)viṁdu-lôlâṁ śriyam=anuchiṁtya manushya-jîvitaṁ cha | saka-

48 lam=idam=udâhṛitaṁ cha vudhvâ[3] na hi purushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilôpyâ iti ||❁|| **Saṁvat**

49 1317 **Jyêshṭha-śudi 11 Gurâv=ady=êha śrî-Maṁḍapadurgê** mâhârâjâdhirâja-śrîmaj-**Jayavarmma-**

50 **dêva**-niyuktêna [illegible] sâṁdhivirga(gra)hika-paṁ°[4] śrî-Mâlâdhara-sammatêna ||[5] [6][pa][ṁ]ḍitêṁdra-Gavîśasya sûnunâ vidushâ spu(sphu)ṭam |

51 Harshadêv-âbhidhên=êdaṁ lêkhitaṁ[7] râja-śâsanam[8] | (||) Yô[9] vêtty=apâraṁ smṛistiśâstra-sâraṁ Gôsêka-nâmnô vu(bu)dha-puṁgava-

52 sya | śishyaḥ sudhîḥ śâvdi(bdi)ka Âmadêvô bhûpasya lêkhyaṁ samaśôdhi têna | (||) Utkîrṇnam=idaṁ ru(rû)pakâra-Kânhaḍêna |

53 Dûtô mahâpradhâna-râja-śrî-Ajayadêvaḥ | (||)
[10]Sva-hastô=yaṁ mahârâjasya ||

No. 14.—KANKER INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHANUDEVA; THE [SAKA] YEAR 1242.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A.; NAGPUR.

This inscription or *praśasti*, as it is called in line 19, is lying in the veranda of the school house at **Kanker,** the capital of the Feudatory State of that name in the Central Provinces, and was brought away from the ruins between the Dîwân and Śîtalâ tanks in that town. It was first brought to my notice by Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State, who kindly furnished me with an inked estampage, and further estampages were supplied to me by the Dîwân of the Kanker State and the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhattîsgarh Feudatories.

The stone is a cubit square and half a cubit thick, and the writing covers a space of 18″ by 17″ in 19 lines. The letters are bold and well formed, the average size being ¾″. The **characters** are Dêvanâgarî, and the **language** is Sanskṛit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the commencement (*ôṁ siddhiḥ*) in line 1, and the concluding portion (ll. 18 and 19) containing the date and the names of the erector and the writer of the inscription. There are altogether eight verses, of which six are in the Śârdûlavikrîḍita metre, and the first and the last in Sragdharâ and Anushṭubh respectively. The principal orthographical peculiarities are the indifferent use of *ś* for *s* and *vice versâ* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19) and the use of *b* for *v* (ll. 2, 12, 14). Some of the letters with a superscribed *rêpha* have been doubled (especially *m* and *t*), others not. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all. Final forms of *t* occur in ll. 12 and 18.

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[1] Metre: Śâlinî.
[2] Metre: Pushpitâgrâ.
[3] Read *buddhvâ*.
[4] I.e. *-paṁḍita-*.
[5] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[6] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[7] Read *likhitaṁ*.
[8] Originally *-śâsanaṁ* was engraved.
[9] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[10] These words are engraved in small letters under the figure of Garuḍa which is on the proper right of the plate between lines 42 and 50.

The inscription is an eulogy of the *Nâyaka* **Vâsudêva,** the minister of king **Bhânudêva** of **Kâkaira.**[1] It states that he constructed two temples of Mahâdêva, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in **the [Śaka] year 1242** bearing the name **Raudra,** on the **5th** *tithi* of the **dark** fortnight of **Jyaishṭha,** corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindû date *pañchamî* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that Vâsudêva's ancestors were elephant-catchers (?). Though in the Kanker State wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.[2] The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the Kâkaira chiefs, mentioning in order the following:—**Siṁharâj, Vyâghra, Vôpadêva, Kṛishṇa,** Jaitarâja, **Sômachandra** and **Bhânudêva.** The dynasty is stated to be **lunar,** and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them:—*avanîśa* (l. 1), *nṛipa* (ll. 2 and 5), *dharaṇîdhara* (l. 6), *bhûpâla* (l. 7) and *nṛipati* (ll. 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king.' In two copper-plate grants of Pamparâjadêva found in the Kanker State[3] the king is styled *Sômavaṁśânvaya-prasûta-mahâmaṇḍalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present Râj family of Kanker is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.[4] According to its own traditions it claims to have come from Orissa. Its original ancestor was ruling at Jagannâtha-purî, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At Sihâwâ, close to Kanker and now in the Dhamtarî tahsîl of the Raipur district, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people[5] persuaded him to stay on at Sihâwâ and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that Sihâwâ was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to Kanker. This must have been done prior to Bhânudêva's times. For in line 12 we read: *Kâkairê nṛipa-Bhânudêva-nagarê* (in Kâkaira, the town or capital of king Bhânudêva), and in lines 3 to 5: *Kâkairê . . . . . śrî-Jaitarâjô=bhavat* (there was the illustrious Jaitarâja in Kâkaira). This Jaitarâja was the grandfather of Bhânudêva. Thus Kâkaira has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. Kanker once included the rich Dhamtarî tahsîl of the Raipur

[1] This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as Kanker. In General Cunningham's *Report* for 1873-74 it is spelt as Kâkêr, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it Kaikar.

[2] The Central Provinces, called Gondwânâ by the Musalmâns, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like Jabalpur, which were and are far less jungly than Kanker, had their quota of wild elephants. See Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 196, where the following occurs:—"Garha (2 miles from Jabalpur) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in Bairâkhol, a State now transferred to Bengal, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

[3] These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

[4] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 236.

[5] It is said that the installation of the Kanker chief is up to this day confirmed by the Halbâs by anointing the Râjâ before the shrine of Maulidêvî. The Halbâs are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These Halbâs claim to have come from Orissa along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the Kanker chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of Oriyâ, Chhattisgarhî (a form of Eastern Hindî) and Marâṭhî; see Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 331.

district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6′ and 20° 34′ N. and 80° 41′ and 81° 40′ E.

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Dîwân and Śîtalâ talâos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śîtalâ talâo— a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śîtalâ was constructed on its bank—is the **Kauḍika-bandha** of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Dîwân talâo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍâga* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, *i.e.* the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kanḍika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kauḍikas*,[1] a Sanskṛitised form of *kauḍis* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr. Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal[2] thus:— "Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village; one has a *bîjak* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now." This *bîjak* was seen on the gate of the Mahâdêva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratôbhadra* with a *pratôlî*, about which latter Dr. Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that *pratôlî* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps.[3] I have not been able to find *puratôbhadra* in the *Kôśas* to which I have access, but *sarvatôbhadra* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters.[4] From this I infer that a *puratôbhadra* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kâkaira *puratôbhadra* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratôlî*).

[1] In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kapardikâ*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pamparâjadêva alluded to before, the coin *ṭaṅka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kauḍîhai*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

[2] Quoted in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 147.

[3] Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

[4] The idea seems to have been taken from a *sarvatôbhadra* village, which is described in the *Mânasâra*, a book of the highest authority on Hindû architecture, as "a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahmâ, Vishṇu or Mahêśvara. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village; at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south-east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with 4 large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahâkâlî, and the huts of Chandâlas or outcastes should be a *krôśa* distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes."—See Ram Raz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1834, p. 43.

TEXT.

1 श्रीं सिद्धिः ॥ आशीद्वंशे[1] हिमांशोर्म्महितगुणगणश्चिंहराड्वैरिसिंहस्तस्मादशाशा-
नोशोभव-

2 दतुलयशा तेजसापास्तशूर्य्यः[2] ॥ जज्ञे सोपि स्वर्व्वोर्व्वीचितनृपतिलक [3]वीपदेशे स चैवं कश्या-[4]

3 ख्यं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपरं विक्रमाक्रांतविश्वं[5] ॥१॥ काकैरेवनिपालमौलिमुकुट-
प्रोद्गा-

4 [6]सिद्धीरांकुरज्योतिर्द्योतितपादपंकजनखज्योतिःप्रकाशा[7] भुवि ॥ संग्रामांगणवीर-
विक्र-

5 मगुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्मादद्भुतसत्प्रतापमहसः श्रीसोमचन्द्रो नृपः ॥२॥
तस्मात्श्री-[8]

6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्सर्व्वांगवेशोज्वलः[9] श्रीभानुर्द्धरणीधरः क्षितितले [10]लब्धप्रतिष्ठो-
दय[ः ।*]

7 जागेर्त्ति[11] प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्शाशति[12] लोक एव सुकृती
जागर्त्ति श-[13]

8 हासनः ॥३॥ देशः [14]पुण्यनिरीतिशास्वतधनस्सत्कर्म्मनिष्ठा द्विजाः स्वेष्टापूर्त्त-
पराः प्रजाश्चि-[15]

9 मपरं पौराः परं धार्म्मिकाः [।*] सभ्याः [16]शास्त्रविचारधौतमनसो धर्म्माव-
तारे कलौ राज्यं शास-

10 ति भानुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकोत्तरं ॥४॥ वंशे नागदलोपजीवन-
जनस्फीतेभवद्या-

11 यकः श्रीदामोदरसूनुरुज्वलयशा[17] पो[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ ख्यातस्तत्तनयः
स्वभावसर-

12 लो भीमाभिधस्तत्सुतो काकैरे नृपभानुदेवनगरे [18]श्रीवासुदेवोभवत् ॥५॥
स्तंभोयं [न]-

13 गरस्य जातिजनतालब्धप्रभानायको[19] विख्यातश्चिकल[20] भानुदेवनृपतेः [21]पादांवुजा-
राधकः [।*]

---

[1] Read आसीद्वंशे हिमांशो°.
[2] Read °सूर्य्यः.
[3] Read वीप°.
[4] Read कश्याख्यं.
[5] Read °क्रान्तविश्वं.
[6] Read °ज्योतिर्द्योतित°.
[7] Read °ज्योतिःप्रकाशो.
[8] Read तस्माच्छ्री°.
[9] Read °वेशोज्ज्वलः.
[10] Read लब्ध°.
[11] Read जागर्त्ति.
[12] Read °र्यस्मिञ्छासति.
[13] Read सशासनः.
[14] Read °शाश्वत°.
[15] Read प्रजाः चि°.
[16] The original has *śâstra*°.
[17] Read °रुज्ज्वल°.
[18] Read श्रीवासु°.
[19] Read °मध्य°.
[20] Read विख्यातः शिल्पि भानुदेव°.
[21] Read पादाम्बुजा°.

14 संग्रामांगणसादिवर्गपुरत: ख्यातप्रभावो [1]मद्दान्जागर्त्यद्भुतविक्रमो धृतिधर: श्रीवा-[2]

15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवश्रीशसिभूषणस्य[3] कृतिना देवालयं कारितं युग्मं मंडपशोभितं च

16 पुरतोभद्रं प्रतोल्या सह । चेत्रेशस्य तथा सुरालयवरं स्फीतं [त*]-डागं तथा बंधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं

17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ [4]इष्टापूर्त्तपरस्याशीखत्कीर्त्तिशसि-चंद्रिका[5] [।*] वासुदे-

18 वस्य विस्फारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे । ज्येष्ट[6] वदि

19 पंचम्यां । [7]प्रसस्तिस्समारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता [8]सक्तिकुमा-रेण ॥ शिवं [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ. Success! (Verse 1.) In the race of the **Moon** there was (*born*) **Siṁharâj,** a (*very*) lion to enemies, (*and*) praised as possessing numerous virtues. From him was born king **Vyâghra,** of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour. He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness: **Vôpadêva**; and the latter, likewise, (*had a son*) named **Kṛi[shṇa],** who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (*and*) who dominated the universe by (*his*) valour.

(V. 2.) (*Then*) there was in **Kâkaira** the illustrious **Jaitarâja,** the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (*still more*) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (*prostrating themselves before him*) to the ground, (*and*) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field. From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (*was born*) the illustrious king **Sômachandra.**

(V. 3.) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (*was born*) a young king: the illustrious **Bhânu,** who was brilliant by (*his*) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings. (*He*) is (*now*) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (*all*) virtuous (*and*) well-intentioned.

(V. 4.) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (*all*) calamities; the twice-born are devoted to good actions; the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts. What more? The citizens are very virtuous (*and*) refined, (*and*) their minds are purified by the study of the Śâstras. What wonder does not (*happen*) in (*this*) iron age, while king **Bhânudêva,** the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V. 5.) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (*catching?*) groups of elephants there was the *Nâyaka* **Pô[lû],** of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious **Dâmôdara.** His famous, straightforward son was called **Bhîma.** His son was the illustrious **Vâsudêva,** (*who resided*) in **Kâkaira,** the town of king **Bhânudêva.**

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[1] Read महाञ्जाग°. [2] Read श्रीवा°. [3] Read °शशि°.
[4] Read इष्टा°. [5] °श्वासीत्स° and °शशि°.
[6] Read ज्येष्ठ. [7] Read प्रशस्ति°. [8] Read शक्ति°.

(V. 6.) This illustrious **Vâsudêva,** the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*shining*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of king **Bhânudêva,** known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V. 7.) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz.* Mahâdêva), together with halls, a *puratôbhadra* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍâga*) and a long tank (*bandha*) called **Kauḍika,** which contained a great quantity of water.

(V. 8.) The moon-light of the true fame of **Vâsudêva,** devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) **Saṁvat 1242,** in the **Raudra** year, on the **5th** (*tithi*) of the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Jyaishṭha,** (this) *praśasti* was erected by the *Nâyaka* **Vâsudêva.** Written by Śakti-kumâra. Hail!

POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Prof. Hultzsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr. Hira Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two **copper-plate inscriptions of the Kâkaira (Kanker) chief Pamparâjadêva,** which are about to be published by Mr. Hira Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr. Hira Lal: *Saṁvat 1242 Raudra-saṁvatsarê* | *Jyêshṭa-vadi paṁchamyâṁ* |. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-saṁvatsara*. *A priori* the expression *saṁvat 1242* would be taken here to denote **the Vikrama year 1242;** but there is no Vikrama year 1242 that could be called a Raudra year. Nearest to V. 1242, Raudra, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1257; and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitrâdi* or *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama years 1252 and 1253. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1252, in which case the 5th of the dark half of Jyaishṭha would undoubtedly fall in a Raudra year; but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *saṁvat 1242,* as has been done by Mr. Hira Lal, to denote **the expired Śaka year 1242,** which by the southern system *was* a Raudra year. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions I have shown[1] that among 400 Śaka dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or *Śâka*, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the Śaka year 1242 by some such expression as *Śakê* 1242, not by *saṁvat* 1242. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the Śaka year 1242 can be described as a Raudra year.

[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations.[1] To me the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond to the *pûrṇimânta* Jyaishṭha, to Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1320, and for the *amânta* Jyaishṭha, as stated by Mr. Hira Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,[2] A.D. 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparâja, one is clearly dated as follows :—

[L. 7] . . . . Îśvara-

[L. 8] saṁvatsarê Kârtika-mâsê Chitrâ-rikshê Ravi-dinê suryôparâgê . . . .

[L. 10] . . . . . . saṁvat 966 . .

i.e. "in the Îśvara year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrâ in the month Kârttika, ... in the year 966."

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the **Kalachuri era.**

In *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 53 ff., I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 793 and 958, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Chêdi) era commenced on the 5th September A.D. 248, that the years were *Âśvinâdi* years and the months *pûrṇimânta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kaliyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of Âśvina or in any month from Kârttika to Phâlguna, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that our date, for the *pûrṇimânta* Kârttika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kaliyuga expired 966+3349=4315, regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214,** when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 33 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Chitrâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total **eclipse of the sun,** the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long. 82° and Lat. 20°) was four digits.[3]

It will, I think, be generally admitted that **Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214,** undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date; but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted **the year Îśvara instead of the immediately following year Bahudhânya.** By the northern mean-sign system Îśvara lasted from the 2nd September A.D. 1212 to the 29th August A.D. 1213. By the northern luni-solar system therefore Îśvara was the proper name of Kaliyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, *viz.* Kaliyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern luni-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhânya. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result.[4]

The date of the other copper-plate of Pamparâja I read thus :—

[L. 9] . . . . | saṁvata | 965 Bhâdrapadê vadi 1[0]

[L. 10] Mṛiga-rikshê Sô[ma]-dinê |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the *tithi* and the second *akshara* of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

[1] If the year were 1244 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Raudra year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be assigned to so late a period (A.D. 1492-93).

[2] The 5th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the Wednesday.

[3] Between A.D. 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kârttika that could have been visible at Kanker.

[4] Mr. Hira Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. According to the original date, this day should fall in the year Parâbhava; but by the northern luni-solar system it would fall in the year Plavaṅga which follows immediately upon Parâbhava, and by the southern system in the year Viśvâvasu which immediately precedes Parâbhava.

me evident that the engraver after the *akshara sô* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *dinê*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sôma-dina* or 'Monday.' Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhâdrapada and during it the *nakshatra* Mṛiga (Mṛigaśîrsha). Now in the dark half the *nakshatra* will ordinarily be Mṛiga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amânta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada; and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vadi* is actually followed by *10*, the *0* of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pûrṇimânta*) Bhâdrapada, with the *nakshatra* Mṛiga and a **Monday.**" And treating the year again as a **Kalachuri year**, I find the following equivalents :—

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kaliyuga expired 965+3350=4315 : Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada ended 18 h. 25 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mṛiga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

For the current Kalachuri year 965=Kaliyuga 4315 current : **Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213,** when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada *commenced* 7 h., and when the *nakshatra* was Mṛiga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept **Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213,** as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Seorinârâyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

Kalachuri-samvatsarê || *898* || *Asvina-sudi 2 Sôma-dinê.*

According to the photograph the date really is—

Kalachuri-samvatsarê || *898* || *Asvina-sudi 7*[1] *Sôma-dinê*, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the *current* Kalachuri year 898, to **Monday,** the 24th September A.D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Âśvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

No. 15.—NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahêndrapâla of Kanauj, published above, p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultzsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II. Yôga, which Prof. Hultzsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows :—

"The two plates are about 13″ broad and about 9½″ high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2½″ in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

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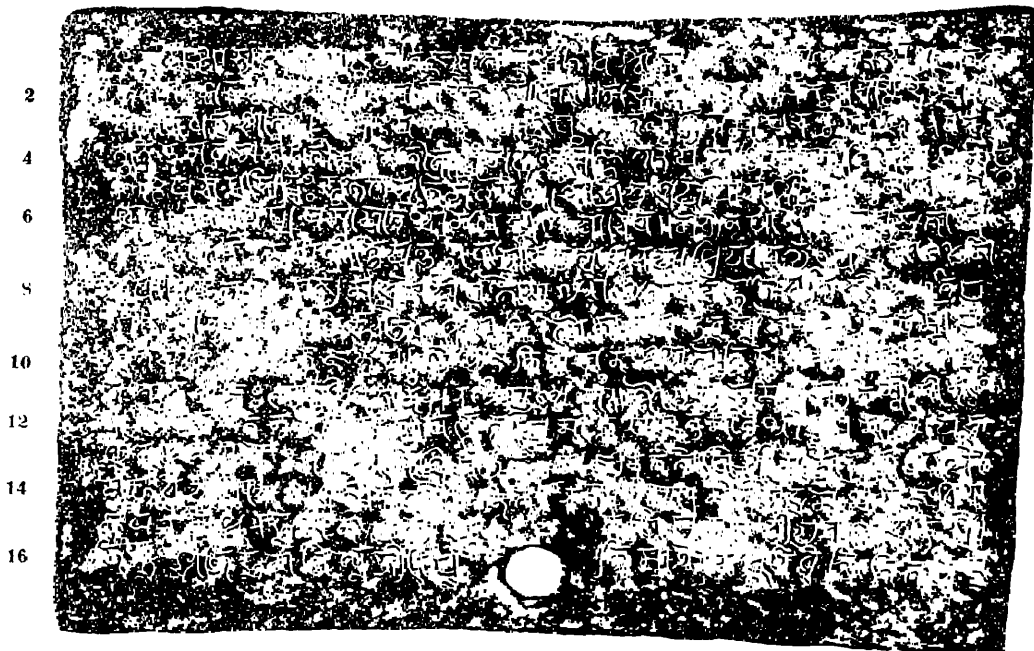
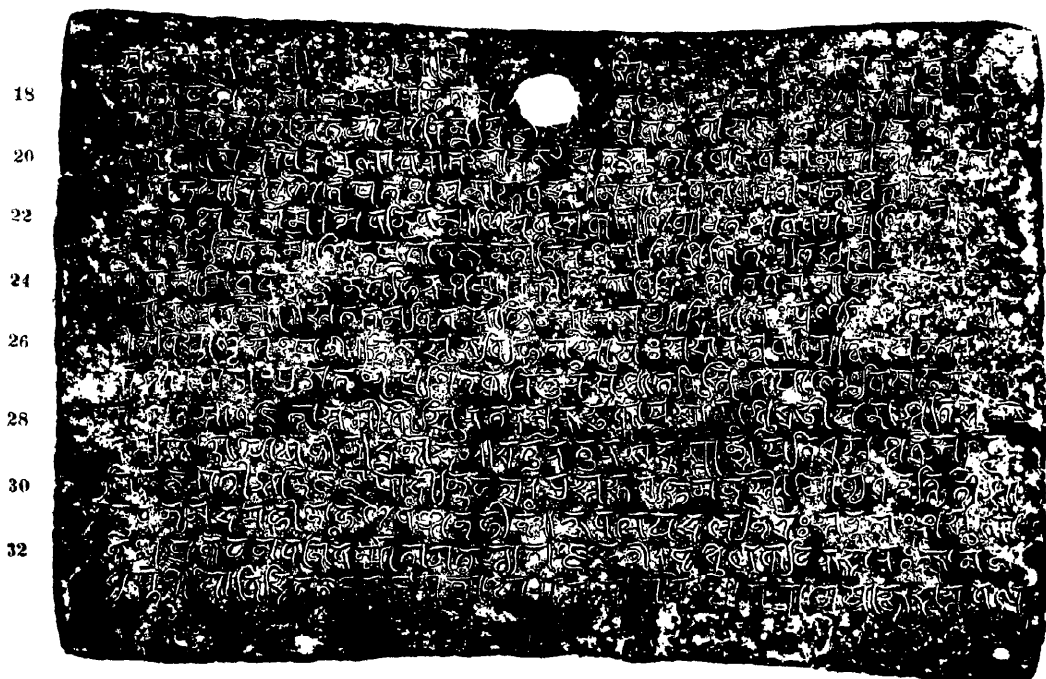
[1] So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. XV. p. 505.

Una plates of Avanivarman II. Yoga. — [Vikrama-]Samvat 956.

Scale ·45

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

iib.

iii.

52

54

56

58

60

62

64

66

68

a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly 1¾″ in diameter. It is about ⅛″ thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhayahasta*. . . . . . . Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about ⅞″ in diameter."

On the plates B., those of Avanivarman II. Yôga, Mr. Venkayya writes :—

"The three plates are between 12⅛″ and 12¼″ broad and between 8⅜″ and 9″ high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures 2½″ by 2¼″. The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2″ in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. . . . . Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about ⅝″ in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs, I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *i* and *ê*, *e.g.* in *iha*, l. 33, and *êvam=*, l. 45; to the sign for *ry*, *e. g.* in *śauryasya*, l. 11; to the final *t*, *e.g.* in *=bhût*, l. 32; and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word *śrî-* has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[ru]ṇâ-*, above, p. 10, l. 57.

No. 16.—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddharaju Venkataraju of **Vandram**, a village in the Bhîmavaram tâluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks :—

"These are **five copper-plates**, measuring 7¾″ in length and 3⅝″ in height. They have high rims more than ⅛″ thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures 3⅞″ by 3⅛″, and is nearly ½″ thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures 2⅜″ in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrî-Tribhu[vanâṁkuśa]*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate i. a small portion is missing. Plate ii.*b* is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate iii.*b* and some letters of the two last lines of plate iv.*a* are damaged by corrosion. Of plate iv.*b* the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (v.) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS. of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr. Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The **alphabet** is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary *û* in *-mûrttêr=*, l. 18, and *samâhûya*, l. 36 f. The **language** is Sanskrit; but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of **Ammarâja** (II.) of the (Eastern) **Châlukya** (l. 5) dynasty. Ll. 1-17 are practically identical with ll. 1-23 of the Elavaṟṟu grant of the same king.[1] But Vikramâditya (I.) receives the title *Yuvarâja* (l. 13), and the name *Kollabigaṇḍa* is twice (ll. 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*.

Ammarâja II. is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Paḍaṅkalûru grant,[2] where they are however differently arranged.[3] The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Maliyapûṇḍi grant.[4] It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate ii.*b* (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is **engraved over another** grant of **Ammarâja II.**, which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible.[5] I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the **original inscription** on plate ii.*b* which can still be made out.

20 . . . . स समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजयादित्यम-

21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुध्या-

22 यी वेंगीसहस्रराष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिनस्समाहूयेत्थमाज्ञा-

23 पयति [।*] विदितम . . . . . स वंशे वशिष्ठगोत्रो विद्वान् आ-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll. 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll. 30-36 of the Elavaṟṟu grant.[6] Ammarâja II., who is here styled '*Samastabhuvanâśraya*, the glorious **Vijayâditya** (VI.) *Mahârâjâdhirâja-Paramêśvara Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the *Râshṭrakûṭas*, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) **Prândoṟu** in the **Pâvunavâra** district (*vishaya*).'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood. But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible. Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (ll. 37-61) knew so little Sanskṛit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it. The whole of this passage seems to be in verse. Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23. Verse 8 praises the family (*gôtra*) named **Mitrayu.** A descendant of it was **Tûrkkaya-Peddiya**[7] (v. 9), who lived in the large village **Râvipaṟṟu** (v. 10), his son Vijayâditya (v. 11) and his grandson Tûrkkiya-Yajvan (v. 12). The last had by Kandamâmbâ a son named **Kuppanayya** (v. 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (*amâtya*, v. 15) and vassal (*sâmanta*, v. 16). He had the surname Vipranârâ[yaṇa] (v. 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at **Drâkshârâma.**[8]

" To this **Kuppan[â]mâtya,** who is devoted to Me, the village named **Tâṇḍeṟu** has been given by Us, having made (it) an *Agrahâra*; to whom (the village) named **[Beṭi]pûṇḍi** (in the neighbourhood) of **Prândoṟu**[9] in your district[10] (*vishaya*), together with the share of gold,

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 91 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 15 ff.

[3] The verses of the Paḍaṅkalûru grant (ll. 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates: 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2; and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4.

[4] Above, p. 47 ff.

[5] Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing. A grant of Bhîma I. is a similar palimpsest; see Prof. Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol. V. p. 127.

[6] In the latter the epithet *mâtâpitṛipâdânudhyâtaḥ* (l. 35) is however missing.

[7] With Tûrkkaya compare the names Tûrkaśarman (above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 14) and Tûrkkama (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text l. 49).

[8] *Drâkshârâmê kṛita-Śiva-nilayô;* v. 22 (l. 58).

[9] *Prândoṟṟi* is the Telugu genitive of *Prândoṟu* (l. 35).

[10] *I.e.* in the Pâvunavâra-vishaya of l. 35.

was given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrahâra*." I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tâṇḍeṛu or to Beṭipûṇḍi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pâvunavâra-vishaya.

61 . . . . तस्मै कुप्पन[ा*]म[ा]त्या[य]
62 महत्ताय[1] ताण्डेरुनामग्रामसग्रहारीकृत्योस्माभिदत्त[2] । य[स्य भव]वि-
63 षये प्रान्दोरुरिति [बेटि]पूण्डिनाम सह[ा*]टकभागसग्रहा[री*]कृत्य सर्व्व[कर]-
64 पर[3] दत्त इति विदितमस्तु व[:] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्यावधय[:*] ॥ . . . .

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory transcript. The remainder of the inscription (ll. 67-72) is nearly identical with ll. 57-60 of the Elavaṟṟu grant.[4] The last line (72) seems to read :—

य(ा) ते कृमिः ॥ [२५*] आज्ञप्तिः [5]काटकराजः [।*] महा[का]भट्टक[ा*]व्यं [।*] जोन्ताचार्य्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Âjñapti* was the *Kaṭakarâja*,[6] the poet[7] Mahâ[kâ?]bhaṭṭa, and the writer Jontâchârya.[8]

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drâkshârâma is well-known,[9] and the Pâvunavâra-vishaya is probably the same as Pâgunavara-vishaya in a grant of Bhîma II.[10] The villages Prândoṛu, Beṭipûṇḍi, Tâṇḍeṛu and Râvipaṟṟu I am unable to identify.

FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT.[11]

First Plate.

1 ✤ स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हा-
2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालीतानां[12] स्वा-
3 मिमहासेनपादानुध्यायीनां[13] भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित-
4 वरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताराातिमण्डलानाम-
5 [14]श्वमेधावभृतस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलम-
6 लंकरिष्णोः सत्य[ा*]श्रयवल्लभेन्द्र[स्य*] भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टाद-
7 श वर्ष[ा]णि वेंगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतं । त-
8 दनुजेन्द्ररा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तत्सूनुर्म्मंगियुवराजः पंचविं-[15]
9 शतिं । त[त्पुत्रो जय]सिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरजः कोक्किलिः षण्मासान् ॥

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[1] Read महत्ताय. [2] Read °हारीकृत्यास्माभिर्दत्त:. [3] Read परिहारेण.

[4] Instead of *tath-ôktaṁ Vyâsêna*, l. 69 reads *tathâ ch-ôktaṁ Vyâsa-bhaṭṭ[â*]rakêna(na)*.

[5] Read कटक°. [6] See above, p. 49 f.

[7] *I.e.* the author of the verses describing the donee. In other grants of Ammarâja II. Pôtanabhaṭṭa and Mâdhavabhaṭṭa are mentioned as 'poets.'

[8] The same person was the writer of the Elavaṟṟu and Padaṅkalûru grants.

[9] See *e.g.* above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213.

[11] From two sets of ink-impressions and the original copper-plates. [12] Read °पालितानां. [13] Read °ध्यायिनां. [14] Read °मृथ°.

[15] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

Second Plate; First Side.

10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाट्य सप्तत्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रो विजया-
दित्यभट्टार-

11 कोष्टादश । तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्द्धनः षट्त्रिंशतं । तत्सुतो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-
मृगराज-

12 श्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशतं । तत्सुतः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोद्ध्यर्द्धवर्षं । तत्सुतो गुणगां-
कविजया-

13 दित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतं । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूपतेः सूनुश्चालु-

14 [1]क्यभिममूपालस्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यः षण्मासान् ।
तत्सूनुर-

15 म्मराजः सप्त वर्षाणि[2] । तत्सुतविजयादित्यं बालमुच्चाट्य तालपो मासमेकं [।*]

16 तं जित्वा चालुक्यभीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् । ततस्ता-
लपराजस्य सुतो युद्ध-

17 मल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यसुतो भीमराजो
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-

18 हे[श्व]रमूर्त्तेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमाराभः [।*] लोकमहादेव्याः खलु यस्सम-
भवदम्मराजा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

19 ख्यः ॥ [१*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महेन्द्रमर्णवमवरसुकमहसा
[।*] हरमरिपुरद-

20 हनेन न्यक्कुर्व्व(ा)न्भाति विदितदिगवनिकिर्त्तिः[3] ॥ [२*] [illegible]-
द्विजमुनि-[4]

21 दीनान्धबन्धुजनमु(न)रभिः । याचकजनचिन्तामणिरवनिश्रम-[5]

22 निर्म्महोग्रमहसा द्युमणि[:*] ॥ [३*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो वि-

23 विधायुधकोविदो [विलीनारिकुल]: । करितुरगागमकुश-

24 लो हरचर . . . . मधुपः[6] श्रीमान् ॥ [४*] गिरिर-

25 सवसुसंख्याब्दे[7] सक[स] . . . . . . [शी]र्षमासे[illegible] [।*] कृष्ण-
पयो-

26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [५*] धनुषि रवौ [illegible] षाद-

27 [श]वर्षे तु [जन्मन:] पट्टं । योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो[8] रवि[रि]व [illegible]-

---

[1] Read °क्यभीम°. [2] Read वर्षाणि.

[3] Read °कीर्त्तिः. From here to the end (l. 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.

[4] Read °तपस्विज°. [5] Read °रवनीश्वरपि°. [6] Read [illegible].

[7] Read °ख्याब्दे शकसमये मार्ग्गशीर्ष°. [8] Read [illegible].

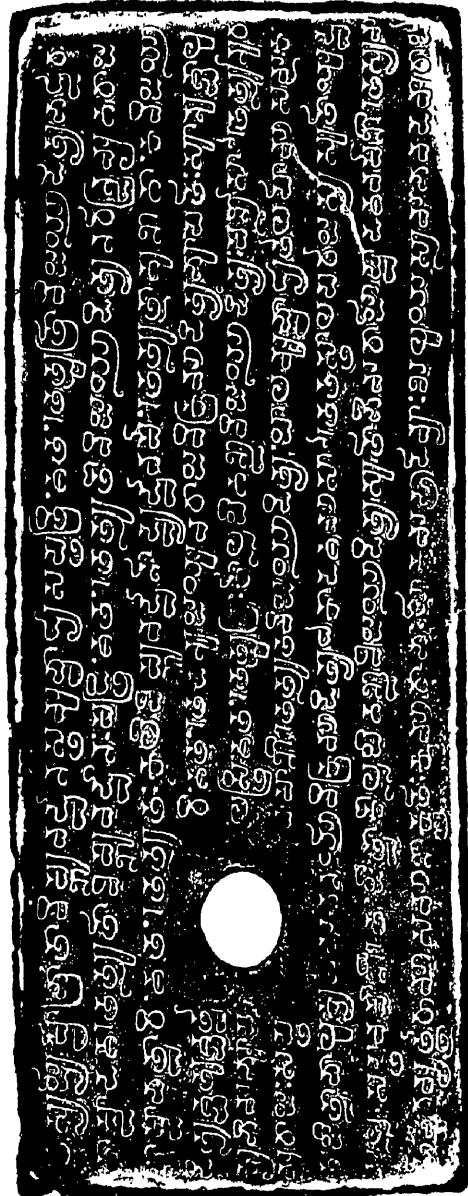
Vandram plates of Ammaraja II.

ii a.

E. Hultzsch. Scale ·8 Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

ii b.

iii a.

28
30
32
34
36

Third Plate ; First Side.

28 नुरागाय ॥ [६*] यस्मिन्[1] सासति नृपतौ परिपक्वानेकसस्यसं-[2]
29 पच्छालि: । [3]सततपयोधेनुरभिर्णिरीतिरपरग्निरस्तचोरो
30 देश: ॥ [७*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-
31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुंबितचरणसरसिरुहयुग-
32 लोयु[ग*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्द्विरेफायमानो[4] मा-
33 नोन्नतोद्धत:[5] समस्तलोक: समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविज-
34 यादित्यमहाराजाधिराजप[र*]मेश्वर: परमभट्टारक: परमब्र-
35 ह्मण्य: मातापितृपादानुध्यात: पावुनवारविषये प्रान्दो(?)-
36 [द्वाद]शग्रामनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कुटुंबिनस्समाहू-

Third Plate; Second Side.

37 येत्थमाज्ञापयति ॥ . . . .

No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

BY F. W. THOMAS, M.A.; LONDON.

The Mathurâ lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji under :cumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Kshatrapas* edited and published by ·ofessor E. J. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, . 541-554; see in particular pp. 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar voted to Śîtalâ on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindûs at Mathurâ, but not more finitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr. Bhagvanlal, the capital was nveyed to Bombay; subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer nself; but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS. was entrusted by the Council the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the read·s with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr. James rgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 525-540, Prof. Bühler observes that he collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, ong which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confintly assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. agvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of se inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

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[1] Read यस्मिञ्छासति.

[2] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[3] Read °रभीर्निरीति°.

[4] Read °मानी.

[5] The Elavarru grant (l. 32 f.) supplies the correct reading मानोन्नतो नतोद्धतसमस्तलोक:.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler, I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanlal and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates; but some particulars demand a verbal description. *In the first place*, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarâvatî Stûpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharma-chakra*, referring to the Archæological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii. figs. 1 and 6, and Plate xl. figs. 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archæological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi., viii., x.), Sâñchî (Maisey, Plates xix., xxxiii.), Mathurâ (V. A. Smith, Plates xliii.-xlvi. and xlix.-l.), Amarâvatî (Burgess, p. 93, Plates xlix., liii., liv., lv., and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv.), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, *e.g.* in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J. l. 1) the large *rva* is followed by traces of two or three *aksharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *sa* (?), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *pali*.[1]

In size the *aksharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B. E. F. I. J. M. on the front and back of the stone (among which I. perhaps exceeds the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in. in height; (2) G. N. P. E″, on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in.; (3) A. (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K. L. (on the breast of the left lion), O. Q. R. (underneath), J′. (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in.; (4) C. D. E′. (which may be estimated from E′., slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E.), circa 1 in.; (5) H. H′., slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in., at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *aksharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject-matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shâhbâzgarhî and Mansehra versions of the Edicts of Aśôka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, where the columns viii. and ix.

[1] In quoting Kharôshṭhî records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original in question.

J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS.

ate No. 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as inter-ate between the Aśôka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS. and discovered by Dr. Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Mâṇikiâla and places and the inscription of Sue-Vihâr (see the Plate given by Dr. Hoernle in the *Antiquary*, Vol. X. facing p. 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical in that exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol. IV. p. 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, g congener. The inscriptions edited by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. ir (1899), p. 526 ff. and Vol. IV. (1894), p. 504 ff. (No. 35), are also in similar acters (see the Plates).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *ṭha*, *sa*, *mu*, *śpa*, position of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Bühler. Attention may alled to the *rda* in Q. 1, the *spa* in A. 7, the *rna* (?) in I. 1, the curious form in J. 1 inter-ed by Bühler as *shṭê*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A. 2. A few points for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the e of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J. 2, in *kârita*), and aps two others (E″. in *krakârita* ?, and R. 1 in *Tachhilasa* or *Rachhilasa* ?), where the bottom e is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes. upposing it to be a *da* Bühler, who in his articles in the *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XLIII. pp. 133 and -6 has read a similar character as *tt* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shâhbâzgarhi-akition*, I. p. 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratêśô* (M. 2) and similar cases. But the ilar form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratêśô* and elsewhere is a ectical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharôshṭhî records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we represented the conjunct *r* ? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined he left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A. 1 (*chhattra*°), A. 6 (*mâtrâ*), A. 7 *rû*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tô*, which shows the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another ice is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke; see B. 1 and 3 (*chhatra*°), 2 (*putra*), M. 1 (*chhatra*°), Q. 2 (*chhatra*°). There remain A. 3 (where *te* is written), A. 5 iere I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G. 1 (where there is nothing iched to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratava*, if not *chchhatava*), G. 2 (*chhatava*), 3 (where we seem to have *atraürêna* for *atê*°). In A. 1 we have two strokes, both of ch seem to be intentional; one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic Pahlavî *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *r*. Of a cerebral (*ṭa*) I can 1 no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A. 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *r* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote a in A. 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A. 2 and N. 2, *pra* in A. 10 *aḍhravîpra*°), A. 11 (*prati*°), M. 3 (*pratêśô*), N. 3, *ḍhra* in A. 10 and M. 2, *chhra* (*chchha ?*) G. 2 and I. 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratrava*). In the last example, as also in *praḍhravî* . 10, *paḍhravî* in I. 2), it would seem to be even repeated; but this may be a feature of nunciation rather than of writing. A really otiose *r*-stroke is found in *mahêshri*, A. 2, and obably in *Pispasri*, A. 7.

The case of *kra* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E″., it is found four ies, in *bhakravatô* (A. 12), *nâkraraasa* (F. 1 and N. 1), and *sakrastânasa* (P. 1), *i.e.* in places iere we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental; it would seem probable that in ese cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the rsian غ; more especially as in the name of Seistân (Pahlavî *Saghastân*) this sound no doubt evailed at the time.

A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In *ateürêna* and *hôrakâparivârêna* (A. 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *ṇa*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N. 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *saṁ*. In E. 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *saṁ*, anticipating, as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *sya* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B. 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaôsta* (A. 4 and E. 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha*=*hra*.

(4) In A. 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A. 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ê* vertical and at the top; elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *śê* of A. 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *śê* of the previous line,— apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvâra*, *e.g.* in J., where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvâstivâtamnaṁ*.

The **Prâkṛit** in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskṛit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *k* (*nâgaraa*, *kusûlaa*, *mâhâsâṅghia*), only in *ateürêṇa* (for °*vurêṇa* ?), *saśpa*[*t*]*ê*. In *ayaria* and *puya* (=*âchârya* and *pûjâ*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatrava* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with; on the other hand *p* appears in *thûva* and *pratiṭhâvitô* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunct *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaôsta*, *sakastâna*, *sarvâstivâda*), assimilated ([*t*]*thûva*, *kadhavâra*, *prati*[*ṭ*]*ṭhârita*, *bhi*[*k*]*khu*); *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*sarva*, *khardaa*), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *â* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative sing. masc. appears both as *a* (in *thûva*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaôstô*, etc.); the neuter is in *a*[*ṁ*] (*śarîra*[*ṁ*]), the genitive singular in [*s*]*sa*, twice written *sya*. In *-munisa* the *i* declension shows the Prâkṛit form; of the *î* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental *-iâ*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dhite* in A 3 being a miswriting for *dhitrâ*), while in *yuvarâña*[*ḥ*] in A. 4 we have an ultra-Sanskṛit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvâstivâda* in place of °*vâdin*. The only pronouns occurring are *imô*, nominative masculine, and *iśê*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhusavi* (certainly not *bhâsati*, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A. 13. The false concord *śarira pratiṭhâvitô* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc.*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Râjûla, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurâ, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names Buddhila (or Budhila) and Bu[d]dhadêva. The last named, who is termed an *âchârya* and represented as a champion of the **Sarvâstivâdin** school against the rival **Mâhâsâṅghikas,** bears a name which cannot have been rare; one teacher of this name is mentioned by Târanâtha as a leader of the Vaibhâshikas (see Schiefner's translation, pp. 4 and 67, and the references in the St. Petersburg Dictionary), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap **Râjûla** himself and his son, the Satrap **Śuḍâsa,** have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurâ (see Bühler, pp. 531-2, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 195-6, 199; Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III. p. 30, and Vol. XX. pp. 48-9; V. A. Smith, *Mathurâ*, p. 21; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the *Yuvarâja* **Kharaôsta** with the Kharamôsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap **Kusûlaa Pâdika** with Pâtika, son of the Satrap Liaka Kusûlaka, named in the **Taxila plate,** is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,— for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year **78,** (in the time) of the Great King **Môga,**— but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kshatrapa dominion in Northern India; and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P. as 'in honour of the whole **Saka** realm' (*Sakastâna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp. 181-216; see also pp. 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Seistan as early as the time of Darius the Great and Alexander; (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature; and I have inferred that the Kshatrapas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pâtika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Môga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase *chhatrapasa Liakô Kusûlakô nâma tasa* (for *chhatrapasa Liakasa Kusûlakasa*), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Bühler compared with passages in two of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurâ. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitôpadêśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achæmenids that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the **etymology** of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned:—

1. The name *Kharaôsta* or *Kharha(hra)ôsta*, as =*khshathra*, 'sovereignty,' + *ôsta*, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial *kha*, which reappears in *khaharâta* with variant *kshaharâta*, presents no difficulty; it recurs in the *kharapallâna* (no doubt =*khshathrapihlâna*, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new Sârnâth inscription (above, Vol. VIII. p. 173 ff.). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in *chhatrapa*, is of the same nature as that in *cavalier* and *chivalry*, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.[1]

[1] On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. iii. No. 1, we have *Kshaharâta* in Brâhmî together with *Chhaharâta* in Kharôshṭhî; some of the Nâsik inscriptions have *Khakharâta*, etc.

The *hra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt. *Mihira*) being a variant of *Mithra*,[1] of which a still more simplified form is found in *Miraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X. Vol. III. (1904) pp. 463-4); the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. *Mêvaki* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name Mauakes Μευακης, which we find attached to the king Maues and Môga (=*Mauaka*).

3. The two names *Kâlûi*, *Kâmûiô* show a Pahlavî suffix *ûi*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. *Naüludo* is no doubt for *Naürûdô*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavî or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalaśamuśo*.

6. The termination *-ûs* in *Kômûsû* and *°śamûśo* seems to be Scythic.

7. The element *-si* in *Âyasi Kômûsû*, *Nandasikasa*, *Pispasi* is certainly not the Sanskrit *śrî*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-ci*, *-zî* (Pahlavî *-cîk*) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The *y* in *Ayasi*, *Hayuarana*, *Ayimisa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *z* in *Âyilisa*, etc. (see Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayaria* (=*âchârya*) and *puya* (=*pûjâ*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9. The name *Abûhôlâ* doubtless consists of two members, *Abû* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in Αβουλιτης (see Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, *s. v.*) + *hôla*, a variant of the *hôra* in *Spâlahôra* and the *hôrakâ* of our inscriptions. That *spâla* is a Pahlavî form of O. Pers. *spâda* = Zend *spâda* = Neo-Pers. *sipâh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spalapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Ispahbad*, Pahlavî *Spâhpat* (see Justi, *op. cit.* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hôra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormisdas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abûhôlâ* and that her *hôrakâparivâra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies).'

10. As regards the term *Kusûlaa* (=*Kusûlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyûla*, *Kujûla*, Κοζουλα applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sârnâth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Ṣâḥib*, *Bahâdur*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are :—

(1) **The family of Râjûla :—**

(*a*) **Râjûla** himself with his sons **Kharaôsta** (*Yuvarâja*,[2] son of the Chief Queen Abûhôlâ), **Śuḍâsa** (entitled Satrap), **Khalama** (entitled *Kumâra*[2]), and **Maja** (entitled *Kanishṭha*),—the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen Abûhôlâ— and his daughter Hana.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons: **Kâlûi, Naülûdô, Kâmûiô,** Âyimisa **Khalaśamuśo.** These were perhaps relatives of Râjûla.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely **Kusûlaa Pâdika, Mevaki Miyika,**[3] **K(r)ônina,** Khardaa, **Tachhila (Rachhila).**

(4) A Buddhist *âchârya*, named **Buddhila (Budhila)**, and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named **Buddhadêva.**

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[1] Cf. Hüsing in *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 562 ff., and Foy, Vol. XXXVI. p. 482 ff.

[2] On this and other similar *titles* see M. Lévi's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. XIX. p. 95 ff.

[3] The name of a satrap *Mevaku* is traced by Prof. Rapson on a coin (*J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 548).

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date; but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Môga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as **120 B. C.**

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

A. I.

1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahâchhatravassa Râjûlassa]
2 agra(ggra)maheshriayasia(o ?) [agramahêshî-Âyasiâ]
3 komusaa dhite [Kômûsââ dhite]
4 khara(rha ?)ostasa yuvarana [Kharaôstassa yuvarâñah]
5 mata nadadi(si ?)akasa .. [mâtâ Naṁdadi(si ?)akasa ..]

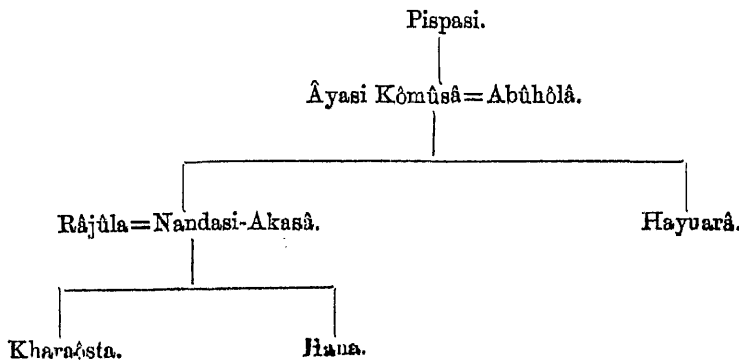
A. II.

6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(e ?) [sadha mâtrâ Abûhôlaâ]
7 pitramahi pispasria bhra [pitâmahî-Pispasiâ bhrâ-]
8 tra hayuarana sadha hanadhitra(?) [-trâ Hayuarânâ sadha Hana-dhitrâ]
9 atra(te)ürena horakapa [aṁtêürêṇa hôrakâpa-]
10 rivarena iśe pradhraviprate [-rivârêṇa iśê pradhravîpratê-]
11 śe(śre ?) nisime śarira pratiṭhavito [-sê nissîmê śarîra[ṁ] pratiṭṭhâvitô]
12 bhakravato śakamunisa budhasa [bhakravatô Śakamunissa Buddhassa]
13 ma(mra ?)kiṭe(hi ?)ra(?)ya saśpae bhusaveti(?) [. . . râya saśpaê bhûsâ-v-iti]
14 thuva cha sagharama cha chatu [thûva cha saṁghârâma cha chatu-]
15 diśesa saghasa sarva [-ddiśassa saṁghassa Sarvâ-]
16 stivatana parigrahe [-stivâtânaṁ parigrahê].

TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap **Râjûla**, daughter of **Âyasi Kômûsâ**, mother of the Heir Apparent **Kharaôsta, Nandasi-Akasâ** (by name), together with her mother **Abûhôlâ**, her paternal grandmother **Pispasi**, her brother **Hayuarâ** (?), her daughter **Hana**, her household and court of *hôrakâs* (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a *stûpa* with the thought: 'May it be for the eternal . . . . of the Holy Śâkya sage Buddha.' And the *stûpa* and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal *Saṅgha* of the **Sarvâstivâdins.**

NOTES.

Genealogy.—The scheme appears to be as follows:—

Readings.—L. 1. The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L. 2, *aggra* with a cross stroke; *ma* in *mahêshi* has the original form with a subscribed angle; *shri* has the otiose *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L. 3, *te* in *dhite* is quite clear; it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *tra* occurs several times in the inscription.

L. 4. Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharaôstasa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L. 5. No doubt *naṃdasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Bühler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *-saâ*. On the *ta* in *mâtâ* see p. 137 above.

L. 8. From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarâṇâ* is to be derived is not obvious.

L. 9, *a*[*ṁ*]*teürêna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are: (1) *saśpaê* for *śaśvatê*, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading); (2) *k* in *nâkraraassa* and *mâhâsaṁghiâna*; and (3) *khardaassa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hôrakâ* see p. 140 above.

L. 11, *nisime*. Bühler takes this as denoting a *stûpa*, and he quotes Professor Pischel's view that it is a Prâkṛit form of *niḥsama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence =*stûpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *nisîmô kârita niyâtitô* in inscription J.; but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *nissîmamâlaka* of the *Mahâvaṁsa*, c. xxxii: *raṇṇô śarîraṁ jhâpêsuṁ yasmin nissîmamâlake*.

L. 13. The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *vi*. Bühler's reading *bhûsati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhûsâ* as a strange optative form.

L. 12. The sign for *tô* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *tra*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L. 6. Whether *mâtâ* or *mâtrû* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L. 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *sri* in *Pispasri*.

L. 9. The second *akshara* resembles *tra* more than anything else; if it is really *tê* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *ê* is added to the earlier form of *ta*.

L. 13. Bühler's reading *mukihitâya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *mu*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *hi*; the expression *Buddhasya muktihitâya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

L. 15, *śê* seems clear; compare *iśê* in l. 10.

Grammar and interpretation.— L. 1, *û* in Râjûla is supported by the *Ranjubala*, etc., of the coins.

L. 2. It is doubtful whether *mahêshi Âyasi-°* or *mahêshiâ: Yasi°* is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in *pitâmahi*, l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *pratiṭhâvitô* as an active participle with the subject *mâtâ* in the nominative and a false concord: Bühler observes (p. 535) that '*pratiṭhâvitô* is the neuter, as frequently in the Shâhbâzgarhî version of the Rock-Edicts.' We may quote *imaṁ kaṭavô* in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (*e.g.* in

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital

in the British Museum.

Plate II.

Back of the capital.

J. F. FLEET. W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS.

SCALE ABOUT ·22

the Mâṇikiâla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiṭhâvêti*) is preferred.

B.[1]

1 Mahachha(chchha ?)travasa [mahâchhatravassa]
2 vajulasya putra [Râjûlasya putra]
3 śuḍase chatrave [Śuḍâsê chhatravê].

TRANSLATION.

Śuḍâsa, son of the Great Satrap **Râûlja,** being Satrap.

NOTES.

L. 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted.

L. 2, *va* (*sic*).

L. 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in -*e*, *Śuḍâsê* may best be regarded as a locative; in M. it is plainly so.

C.[2]

1 Kalui a [Kâlûî a-]
2 varajo(jho ?) [-varajô].

TRANSLATION.

Kâlûî, younger brother.

D.[3]

Naüludo [**Naülûdô**].

E.[4]

1 Khara(rha ?)osto yuvaraya [Kharaôstô yuvarâyâ]
2 khalamasa kumara [Khalamasa kumâra]
3 maja kaniṭha [Maja kaniṭṭha]
4 sa(saṁ ?)manamota.

TRANSLATION.

Kharaôsta, Heir Apparent; **Khalamasa,** *kumâra*; **Maja**; youngest; . . . . . .

NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalama°* in l. 2, but the *akshara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *kumârâ(t)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain; but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mô* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *samânâ mâtâ* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection.

E'.[5]

Kamuio [**Kâmûîô ?**].

NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kâlûî.

E''.[6]

kra ka(rva ?)rita (yu ?) [-kra kârita ?].

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[1] See Plate II.
[2] In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III.
[3] See Plate III.
[4] See Plate II.
[5] In smaller letters within E.; see Plate II.
[6] On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs.

NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form.

F.[1]

1 Budhilasa nakraraasa [Buddhilassa Nâkraraassa]
2 bhikhusa sarvastivatasa [bhikkhussa Sarvâstivâtassa].

G.[2]

1 Mahachhatavasya kusulaasa padikasa meva(na)kisa [mahâchhatravasya Kusûlassa Pâdikassa Mevakissa]
2 miyikasa chhatavasa puyae [Miyikassa chhatavassa pûyâê].

J. (3).[3]

Sarvastivatana padi[ri ?]grahe [Sarvâstivâtâna padi(ri ?)grahê].

TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the **Nâgara** *bhikkhu* **Buddhila, a Sarvâstivâdin.**

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the **Kusûlaka Pâdika,** and the Satrap **Mevaki Miyika.**

J.— For the acceptance of the **Sarvâstivâdins.**

NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *aksharas* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole.

Readings.—G. 1.—The *va* or *na* of *mêva(na)kisa* is a single straight stroke. *Mêvaki* is however more probable than *mênaki* (*mainâki*) ; see above.

J. (3).—The *di* in *padigrahê* (=*pratigrahê*) is identical with that in *Pâdika* ; nevertheless *parigrahê* is on the whole more probable in view of A. 1. 16. The *bhikkhu* Buddhila may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhadêva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nagara, no doubt the famous city of Nagarahâra (but see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and reff.). Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bühler does, to the lines J. (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone.

M.[4]

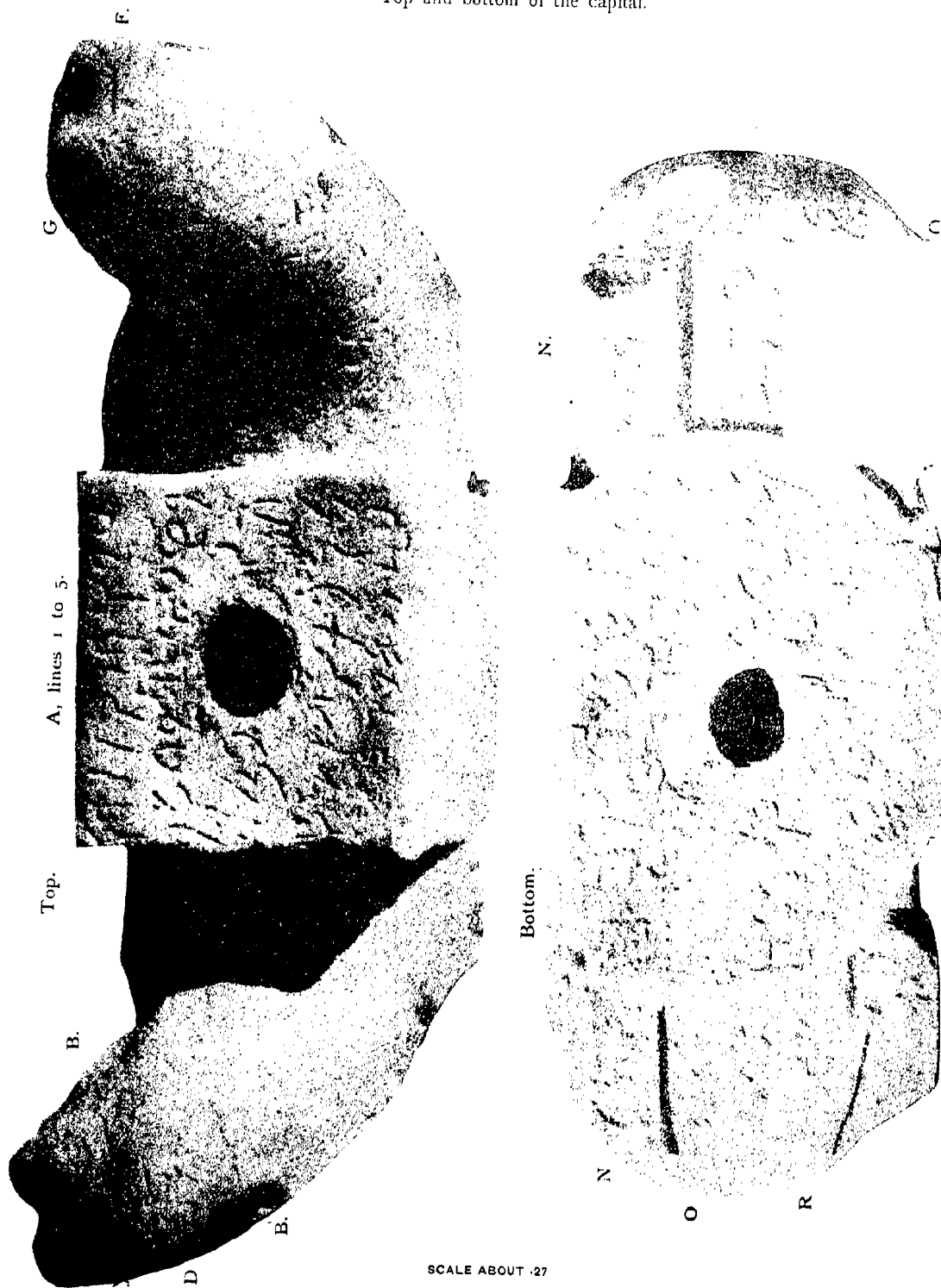
1 Chha(chchha)trave śuḍise [chhatravê Śuḍisê]
2 imo paḍhravi [imô paḍhravî]
3 prateśo [pratêśô]

I.[5]

1 **veya aṁ (u ?) dirna (dinaṁ ?) kadhavaro busapa**
2 **ro kadha**
3 **varo**
4 **viyaa**

[1] See Plate II. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] See Plate I. [5] *Ibid.*

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum.

Top and bottom of the capital.

SCALE ABOUT ·27

J. (1 and 2.)[1]

1 *viya* rva . . . . palishṭe (??) na
2 nisimo karita niyatito [nissîmo kârita niyyâtitô].

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M. has no verb (unless we here make use of the *-krakârita* (?) of E″.), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vêya°* of I. 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Bühler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vêya-udîno kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vêgôdîrṇô skandhâvârô busaparô skandhâvârô*, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth.' But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections :— (1) *skandhâvâra* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment;' (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary; (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*; it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *aṁ*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate); (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vêya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of l. 2 plainly follows the *pa* of l. 1, and a reading *veyaaṁdinaṁ kadhavaro=vaijayantînâṁ skandhâvârô* appears but little promising. The *viya* which precedes the large *rva* in J. 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya=viya?* The sign which Bühler renders by *shṭê* (reproduced in his *Indian Palæography*, Plate I. col. xiii.), is quite clearly inscribed; but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rdi*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *pali* (Bühler *puli*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *pali*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*; but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissîmô kârita niyyâtitô*, 'a *stûpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kârita*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J′.[2]

1 Khalaśamu-
2 śo.

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Bühler read *khalaśâna śo.* We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.[3]

1 Ayariasa [âyâriassa]
2 budhatevasa [Buddhatêvassa]
3 utaena ayimisa [utaêna Âyimisa].

TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *âchârya* **Buddhadêva**, Âyimisa.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Âyimisa* as a genitive with *dânaṁ* understood. But what then was the *dâna?* The last *akshara* of *Âyimisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Bühler as *ta*.

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[1] See Plate I. [2] On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.
[3] Not shown in the Plates: incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J. and F.-G. (see Plate II): plainly a single independent record.

H.[1]

Guhavihare [Guhâvihârê].

TRANSLATION.

In the cave-*vihâra.*

Bühler would translate: 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Haṁsasaṅghârâma near Gaya (*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I. p. 18) and a (Jaina) *Mihiravihâra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.

H'.[2]

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadânaṁ].

TRANSLATION.

Religious donation.

N.[3]

1 Ayariasa budhilasa nakraraasa bhikhu [âyâriassa Buddhilassa Nâkraraassa bhikkhu-]
2 sa sarvastivatasa pagra [-ssa Sarvâstivâtassa pâgrâ-]
3 na mahasaghiana pra [-naṁ Mâhâsâṁghiânaṁ prâ-]
4 ma(?)ñavitave khalulasa [-mâñavittavê khaḷûlassa].

TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvâstivâdin *âchârya* **Buddhila,** a *bhikkhu* of **Nagara,** an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the **Mâhâsâṅghikas.**

L. 1. Buddhila is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nagara' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nâgaraka*, for which see the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. pp. 184 ff., 201 and reff.

Ll. 2-3. Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakâsamâ* I can see no trace.

L. 4. The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halâyudha gives *khaḍûrikâ* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vêda has *khaḍûra* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khaṇḍ*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the Mâhâsâṅghikas were opposed to the Sarvâstivâdins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramuñavitave=prâmâṇyavittvê.*

O.[3]

1 Sarvabudhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhânaṁ pûyâ dhammassa]
2 puya saghasa puya [pûyâ saṁghassa pûyâ].

TRANSLATION.

Honour to all the **Buddhas,** Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saṅgha*.

P.[3]

1 Sarvasa sakrasta [sarvassa Sakrastâ-]
2 nasa puyae [-nassa pûyâe].

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[1] In small characters below the letter H. in Plate I.
[2] In small characters, as H., below the letter H'. in Plate I.
[3] See Plate III.

TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all **Sakastâna.**

The objections raised by Dr. Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp. 703-9; 1905, pp. 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurâ, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastâna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, *e.g.* in the inscriptions of Sue Vihâr, Anyor, and various Mathurâ inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvânâm*) even more comprehensive expressions; nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St. Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pâli *sakaṭṭhâna*, 'one's own place (home, etc.),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr. Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M. Barth, *Comptes* Rendues de l'Académie, 1907, pp. 384 ff., with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G. and O. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

Q.[1]

1 Khardaasa [Khardaassa]
2 chhatravasa [chhatavassa].

TRANSLATION.

Of the Satrap **Khardaa.**

R.[2]

1 Ra(ta ?)chhilasa [Ra(Ta ?)chhilassa]
2 kroniņasa [Kroniņassa].

TRANSLATION.

Of Rachhila (Tachhila ?) Kauṇḍinya (?).

Kauṇḍinya is a suggestion of Bühler, who also regards *Tachhilasa* as =*Takshaśilasa.*

Additional Notes.

1. A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rājūla, and Kharaosta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr. J. F. Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Maues, and Vonones,' published in the *J. R. A. S.* for October 1907, pp. 1013-40.

2. P. 137, l. 9: Insert after 'pp. 526 ff.' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps=*sappana* =*sattvānām*, *see* Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakṛt-sprachen* §300).'

3. P. 137, l. 38: Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *śe* denotes *e*, *see* below.'

4. P. 139, l. 44: Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words '*see* the Iranian *Grundriss* II. p. 97.'

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[1] See Plate III. and Plate I. where R. has been printed in error. The word *chhatavasa* is inverted on the stone.

[2] See Plate III.

No. 18.— MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1378.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain **Arbuda**, the modern **Mount Âbû** in the Sirôhi State of Râjputâna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speirs, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nêminâtha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kâthavaṭe, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff.; of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalêśvara, edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.;[1] and of the Achalêśvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff.[2] Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindî that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little[3] was done for the study of the Mount Âbû inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Âbû, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain; and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short; none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A.D.; and considering their great number, the *data* furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr. Cousens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Ṛishabha (Âdinâtha) which was founded by Vimala;[4] 97 from the temple of Nêminâtha, founded by Têjaḥpâla;[5] 30 from the temple of Achalêśvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A.D. 1062), in a short inscription (No. 1780 of Mr. Cousens' List) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I., and the latest (in No. 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A.D. 1728); between the two, the years which most

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[1] A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* Plate xxxvi.

[2] Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr. Cartellieri in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi; see *Progress Report of the Archæol. Survey of India, W. Circle*, for 1905-1906, p. 47.

[3] For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern List*, Nos. 261 and 265.

[4] In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikâ, Vimalasya vasahikâ, Vimala-vasahî*, and *Vimala-vasatikâ-tîrtha*, in literary works also *Vimala-vasati*. Above, p. 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sâh' or 'Vimala Shâh,' recently written 'Vimala Sâ,' in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikâ*, 'Vimala's temple.' Similarly, *Lûṇiga-vasahikâ* has given rise to the name (for Têjaḥpâla's brother) 'Luniga Sahikâ,' in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 309.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lûṇasiṁha* (or *Lûṇastha*)-*vasahikâ* or *Lûṇâ-vasahikâ*. In inscriptions I also find *Lûṇiga-vasahikâ, Têjapâla-vasahikâ* and *Têjala-vasahî*, and in literary works *Lûṇiga-vasati*.

frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Têjaḥpâla's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1287 (about A.D. 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No. 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A.D. 1854); no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalêśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No. 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A.D. 1129), and another (No. 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No. 1951 of Mr. Cousens' List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A.D. 1150), in the reign of the [Paramâra] *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Yaśôdhavaladêva** (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year).[1] Two other inscriptions (Nos. 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No. 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nêminâtha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr. Cousens' materials by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the **[Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Ṛishabha**, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement **that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088** (about A.D. 1031) by a certain **Vimala**, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhîmadêva [I.].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 248, the late Dr. Klatt gave an extract from a *Paṭṭâvalî* of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which 'the minister **Vimala**, who belonged to the Pôravâḍa (Prâgvâṭa) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sulṭâns and established the town of Chandrâvatî, caused a temple of Ṛishabhadêva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimala-vasahî*,' and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamânasûri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof. Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. II. pp. 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brâhmaṇs the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasûri's *Tîrthakalpa*, in Prof. Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p. 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given[2] for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasati*, and 1288 for that of the *Lûṇiga-vasati*,[3] and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlêchchhas, they were repaired in the Śaka year 1243 (*i.e.* the Vikrama year 1378), the first by **Lalla**, the son of Mahaṇasiṁha, and the other by **Pîthaḍa**, the son of the merchant Chaṇḍasiṁha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lâliga), the son of Mahaṇasiṁha, and

[1] No. 129 of my *Northern List*.

[2] So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof. Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasati* there can be no doubt.

[3] According to the extracts, the *sûtradhâra*, who built the *Lûṇiga-vasati*, was Sôbhanadêva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *prâsâdakâraka-sûtradhâra*) in Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 259. This builder's name actually occurs in No. 1674 of Mr. Cousens' List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288.— Jinaprabhasûri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vîjaḍa, the son of Dhanasiṁha; and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Têjaḥpâla (the *Lûṇiya-vasati*) is given as Pêthaḍa in an inscription[1] at that temple, the full text of which is :—

L. 1 Ôṁ[2] || [3]Â-chaṁdrârkkaṁ naṁdatâd=êsha saṁghâ-|[4]dhîśaḥ śrîmâ-
2 n **Pêthaḍaḥ** saṁgha-yuktaḥ | jîrṇṇôddhâraṁ Vastupâla-
3 sya chaityê |[4] tênê yên=êhâṣrbudâdrau sva-sâraiḥ ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here[5] is on a black slab, built into the side wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1′ 7½″ and 1′ 8″ broad by 1′ 1½′ high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space; lines 23-29 are only 1′ 5½″ long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3⅞″. The greater part of the writing is well preserved; but in line 16 about 10 *aksharas* and in line 17 about 4 *aksharas* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.[6] The size of the letters is between ¼″ and ⅜″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Sanskṛit, and, with the exception of the words *ôṁ* || *śrî-Arbudatîrtha-praśastir=likhyatê* || at the commencement, the words *atha râjâvalî* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of **orthography** only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarbajña* , l. 16, and *sa ṁbhabaḥ*, l. 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manaśvî*, l. 4, *śâṁha-* (for *siṁha-*), l. 6, and *sahaśrê*, l. 8 ; and the dental instead of the palatal in *nivêsitaṁ*, l. 8, *pêsala-*, l. 18, and *śasi-*,[7] l. 29. Instead of the vowel *ṛi* we have the syllable *ri* in *Rishabha*, ll. 26 and 29 , and in line 24 the author himself has written *shaḍ=arttavaḥ* instead of *shaḍ=ṛitavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.[8] What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *nṛipaśa* for *nṛipasya*, and in line 21 *vaddâjñâ* instead of *vadânyâ*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyânaśakti* (instead of *Jñânaśakti*) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 93, l. 26, and shows that in Râjputâna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *jña* and *nya ;* and *nṛipaśa* recalls *taśa* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,[9] without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *ś* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of **grammar** I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhâna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhâ* (instead of *vidadhê*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhâna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.[10] Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

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[1] No. 1743 of Mr. Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupâla's temple."

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Metre: Śâlinî.

[4] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[5] No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[6] When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.

[7] For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskṛit *śaśa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *śasa ;* compare Prof. Wackernagel's *Altind. Gramm.* Vol. I. p. 225.

[8] Compare *shaḍṛicha* and *shaḍarcha* in the St. Petersburg *Dictionary.*

[9] See Prof. Rapson in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1900, p. 104 f., and Prof. Franke's *Pâli and Sanskrit,* p. 97 f., and compare the genitive cases *teraśa, sagaśa, etc.*, in *Ep. Zeylanica,* Vol. I. p. 18 ff.

[10] Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *babhûva, babhûvuḥ, chakâra, didêśa, pra-pêdê* and *kârayâm-âsatuḥ*.

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence.

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, **Lalla (Lâliga)** and **Vîjaḍa**, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of Ṛishabha (Âdinâtha) on the mountain Arbuda. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *praśasti* or eulogy of the sacred Arbuda; but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (Ambikâ and Śrîmâtâ) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the Vikrama year 1088, of the temple of Âdinâtha by **Vimala**. The second part (vv. 14-23) contains a *rājâvalî* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv. 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain Arbuda there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kuṇḍa, agni-kuṇḍa*) of the sage Vasishṭha the hero **Paramâra**. In his lineage appeared the hero **Kânhaḍadêva**; and in his family there was a chief named **Dhandhu (Dhandhurâja)**, who was lord of the town of **Chandrâvatî** and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king **Bhîmadêva [I.]** and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king **Bhôja**, the lord of **Dhârâ**. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the **Prâgvâṭa** family there was a distinguished personage named **Vimala** in whom religion, immerged in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king **Bhîma** *daṇḍapati* (commander of the forces or governor) at **Arbuda**, and there one night was enjoined by the divine Ambikâ to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the Yugâdibhartṛi (Yugâdijina, Âdinâtha). That Vimala obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse: "I adore the holy Âdinâtha who was placed on the top of **Arbuda** by the glorious **Vimala**, **when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king Vikramâditya.**"

The chief **Dhandhu** or **Dhandhurâja**, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the Pramâra (or Paramâra) Dhandhuka mentioned above, p. 11, whose son Pûrṇapâla ruled the **Arbuda** territory in the Vikrama years 1099 and 1102.[1] He would of course have been a contemporary of both the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I. and the Paramâra Bhôjadêva of Mâlava.—**Vimala's** name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the Vikrama year 1201. That inscription,[2] No. 1767 of Mr. Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2′ 6″ long by 5½″ high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the Śrîmâla *kula* and was an ornament of the Prâgvâṭa *vaṁśa*. His son was **Lahadha**, who was somehow connected with the king Mûla (*i.e.* the Chaulukya Mûlarâja I.) and was also known by the name Vîra-mahattama. Lahadha had two sons. The first of them was the minister Nêḍha, and the second **Vimala**, who in verse 7 is described thus:—

Dvitîyakô=dvaitamatâvalaṁvî(bî) daṁḍâdhipaḥ śrî-**Vimalô** va(ba)bhûva |
yên=êdam=uchchair=bhavasiṁdhusêtukalpaṁ vinirmmâpitam=atra vêśma ||

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[1] The name Dhandhuka also occurs in the genealogy of the Paramâras of Chandrâvatî, above, Vol. VIII, p. 201.

[2] According to Mr. Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No. 10 in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It is referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "One inscription bears date S. 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nêḍha's son was Lâliga; his son was the minister Mahiduka;[1] and he again had two sons, Hêma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Ṛishabha set up an image of Nêmijinêśa (Nêmitîrthakara, *i.e.* Nêminâtha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tithi* of Jyêshṭha of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the **5th May A.D. 1144.** I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No. 1768 of Mr. Cousens' List,[2] the full text of which is :—

L. 1 [3]Śrî-Śrîmâlakulôdbhava-|[4] Vîramahâmaṁtri-putra-[sa]nmaṁtri- | śrî-
2 Nêḍha-putra-Lâliga-tatsuta-Mahiṁduka-[5]sutên=êdaṁ || Nijapu-
3 trakalatra-samanvitêna |[4] sanmaṁtri-Daśarathên=êdaṁ | śrî-Nêmi-
4 nâtha-[b]iṁvaṁ[6] |[4] mókshârthaṁ kâritaṁ ramyaṁ ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha; for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that **Vimala**, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nêḍha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

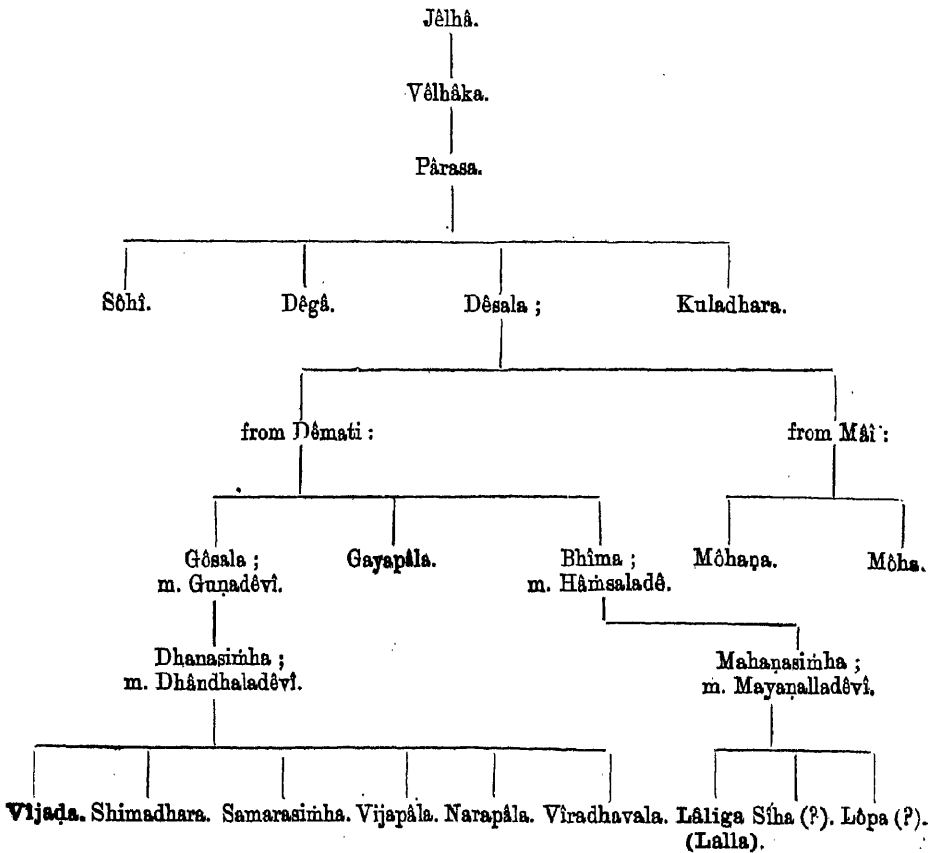
The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This *râjâvalî* in verse 14 commences with **Âsarâja**, who belonged to the **Châhuvâma** (Chāhuvâṇa, Châhamâna) family and was king of the town of **Nadûla** (Naddûla). After him came **Samarasiṁha**; and his son was **Mahaṇasiṁhabhaṭa** (v. 15). Then came **Pratâpamalla**; and to him was born **Vîjaḍa**, the lord of the **Marusthalî** *maṇḍala* (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king **Lûṇiga** (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes **Luṇḍha** 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries;' and verse 19 **Lumbha**, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain **Arbuda**, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (*i.e.* died). Verse 21 then eulogizes **Têjasiṁha**, the son of **Lûṇiga**; verse 22 wishes long life to **Tihuṇâka**; and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that **Lumbhaka** together with **Têjasiṁha** and **Tihuṇa** (*śrîmal-Luṁbhaka-nâmâ samanvitas=Têjasiṁha-Tihuṇâbhyâm*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain **Arbuda.**

Regarding the first part of this *râjâvalî*, as far as **Vîjaḍa**, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vîjaḍa. According to the inscription of Luṇṭigadêva, above, p. 80, Vîjaḍa, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons —Lâvaṇyakarṇa, Luṇḍha (Luṇṭiga), Lakshmaṇa, and Lûṇavarman, of whom Lâvaṇyakarṇa is distinctly called the eldest (*jyêshṭha*). According to the present inscription Vîjaḍa had three sons the first (*âdya*) of whom was **Lûṇiga.** After Lûṇiga the inscription mentions **Luṇḍha** and **Lumbha**, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luṇṭigadêva's inscription I have identified Lûṇiga with Lâvaṇyakarṇa, and have taken Luṇḍha and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Luṇḍha with Luṇḍha (Luṇṭiga) and Lumbha with Lûṇavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr. Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names **Lûṇiga, Luṇḍha** and **Lumbha (Lumbhaka)** to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskṛitized forms of **Luṁbhâ**, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुंभा,

[1] The metre shows that the name is correct here.
[2] The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.
[3] Metre of the two verses: Âryâ.
[4] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
[5] The metre requires us to read *Mahiduka-*.
[6] Read *-biṁbaṁ*.

the famous conqueror of Âbû.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p. 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr. Ojha agrees with me in considering **Tihuṇâka (Tihuṇa)** to be a younger brother of **Têjasiṁha**, but from his point of view places both, together with Têjasiṁha's son Kânhaḍadêva, under Luṇṭiga (Luṇḍha, Lûṇiga, Lumbha). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Âbû must have been actually carried on by Têjasiṁha.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (**Lalla** and **Vîjaḍa**) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table :—

Genealogical Table.

The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. **Jêlhâ**, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was Dharmasûri.[1] His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of **Dêsala** it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,[2] **Śatruṁjaya** and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

[1] See below, p. 154.

[2] The seven *tîrthas* or *kshêtras* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription[1] of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ânandasûri, of an image of Nêmijina (Nêminâtha) at Vimala's *vasahikâ*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ûkê[śa] *vaṁśa*,[2] and that its founder, Jêlhâka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of **Mâṇḍavyapura** (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Ṛishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the *guru* or *sûri* **Jñânachandra**, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñânachandra, we learn that he was preceded by **Amaraprabhasûri**, and that the founder of the lineage was **Dharmasûri**, also called **Dharmaghôsha-gaṇâryaman**, *i.e.* Dharmaghôsha, 'the sun of the *gaṇa*,' 'who defeated **Vâdichandra** and **Guṇachandra**, and caused the awakening of three kings.' Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñânachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasûri [3] or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghôshasûri;[4] and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr. Cousens' List, commences with the words: *Śrîmad-Dharmaghôshasûri-paṭṭê śrî-Âṇa(na)ṁdasûri-śrî-Amaraprabhasûri-paṭṭê śrî-Jñânachaṁdrasûri-*. The Ânandasûri of the last must be the Ânandasûri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309; and the Ânandasûri and Amaraprabhasûri of the inscription apparently are the Ânandasûri and his disciple Amaraprabhasûri who, according to Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasûri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ânandasûri there is mentioned, *ibid.* p. 109, Dharmasûri (a disciple of Śîlabhadrasûri of the Râja-gachchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king **Vigraha**. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghôshasûri, in Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of **Śâkambharî**; and *ibid.* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the **Sapâdalaksha** country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasûri, one was a king Vigraharâja of Śâkambharî (the capital of the Sapâdalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with **Vîsaladêva-Vigraharâja**, whose Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A.D. 1164), and that Dharmaghôshasûri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr. Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know; nor have I identified yet **Vâdichandra**[5] and **Guṇachandra** who were defeated by Dharmasûri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*siti*) of Jyêshṭha in the year made up of the *vasus* (8), the *munis* (7), the *guṇas* (3) and the moon (1), *i.e.* the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *siti*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half'; and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

[1] This is the inscription referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "Another (*viz.* inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

[2] *I.e.* the Ôsavâla tribe; compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 40.

[3] Nos. 1759, 1822 and 1852 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[4] Nos. 1756, 1758A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr. Cousens' List.

[5] There is a Vâdichandra who composed the *Jñânasûryôdaya*; I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words *1379 Jyêshṭha-sudi 9 Sômê*. But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos. 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr. Cousens' List) we have *saṁvat* (or *saṁ*) *1378 varshê Jyêshṭha-vadi 9 Sôma-dinê* (or *Sômê*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of Jyaishṭha the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chaitrâdi* current or expired, or *Kârttikâdi* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Jyaishṭha of the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322. For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take **Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322** to be its proper equivalent; and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake.

TEXT.[1]

1 || Ôṁ[2] || [3]Śrî-**Arbudatîrtha**-praśastir=likhyatê || [4]Aṁgîkṛit-âchalapadô vṛishabhâsitô=si |[5] bhûtir=gaṇâdhipatisêvita-pâdapadmaḥ | śaṁbhur=yugâdipurushô jagad-êkanâthaḥ puṇyâya pallavayatu[6] prati-vâsaraṁ sa[ḥ][7] || 1

2 [8]Nibaddha-mûlaiḥ phalibhiḥ sapatrai[9] drumair=narêṁdrair=iva sêvyamânaḥ | pâdâgrajâgrad-bahuvâhinîkaḥ śrî-**Arbudô** naṁdatu śaila-râjaḥ || 2 Yasmin [10]Viśishṭânalakuṁḍa-janmâ kshatikshati-trâṇaparaḥ pur=âsît | pratyashi-[11]

3 rthisârthônmathanâ-kṛitâthî |[12] kshitâv=iha śrî-**Paramâra**-nâmâ || 3 [13]Tad-anvayê **Kânhaḍadêva**-vîraḥ pur=âvir-âsîva[14] prabala-pratâpaḥ | chiraṁ nivâsaṁ vidadhâna[15] yasya karâṁbujê sarvajagaj-jayaśrîḥ || 4 [16]Tatkulakamala-

4 marâlaḥ kâla[ḥ*] pratyarthi-maṁḍalîkânâ[ṁ*] | **Chaṁdrâvatîpur**-îśaḥ samajani vîr-âgraṇî[r*]=**Dha[ṁ*]dhuḥ** || 5 [17]Śrî-**Bhîmadêvasya** nṛipaśa(sya) sêvâm=amanya[m]ânaḥ kila **Dhaṁdhurâjaḥ** | narêśa-rôshâch=cha tatô manaśvî(svî) **Dhârâdhipaṁ**

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[1] From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens, No. 1790 of his List.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *śrî* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name.

[4] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[5] This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original.

[6] Originally °*yaṁtu* was engraved.

[7] Originally *sâ* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *saḥ*.— So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pâdas the author addresses the Jaina Tîrthaṁkara Ṛishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva; and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pâda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit.' Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit!' (Compare *Śatruṁjaya-mâhâtmya* XIV. 33: *tâdṛiśânâṁ hi sadbhakti-vally=êvaṁ pallavaty=api*). In the first Pâda I take *vṛishabhâsitô=si* to be equivalent to both *Vṛishabha, âsitô=si* and *vṛishabhâsitô=si*, so that the Pâda would mean both 'O Vṛishabha (Ṛishabha)! having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here),' and 'you (O Śiva!), who have taken the name Achala, are seated on a bull.' I am aware that Ṛishabha has a bull for his cognizance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him; but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull.'— In the second Pâda *gaṇâdhipati* denotes both Puṇḍarîka, the leader of Ṛishabha's *gaṇa*, and Gaṇêśa.

[8] Metre of verses 2 and 3: Upajâti.

[9] Read *sapattrair=*.— The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' *etc.*; *pattra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' *etc.*; and *vâhinî* 'rivers' and 'armies'.

[10] Read *Vasishṭhâ°*; the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9.— With *anala-kuṇḍa* compare *agni-kuṇḍa* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5.

[11] The *akshara shi* is a mistake for *rthi*, and should be struck out because *rthi* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3.

[12] Read *-kṛitârthaḥ*.

[13] Metre: Upêndravajrâ.

[14] Read *-âsît=*.

[15] Wrong for *vidadhê*, which would not have suited the metre.

[16] Metre: Âryâ.

[17] Metre: Upajâti.

5 Bhôjanṛipaṁ prapêdê || 6 [1]Prâgvâṭavaṁś-âbharaṇaṁ babhûva ratnaṁ
pradhânaṁ Thi(vi)mal-âbhidhânaḥ | yas=têjasâ [2]dusamay-âdhakâra-magnô=pi sa
dharmmaḥ sahas=âvir-âsîta[3] || 7 [4]Tava(ta)ś=cha Bhîmêna narâdhipêna
pratâpa-bhûrmi(mi)r=Vima-

6 lô mahâmatiḥ | kva(kṛi)tô=[r*]budê daṁḍapatiḥ satâṁ priyaḥ priyaṁvadô
naṁdatu Jaina-śâsanê || 8 Aśôkapat[t*]râruṇa-pâṇipallavâ samullasatkêsarâ-
śâṁ(siṁ)ha-vâhanâ [|*] śiśudvayâlaṁkṛita-vigrahâ satî[5] satâṁ kri-

7 yâd=vighna-vinâśam=Aṁbikâ || 9 Ath=ânyadâ taṁ niśi daṁḍanâyakaṁ samâdidêśa
prayatâ kil=Âṁbikâ [|*] ih=âchi(cha)lê tvaṁ kuru sadma suṁdaraṁ
Yugâdibharttur=nirapâya-saṁśrayaḥ || 10 [6]Śrî-Vikramâdityanṛipâd=vya-

8 tîtê 'shṭâśîti-yâtê śaradâṁ sahaśrê(srê) | śrî-Âdi[nâ]tha[ṁ][7] śikharê=rbudasya
nivêsi(śi)taṁ śrî-[V]imalêna vaṁdê || 11 [8]Vighnâdhivyâdhi-haṁtrî yâ mât=êva
praṇat-âṁgishu | Śrîpuṁjarâja-tanayâ Śrîmâtâ bhavatâṁ[9] śri-

9 yê || 12 [10]Achalêśa [11]Viśishṭânalataṭinî-Maṁdâkinîvimalasalila- | puṇyâni yasya
śri[ṁ]nê[12] jayaṁvi(ti) vividhâni tîrthâni || 13 Atha râjâvalî || [13]Vairivargga-
dalanê gata-taṁdraś=Châhuvâmakulakairava-chaṁdraḥ[14] | yô Nadûla-na-

10 garasya narêśa Âsarâja iti vîravarô 'bhût || 14 [15]Prabalavairidavânala-
vâridaḥ Samarasi[ṁ*]ha iti prathitas=tataḥ | Mahaṇasiṁhabhaṭaḥ subhaṭ-
âgraṇîḥ pṛithu-yaśâ ajanishṭa tad-aṁgajaḥ || 15 [16]Pratâpamallas=tad-anu pratâ-

11 pî babhûva bhûpâla-sadassu mânyaḥ [|*] vîr-âvataṁsô=jani[17] Vîjaḍô=sya
Marusthalîmaṁḍala-bhûmibharttâ || 16 Âsan[18] trayas=tat-tanayâ nay-âḍhyâ
mûrttâḥ pum-arthâ iva bhâgabhô(bhâ)jaḥ | âdyô dharitrîpati-rakshapâlaḥ
khyâtaḥ kshitô(tau) Lûṇiga-

12 nâmadhêyaḥ || 17 [19]Nyâyamârgga-śikharî madhumâsaḥ[20] kâlavaksha(t=ka)valayann=
ari-vrajaṁ | maṁḍalîka-paha(da)vîm=apâlahâ(ya)l=Luṁḍha ity=abhidhayâ
dhiyâṁ nidhiḥ || 18 [21]Vipakshanârî-nayanâṁbupûraiś=chakâra yaḥ kîrtti-

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[1] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[2] Read *dussamay*(or *duḥshamay*)-*âṁdhakâra*-.
[3] Read -*âsît*.
[4] Metre of verses 8-10: Vaṁśastha.
[5] Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved.— Ambikâ is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p. 151 f., in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be: *Vikaṭa-kuṭiladaṁshṭrâ-bhîshaṇâsyaṁ tathâ cha dhutasabalasaṭâlî-bhâsuraṁ tuṅgam=uchchaiḥ* | *vahati sutam=uddraṁ y=âṅka-saṁstham sad=aiva mṛigapatim=adhirûḍhâ s=Âmbikâ vô=stu tushṭyai* ||. Compare the representation of Kushmâṇḍinî in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII. p. 463, Plate iv.
[6] Metre: Upajâti.
[7] It is difficult to say whether we should read *Âdinâthaṁ* or *Âdidêvaṁ*. The *akshara* which follows upon *âdi* originally was *dê*, but seems to have been altered; and the next *akshara* looks more like *tha* than *va*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Thimala* for *Vimala*, in line 5. On the whole I think that the reading *Âdinâthaṁ* is preferable.
[8] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[9] The sign for *â* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhavatâṁ* to *bhavatu*.— In the above I have purposely given *Śrîmâtâ*, not *śrî-Mâtâ*, because in other inscriptions *śrî* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix. I may mention that in No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List we have *Śrîmâtâdêvî* as one word, not *Śrîmâtṛidêvî*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 282 ff., the base of the word is both *Śrîmâtâ* and *Śrîmâtṛi*. In the same account the father's name is *Śrîpuñja*.
[10] Metre: Âryâ.
[11] Read *Vasishṭhâ*°; compare above, line 2.
[12] Read *śṛiṁgê*.— Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected *tava śṛiṅgê*, but this would not have suited the metre.
[13] Metre: Svâgatâ.
[14] *Châhuvâma*- probably is a mistake for either *Châhuvâna*- or *Châhuvâṇa*-.
[15] Metre: Drutavilambita.
[16] Metre: Upajâti.
[17] After the *ô* of °*taṁsô* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.
[18] Metre: Indravajrâ.— Read *Âsaṁs=trayas=*.
[19] Metre: Rathôddhatâ.
[20] Read, probably, *madhusravaḥ*.
[21] Metre: Upajâti.

13 latâṁ sapat[t*]râṁ | babhûva bhûmîpati-labdhamânô **Luṁbh**-âbhidhânô jagad-êkavîraḥ || 19 [1]Saṁhṛitya śatrûn prabalanu[2] balêna śrî-**A[r]budaṁ** prâpya nagâdhirâjaṁ | [3][bh]uktvâ sa [bh]ûma[ṁ*]ḍana-râ[jyam=uchchaiḥ] |[4] svarlô-

14 ka-lôkâdhipatir=babhûva || 20 [5]**Lûṇigasya** tanujô jaga[j-ja]yî **Têjasiṁha** iti têjasâṁ nidhiḥ | yat-pratâpadavapâvakaś=chiraṁ vairivargga-vipadaṁ nahatisma[6] || 21 [7]Karâgra[jâ]gra[t-*]karavâ-

15 ladaṁḍa-khaṁḍîkṛit-âśêshavirôdhivarggaḥ | pṛithyâṁ[8] prasiddhas=**Tihuṇâka-nâmâ** vîr-âvataṁsaḥ sa chirâyur=astu || 21 (22) [9]Śrîmal-**Luṁbhaka**-nâmâ sama[nv]itas= **Têjasiṁha-Tigu(hu)ṇâbhyâṁ** | **A[r*]buda**[g]iriśa-

16 râjyaṁ nyâyani[dhi ?][10] . . . . . . [|| 23*] . . . [11]urapura-vâsî suguru-śrî-Dharmmasûri-padabhaktaḥ [|*] Sarbajñanâsêna-rataḥ[12] sa jayati **Jêlh**-âbhidhaḥ śrêshṭî(shṭhî) || 24 Tat-tanayaḥ su-nayô=bhût[13] **Vê-**

17 **[lhâ]kaḥ** sakala-bhûta[14] . . . . [|] tat-putraḥ su-charitra[ḥ] puṇya-nidhiḥ **Pârasaḥ** sâdhuḥ || 25 **Sôhi-Dêgâ-Dêsala-Kuladhara**-nâmnâ tad-aṁgajâ jâtâḥ | chatvâraḥ kulamaṁdira-sudṛiḍhastaṁbh-âbhirâmâ [yê ||]

18 26 [15]Śrî-**Dêsalaḥ** sukṛi[tapêsa]la-vittakô[ṭiś=[16]chaṁcha]chchaturdaśajagaj-janitâ-vad[âta]ḥ[17] | Śatruṁjayapramukha-viśrutasaptatî[rtha]-[18]yâtrâś=cha[tu]rdaśa chakâra mahâmahêna || 27 [19]Dê[ma]ti-Mâî-

19 nâmnî sâdhu-śrî-Dêsalasya bhâryê dvê | nirmalaśîlaguṇ-â[ḍhy]ê dayâ-ksha[mê] Jaina-dharmasya || 28 Dêmatikukshi-prabhavâ **Gôsa[la]-Gayapâla-Bhî[ma]-nâmânaḥ** | Mâî-kukshêr=jâtau **Môha-**

20 **ṇa-Môh**-âbhidhau putrau || 29 Jinaśâsanakamala-raviḥ sâdhuḥ śrî-**Gôsalô-**vi[dat][20] kîrttiṁ | guṇaratnarôhaṇadharâ[21] Guṇadêvî priyatamâ tasya || 30 [22]Saddharmmakarmm-aikaniba-

21 ddhabuddhis=[23]tad-aṁgajaḥ śrî-**Dhanasiṁha**-sâdhuḥ | bhâryâ tadîyâ sadayâ vadâjñâ(nyâ) mânyâ satâṁ Dhâṁdhaladêvi-saṁjñâ || 31 [24]Sâdhô[r*]=**Bhîmasya** sutô Hâṁsaladêkukshi-saṁbhaba(va)ḥ śrîmân | ma-[25]

22 himâ-nidhir=mahaujâ mahâmatir=**Mahaṇasiṁh**-âkhya[ḥ] || 32 [26]Mayaṇalladêvî-varakukshiśukti-muktâs=trayas=tat-tanayâ jayaṁti | jêshṭô[27] jagadvyâpi-yaśaḥprakâśaḥ sâdhv-agraṇî[r*]=**Lâliga-**

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[1] Metre: Indravajrâ. [2] Read *prabalân*.

[3] Up to the end of the line the *aksharas* in brackets are more or less conjectural; they are carelessly written in the original. For *bhûmaṁḍana-* read *bhûmaṁḍala-*.

[4] This sign of punctuation is superfluous. [5] Metre: Rathôddhatâ.

[6] The four *aksharas nahatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning. The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahatv=iha*.

[7] Metre: Upajâti. [8] Read *pṛithvyâṁ*.

[9] Metre of verses 23-26: Âryâ. [10] Here about 10 *aksharas* are effaced.

[11] In No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List (see above, p. 154) Jêlhâka is described as an inhabitant of Mâṇḍavyapura.

[12] Read *Sarvajñaśâsana-rataḥ*. [13] Read *=bhûd=*. [14] Here about 4 *aksharas* are effaced.

[15] Metre: Vasantatilakâ. [16] Read °*pêśala-vittakôṭiś=*. [17] Read, perhaps, °*dânaḥ*.

[18] Originally °*tîrthô*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved.

[19] Metre of verses 28-30: Âryâ.

[20] The reading is conjectural. The original has *vi [t ?] dê kîrttiṁ*.

[21] Compare *guṇaratnarôhaṇagiri* in my *Report on the search for Sanskṛit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p. 43, line 1.

[22] Metre: Upajâti.

[23] After the *akshara ddhi* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

[24] Metre: Âryâ.

[25] Here originally *mê* was engraved, but the sign for *ê* seems to have been struck out; the two *aksharas himâ* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear. The author has used the feminine *mahimâ* instead of the masculine *mahiman*.

[26] Metre: Indravajrâ.—The two *aksharas maya* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*mai*).

[27] Read *jyêshṭhô*.

23 sâdhurâjaḥ || 33 [1]Âśvinêyâ[v]=iva śrêshṭh[au] kanishṭhau guṇa-śâlinau [|*] **Sîha-Lôp-âbhidhau**[2] dharmmadhyâna-pravaṇamânasau || 34 **Shaṭ** sutâ **Dhanasiṁhasya** mûrttâ

24 iva shaḍ=arttavaḥ[3] | viśvaviśv-ôpakârây=âvatîrṇṇâ[ḥ] pritha(thi)vî-talê || 35 [4]Têshâm=âdyaḥ sâdhu[r*]=**Vîjaḍa** iti vimalama(ta)ra-yaśaḥprasaraḥ | guṇa-sâgaraḥ **Shimadharaḥ** sajña(jja)na-

25 mânyaḥ **Samarasi[ṁ]haḥ** || 36 [5]Râjasamâja-śrêshṭhô vikhyâtô(taḥ) **sâdhu-Vijapâlaḥ** [|*] nipuṇa-matir=**Narapâlaḥ** sukṛita-ratô **Vîradhaval-âkhyaḥ** | (||) 37 [6]Svapitṛi-śrêyasê

26 jîrṇṇôddhâraṁ[7] Rishabha-maṁdirê | kârayâm-âsatur=**Llalla-Vîjaḍau** sâdhu-sattamô(mau) (||) 38 [8]Vâdichaṁdra-Guṇachaṁdra-vijêtâ bhûpatitraya-**vibôdha-vidhâtâ** | Dharmmasûri-

27 r=iti nâma pur=âsîta[9] viśvaviśva-viditô muni-râja[ḥ*] | (||) 39 [10]Mûlapaṭṭa-kramê tasya Dharmaghôsha-gaṇâryamâ[11] [|*] babhûvuḥ śama-saṁpûrṇṇâḥ[12] Amaraprabhasûrayaḥ || 40

28 [13]Tatpaṭṭa-bhûshaṇam=adûshaṇadharmaśîla-[14]sidya(ddhâṁ)tasiṁdhupariśîlana-Vishṇulîlaḥ | śrî-Jñânachaṁdra iti naṁdatu sûri-râjaḥ puṇyôpadêśavidhi-bôdhitasa-

29 tsamâjaḥ | (||) 41 [15]**Vasu-muni-tu(gu)ṇa-śasi(śi)-varsha** | **Jêshṭê**[16] **sitinara(va)mi-Sôma-yuta-divasê** | śrî-Jñânachaṁdra-guruṇâ pra[ti]shṭi(shṭhi)tô=**[rbu]da-gi[rau** Ri]sha[bhaḥ][17] || 42

30 1379 **Jêsṭa-sudi**[18] 9 **Sômê** ||

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Châhamânas of Naddûla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the **Genealogical Table of the Châhamânas of Naddûla** published above, p. 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief **Jôjalla (Yôjaka)**, here called **Jôjala**, while the two others are of the reign of **Râyapâla** of Naddûla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1.— This inscription is at **Sâdri** (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gôdwâr district of the Jôdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences :—

L. 1 Ôṁ[19] **saṁvat 1147 Vaiśâkha-śudi 2 Budha-vâsarê** mahâ-
2 **râja-śrî-Jôjaladêvêna** śrî-Lakshmaṇasvâmi-prabhṛiti-
3 **samastadêvânâṁ** yâtrâkâla-vyavahârô lêkhitaḥ ||

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[1] Metre of verses 34 and 35 : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names ; the four *aksharas* at the beginning of the Pâda might be read also *sîhâlâpâ*.

[3] Wrong for *shaḍ=ṛitavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

[4] Metre: Âryâ.

[5] Metre : Upagîti.

[6] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Read °*ram=Rishabha-*.

[8] Metre : Svâgatâ.

[9] Read *=âsîd=*.

[10] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[11] Read *-gaṇâryamṇaḥ*.

[12] Read *-sampûrṇṇâ*.

[13] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.— With the commencement of the verse compare *e.g.* Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 207, v. 5 : *tatpaṭṭa-bhûshaṇamaṇir=gata-dûshaṇô=bhût.*

[14] Probably the intended reading was °*śîlaḥ*.

[15] Metre : Âryâ.

[16] Read *-varshê Jyêshṭhê* (or *Jyaishṭhê*).

[17] Read *-girâv=Rishabhaḥ*.

[18] Read *Jyêshṭha* (or *Jyaishṭha*)*- sudi ;* and see above, p. 155.

[19] Denoted by a symbol.

Mount Abu inscription of [Vikrama-]Samvat 1378.

From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. H. Cousens.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

2.— This inscription is at **Nadol.** It contains 13 lines of writing and commences :—

L. 1 **Ôṁ**[1] **saṁvat 1147 Vaiśâkha-śudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vâsa-**
2 **rê** mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Jôjaladêvaḥ** sama-
3 sta-dêvânâṁ śrî-Lakshmaṇasvâmi-prabhṛitînâṁ yâtrâ-vya-
4 vahâraṁ lêkhayati yathâ || . . . . . .

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1147, to **Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091,** when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

3.— This also is at **Nadol.** It contains 39 lines of writing and commences :—

L. 1 **Ôṁ**[1] **saṁvat 1198 Śrâvaṇa-vadi 8 Ravâv=ady=êha** [ma]-
2 hârâjâ[dhirâja]-śrî-**Râyapâladêvaḥ**[2] kalyâṇa-vija[ya]-
3 râjyê êvaṁ kâlê pravarttamânê . . . . .

The date corresponds either, for the *pûrṇimânta* Śrâvaṇa of the expired *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1198, to **Sunday,** the 29th June A.D. 1141, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; or, for the *amânta* Śrâvaṇa of the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1198, to **Sunday,** the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amânta* month, I here, too, take **Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142,** to be the true equivalent of the date.

4.—This also is at **Nadol.** It contains 8 lines of writing and commences :—

L. 1 **Ôṁ**[1] || **Saṁvat 1200 Bhâdrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vârê** ady=êha śrî-
2 **Na[ḍû?]lê** samastarâjâvalîsamalaṁkṛita-pûjya-mahârâjâdhi-
3 râja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Râyapâladêva**-vijayarâjyê ê-
4 vaṁ kâlê pravarttamânê . . . . .

The date, for the *amânta* Bhâdrapada of the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to **Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144,** when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

In the Table **Râyapâla** (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jôjalla (A.D. 1091) and Âlhaṇa (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter; but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present.

I may add that Mr. Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of **Kâsahrada** and **Naddûlâî,** spoken of by me above, pp. 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes :—

"I would identify **Kâsahrada** with **Kâyadrâṁ** (also called **Kâsadrâṁ**) at the foot of Mount Âbû, about 3 miles from the Bhimânâ station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramâra prince **Dhârâvarsha** was discovered there by me some years ago."

And respecting **Naddûlâî,** which I had taken to be a different place from Naddûla, he says :—

"As you think, it is quite different from Naddûla. It is now called **Nâralâî,** and is situated in the Gôdwâr district of the Jôdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Bhâvnagar Inscr.* p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect[3])."

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[1] Denoted by a symbol. [2] Read °*dêva-kalyâṇa*-.

[3] See my *Northern List,* No. 306.— On the map of the Râjputâna Agency 'Narlái' is seven miles south-east of 'Nádol.'

No. 19.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Mr. Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value.' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on.

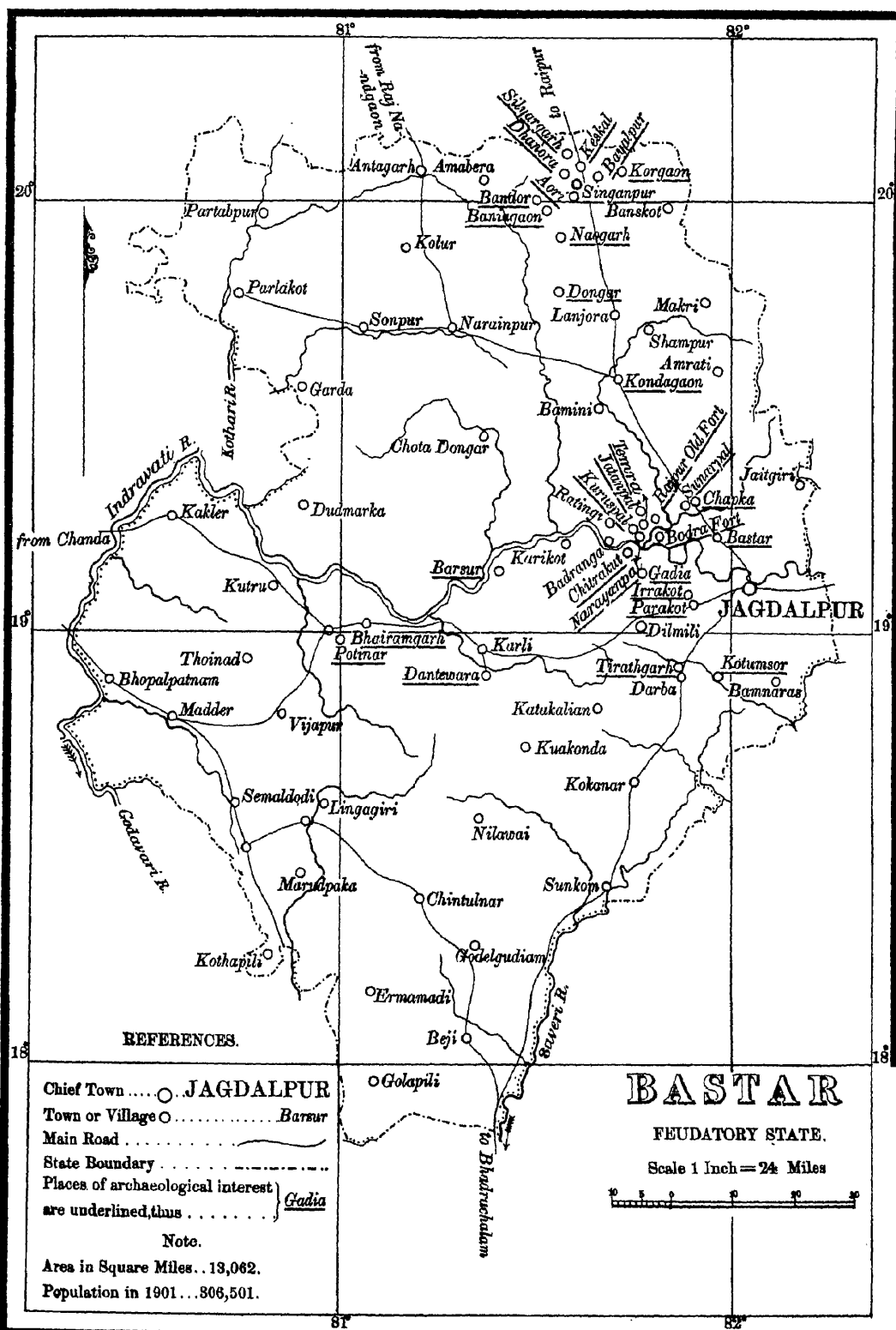
Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46′ and 20° 14′ north latitude and 80° 15′ and 82° 15′ east longitude, touching the Gôdâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wildest tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes. This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions [1] through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State. Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasfurd, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gôdâvarî District, about the year 1862 A.D.[2] So far as is known, only one of them has been published, *viz.*, the so-called Nâgpur Museum inscription of Sômêśvara.[3] On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nâgpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village Kowtah, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown. It belonged to Bârsûr, of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas.

In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood, I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archæological remains. As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here. These places are Bârsûr, Dantêwârâ, Gaḍia, Bhairamgarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunârpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Potinâr, Chapkâ and Dôṅgar.

Bârsûr is a place of very great interest. It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar. It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *maṇḍapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a *liṅga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago. Another Śiva temple has a *maṇḍapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Mâmâ bhâñjâ-kâ mandir* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains. Outside the Gaṇêśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaṇêśa, 17′ in circumference and about 7′ or 8′ high. Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Vishṇu, 4′ high, and showing good workmanship. There are also some images of Mahishâsuramardinî, one of which is inscribed. All the temples are of mediæval Brâhmaṇic style, most of them built of stone without lime.—**Dantêwârâ** is about 20 miles south of Bârsûr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes. Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvarî, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family. The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

[1] Since I wrote this Mr. Baijnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper.

[2] See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX p. 62 *et sqq.*

[3] Above, Vol. III. p. 314.

Prepared specially for the Govt. Epigraphist for India. from an original supplied by him.

called Saṅkhinî and Daṅkinî, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishâsuramardinî, locally known as Dantêśvarî. There are various other images such as those of Vishṇu, Kârttikêya, Gaṇêśa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bârsûr. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantêśvarî temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamguḍî. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantêśvarî temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached.—**Bhairamgarh** is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at **Potinâr**, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab[1] inscribed on four sides.— **Gaḍia** is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bârsûr. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *liṅga* was found buried in a brick mound.— **Narâyanpâl** and **Kuruspâl** are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indrâvatî. Near these villages are the forts of Râjapur and Bôdrâ, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakûṭ present a magnificent appearance.—Narâyanpâl is only 6 miles from Gaḍia and has an old temple, an image of Vishṇu, and an inscription.— **Sunârpâl** and **Chapkâ** are within 12 miles from Narâyanpâl. Chapkâ has a number of *satî* pillars, several of which are inscribed.— **Tîrathgarh** also contains some temples and relics.— **Dôṅgar** is a place where according to custom the present Râjas go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Râja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narâyanpâl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, *viz.*, those of the (1) Nâgavaṁśî kings, (2) the Kâkatîyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 22 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

THE NÂGAVAṀŚÎ INSCRIPTIONS.

I.—Narâyanpâl Stone inscription of Queen Guṇḍa-mahâdêvî, the mother of Sômêśvaradêva.

Narâyanpâl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nâgarî characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village **Nârâyaṇapura** to the god Nârâyaṇa and some land near the **Khajjuri** tank to the god Lôkêśvara, and it is dated in the **Śaka year 1033** on **Wednesday**, the **full moon**-day of the **Kârttika** month in the **Khara saṁvatsara** (*Śaka-nṛipa-kâlâtîtê daśa-śata-traya*[*s**]*-triṁś-âdhikê Khara-saṁvatsarê Kârtika-paurṇimâsyâṁ Budhavârê*) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A.D., and issued by **Guṇḍa-mahâdêvî**, the chief queen of *Mahârâja* **Dhârâvarsha**, the mother of Sômêśvaradêva and the grandmother of Kanharadêva, who was then ruling on the death of his father (*Mahârâja-Sômêśvara-dêvasya śvar*(*svar*)*gatê têshâṁ putrasya âsâm naptuḥ* . . . *śrîmad-vîra-Kanharadêvasya kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê*). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nâgavaṁśa and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhôgâvatî the best of the cities (*Nâgavaṁśôdbhava Bhôgâvatî-pura-var-êśvara savatsa-vyâghra-lâṁchhana Kâś*(*s*)*yapa-gôtra*). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

[1] This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jâuglâ, six miles north of Potinâr, for easy access.

dagger and shield with a *liṅga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the Liṅgâyats wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by **Dhâraṇa-mahâdêvî**, who was probably the widow of Sômêśvara, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that Narâyanpâl is the Nârâyaṇapura of the inscription. A temple of Nârâyaṇa is still standing there. The image of Vishṇu, about 2′ high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

II.—Bârsûr inscription of Gaṅga-mahâdêvî, wife of Sômêśvaradêva.

This inscription is now in the Nâgpur Museum, and, as stated above, it has already been published.[1] It is a slab 9′ 2″ long, 14″ broad and 3½″ thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring 6¼′ and the smaller one 2′ 11″. It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about 4½′, thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31″. The stone is stated to have been brought from Kowtah near Sironcha, but the Tahsildar of Sironcha informs me that it was never sent from that place.[2]

The stone is indisputably from Bârsûr. Happily Col. Glasfurd has given a facsimile in his report on the Dependency of Bastar. Speaking of the Bârsûr temples he says [3]:—"In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides; part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of Mahâdêva where the slab was found was built by a Râjâ Sômêśvaradêva, a Nâgavaṁśî Kshatriya, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the *birudâvali* or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the Narâyanpâl Sanskrit inscription. It records that **Gaṅga-mahâdêvî**, the chief queen of **Sômêśvaradêva** gave a village named **Kêramaṛuka** or **Kêramaṛka** to two temples of Śiva (both of which she had built) on **Sunday**, the **12th** *tithi* of the **bright** fortnight of **Phâlguna** in the **Śaka** year **1130**. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *maṇḍapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that Col. Glasfurd removed the slab. Although the names of the temples **Vîrasômêśvara** and **Gaṅgâdharêśvara** given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called **Gaṅgâsâgar** and retains the memory of the charitable queen Gaṅga-mahâdêvî. If the Sômêśvara of this inscription is identical with that of Narâyanpâl, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, *viz.*, the 12th of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna, on a Sunday. According to Mr. Dîkshit's calculations, **Phâlguna** Śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 1130 ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was Śaka 1131 expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in Śaka 1030 expired I find that

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[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 314.

[2] A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of Bhavadêva (republished in J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 617, by Dr. Kielhorn) to Ratanpur, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from Bhândaka, and this is confirmed by General Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

[3] *Report on the Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p. 62.

it also fell on Sunday.[1] In the Narâyanpâl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nârâyaṇapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharadêva, who had succeeded his father Sômêśvaradêva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sômêśvaras,[2] the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu 1 which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second 1 of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kêramaṛuka may be identified with Kôdmalnâr, which is situated quite close to Bârsûr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

III.—Kuruspâl inscription of Dhâraṇa-mahâdêvî, second queen(?) of Sômêśvara.

Kuruspâl is a village about a mile off from Narâyanpâl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was utilised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nâgarî character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near **Kalamba** by **Dhâraṇa-mahâdêvî**, who seems to have been the second queen of **Sômêśvaradêva**. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahârâjâdhirâja Sômêśvaradêva (*Mahârâjâdhirâja-Śrî-Sômêśvaradêva-pâdânu kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê . . . śrîmat-sâ(mach-chhâ)sana-mahâdêvi dvitîya Dhâraṇa-mahâdêvi tay=âchamya Kalaṁmva-samîpasthâ bhûmî dattaṁ(â)*). The same long *birudas* as in the Narâyanpâl and Bârsûr inscriptions are attached to Sômêśvaradêva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nârâyaṇapura. It is dated in the **Saumya saṁvatsara.**

IV.—Sunârpâl stone inscription of Mahâdêvî, queen of Jayasiṁhadêva.

Sunârpâl is about 10 miles from Narâyanpâl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by **Mahâdêvî**, the chief queen of **Jayasiṁhadêva** of the Nâga race, the supreme lord of Bhôgâvatî, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Râjâdhirâja Mahârâja Śrî Jayasiṁhadêva.

V.—The Dantêśvarî guḍi inscription[3] of Narasiṁhadêva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantêśvarî at Dantêwârâ. It is dated in the **dark** fortnight of the month **Jyêshṭha** in the **Śaka** year **1140** (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyêshṭha was intercalary. At that time *Mahârâja* **Narasiṁhadêva,** the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrî-bhujaga-vara-bhûshaṇa-Mahârâjul=aina Śrîman-Narasiṅhadêva-Mahârâjula râjyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment.

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[1] Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phâlguna Sudi 12 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1109.

[2] I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *birudas* used in the Bârsûr and Narâyanpâl inscriptions. The Sômêśvara of the former has the title *jagadêkabhûshaṇa-mahârâja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *birudas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

[3] For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nâgavaṁśî inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The **Potinâr** slab seems to refer to Narasiṁhadêva and the Dantêwârâ stone lying outside the Dantêśvarî temple to Jayasiṁhadêva. The **Bhairamgarh** inscription contains *birudas* similar to those found in the Bârsûr one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Mâṇikyadêvî (*Śrî-Mâṇikyadêvi-divya-śrîpâda-padm-ârâdhaka*), which is an older name of Dantêśvarî, so named by the successors of the Nâgavaṁśîs, the Kâkatîyas, although the latter claim that Dantêśvarî came with them from Warangal, where she was called Mâṇikyêśvarî.[1] This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The **Bhairamguḍî** inscription at Dantêwârâ appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be **Śaka 984.**[2] The **Gaḍia** inscription, apparently of Somêśvaradêva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nâgavaṁśî kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspâl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jô (yô) anyathâ karôti tasya pitâ gardabhaḥ śûkarî mâtâ* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nâgavaṁśî kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yelburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nâgavaṁśî kings. Dr. Fleet states[3] that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, *viz.*, **Dhârâvarsha**, his son **Sômêśvaradêva**, and his grandson **Kanharadêva**, **Jayasiṁhadêva**, **Narasiṁhadêva**, and a possible **Sômêśvara II.** In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

II.—THE KÂKATÎYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantêśvarî temple at Dantêwârâ written by the *râjaguru* of the present family, who was a Maithila Paṇḍit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithilî rendering of the same with some additions. Col. Glasfurd has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the **Vikrama Saṁvat 1760, or 1703 A.D.** on the **3rd** day of **Baisâkh, dark** fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of **Râja Dikpâladêva** to the Dantêśvarî shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Saṅkhinî river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days.' The Kâkatîyas are stated to be Sômavaṁśîs,[4] born of the

[1] Elliot's *Report on the Bastar and Kharonde Dependencies*, 1861, p. 13.

[2] As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

[3] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

[4] In the Ekâmranâtha inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhagîratha, Raghu and Râma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrâmbâ, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

Pâṇḍava Arjuna. The genealogy begins with **Kâkatî Pratâparudra**, who was king of **Warangal.** His brother **Annamrâja** was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to **Dikpâladêva**, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmâns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kâkatîya kings may be made up.

1.—Predecessors of Annamdêva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 18.

1 Durjaya.
2 Bêta (Betmarâja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1.
3 Prôla (Prôlêrâja, Prôḍarâja) Jagatikêsarin, son of 2; made the Western Châlukya Tailapadêva prisoner; defeated Gôvindarâja and Guṇḍa of Mantrakûṭa; conquered but reinstated Chôḍôdaya; put to flight Jagaddêva.
4 The *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Rudradêva, son of 3; subdued Ḍomma; conquered Mailigidêva; burnt the city of Chôḍôdaya. A.D. 1163-[and 1186].
5 Mahâdêva (Mâdhava), brother of 4.
6 Gaṇapati (Gaṇapa) Chhalamattigaṇḍa, son of 5; defeated the Dêvagiri Yâdava Siṅghaṇa, the kings of Chôḷa, etc. A. D. [1199-1200 to 1260-61].
7 the *Mahâmaṇḍalachakravartin* Pratâparudra of Êkaśilânagarî, *i.e.* Warangal. His general Muppiḍi entered Kâñchî and installed Mânavîra as governor. A.D. 1316.

2.—Successors of Annamdêva down to Dikpâladêva according to the Dantêwârâ inscriptions.

1 Annamrâja, brother of Pratâparudra.
2 Hâmiradêva.
3 Bhairava (Bhai Râj) dêva.
4 Purushôttamadêva.
5 Jayasiṁhadêva.
6 Narasiṁhadêva; his queen Lachhamî-dêî dug many tanks and planted gardens.
7 Jagadîśarâyadêva.
8 Vîranârâyaṇadêva.
9 Vîrasiṁhadêva, married Vadanakumârî, a Chandêlla princess.
10 Dikpâladêva, married Ajabakumârî, of the Chandêllas, visited the Dantêśvarî temple in Saṁvat 1760, A.D. 1703.

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son Pratâparudra. It is possible that Pratâparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratâparudra became by adoption a Kâkatîya of the solar race, his brother Annamdêva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratâparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kâkatîya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her [illegible] her husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kâkatîya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamîmâṁsâ* VII § 30—38 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 130), whereby Gaṇapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrâmba; see *Ind. Ant.* XXI. p. 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kâkatîyas. The commentator of the *Kâkatîr Pratâparudrîya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallinâtha's son, explains the word thus:—*Kâkatîr nâma Durgâ Śaktir Êkaśilânagar-êśvarâṇâṁ kuladêvatâ sâ Śaktir bhajanîy-âsy-êti Kâkatîyaḥ.* It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kâkatîya. This would not affect their true lineage, *viz.*, the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdêva was a brother of the Pratâparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratâparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shâh Bahmani' in 1424 A.D. This Pratâparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdêva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3.—Successors of Dikpâladêva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Râja's family.

1 Rajpâldêva.
2 Dalpatdêva.
3 Daryâodêva ; his brother Ajmêr Siṅgh rebelled against him in Saṁvat 1836, A.D. 1779.
4 Mahîpâladêva.
5 Bhûpâladêva.
6 Bhairamadêva.
7 Rudrapratâpadêva, the present chief.

The family records place another Pratâparâjadêva between Narasiṁhadêva and Jagadîśarâyadêva, Nos. 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratâparudradêva, the brother of Annamrâja, is stated to have had three eyes ; his army was composed of nine lac archers,[1] and during his time golden rain fell. Pratâparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyânâtha wrote a work on Alaṅkâra, which he called after him *Pratâparudrayaśôbhûshaṇa* or *Pratâparudrîya*.[2]

The other three inscriptions are at **Dôṅgar**; they are written in Hindî. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Râja Daryâodêva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the *paṭṭâbhishêka* ceremony of Bhairamadêva, the father of the present ruler.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to **Chapkâ** and are engraved on *satî* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nâgarî characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *liṅga* represented there. One is found at Bârsûr on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

No. 20.— KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village **Tahankâpâr**, 18 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattîsgaṛh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Dîvâṇ Paṇḍit Durgâprasâd. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nâgpur by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are $7\frac{7}{8}''$ long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring $3\frac{3}{4}''$ and the other $3\frac{1}{4}''$, the bigger one

[1] This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hoṭṭûr inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 433) the Châlukya king Satyâśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chôḷa king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bâwangarh* (52 forts), 700 *chêlas* (disciples), 108 *śrîs*, etc.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* xxi. p. 198, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 213.

weighing 6 oz. and the smaller 6 oz. 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring $\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$, apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *ôm svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn-out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is $\frac{3}{16}''$ and in the smaller $\frac{1}{8}''$. The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The **characters** in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nâgarî, and the **language** in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Sêṭhi or Sâo **Kêśava**, who apparently lived at **Pâḍi** (town).

There is very little to note about **orthographical peculiarities**. The letters *dha, ra, ṇa, ksha, bha, jña*, and the **figures** 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many; they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and **was issued from the Kâkaira residence,** is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest **Lakshmîdharaśarman.** This refers to **Jaiparâ** village, but **Chikhalî** is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, **Kôgarâ** and **Âṇḍalî,** to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the *Mahâmaṇḍalika* **Pamparâjadêva** of the Sômavaṁśa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen **Lakshmîdêvî,** prince **Vôpadêva** and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that **Pamparâjadêva** meditated on the feet of **Sômarâjadêva,** who meditated on the feet of **Vôpadêva.** I take this Vôpadêva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śaka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the **Sihâwâ** inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in **Saṁvat 965, in the Bhâdrapada month, in the Mṛiga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight,** and the smaller one in the **Îśvara-saṁvatsara, in the month of Kârttika, in the Chitrâ lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse,** the year being given in figures at the end as 966. **It is not stated to what era these** dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp. 128 and ff.), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are **Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213,** and **Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214,** respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are **Kâkaira, Pâḍi, Kôgarâ, Âṇḍalî, Jaiparâ, Chikhalî and Vaṇikôṭṭa. Kâkaira** is the modern **Kanker,** where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattîsgaṛh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. **Kôgarâ** has now been corrupted into **Kôṅgêrâ.** There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called **Dêo Kôngêrâ** (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other **Hâṭ Kôngêrâ** (6 miles north of Kanker). The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there. In the inscription Kôgarâ is said to be close to the shrine of **Prâṅkêśvara**, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Dêo* which Kôngêrâ now bears. I therefore identify our Kôgarâ with Dêo Kôngêrâ. **Jaiparâ** is the modern Jêprâ (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N. W., Long. 81° 31′, Lat. 20° 28′), a village 15 miles north of Kanker, and **Chikhalî** is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the state. It is now included in the Dhamtarî tahsîl, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. **Âṇḍali** is probably represented by the present **Ândnî (Ânjnî)**, 10 miles east of Kanker. **Pâḍî** cannot be identified. The same is the case with **Vaṇikôṭṭa** about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all.

Plate I.

TEXT.

1 Svasti **Kâkaira**-samâvâsê râjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramamâhêsva(śva)ra-Sô-

2 ma-vaṁs(ś)-ânvaya-prasûta-Kâtyâ[ya*]nî-vara-lavdha-paṁcha-savd[1]-âbhinaṁdita-nija-bhuj-ôpârjita-

3 mahâmaṇ[ḍ*]alîka-sîmat-[2]**Paṁparâjadêva**-vijaya-râjyê tat-saṁnihita-râjñî **Lakshmî**-

4 **dêvi** kumara[3] **Vôpadêva** pradhâna **Bhôga** rârâ | vaipâṭha | asû[4] êtê nija-vyâpâraṁ kurvvaṁ ti-

5 shṭhâ(a)ṁti **Jaiparâ** **Vaṇikôṭṭa** maryâdî-kṛitya grâma-patrô=yaṁ gaiḍa-**Lakshmidharâyaṁ(ya)** pradattaṁ

6 prathama sarâha gaja bhâma âchhu 130 vijaya-râja[5] ṭṭaṁka 140 halavârddha-paṭṭaṁ-

7 tarê | tathā **Chikhalî**-grâma-patrê vijaya-râj[y*]a-ṭṭaṁka 150 pralavâ-pau-

8 ṇa-paṭṭaṁtarê | Asmiṁ arthê sâkshiṇaḥ bhaṭṭarâ[ṇaka*] (|) **Gôvinda** gai(ta) **Lakshmidhara** | gai[tâ*] **Ma-**

9 **hêsvara**[6] | nâ[yaka*] | **Chhaṁṭû** | nâ[yaka*] | **Dâmôdara** | sâ[o*] | **Pâlaṭû** | saṁvat (|) 965 Bhâdrapada vadi 1[0]

10 mṛiga-rikshê[7] sôdma-dinê[8] | paṁ | **Vishṇuśarmmaṇâ** likhitaṁ sêṭhi **Kêśavêna** utkîrṇṇaṁ **Pâḍi-**

11 pattanê [||*] subhaṁ[9] bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail! At the **Kâkaira** residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious *Mahâmaṇḍalika* **Pamparâjadêva**, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kâtyâyanî, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen **Lakshmîdêvî** and Prince **Vôpadêva** (sitting) by his side, and while the eight[10] officials

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[1] Read °*labdha-pañcha-śabd-*.
[2] Read *śrîmat-*.
[3] Read *kumâra*.
[4] Probably *ashṭa*.
[5] Read *râjya*.
[6] Read *Mahêśvara*.
[7] Read *mṛigarkshê*.
[8] Read *sômadinê*.
[9] Read *śubhaṁ*.

[10] These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Râj Paṇḍit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Râ*, *Râ*, *Vai*, *Pâ* and *Ṭha*, which perhaps stand for *Râṇaka* (chief counsellor), *Râjavallabha* (court favourite), *Vêtrika* (chamberlain), *Pârśvika* (aide-de-camp), and *Ṭhakkura* (lord-in-waiting). See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1905, Vol. I. p. 10; Vol. XVII, 1878, pp. 405 and 408; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 244 and 337. In the last, which is a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, the following occurs: *êtair= ashṭâbhir gôshṭhikaiḥ ... sâr karaṇîyâ*, this place of worship has to be taken care of by the following eight trustees. Our inscription was written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc., in connection with transactions of at least landed property.

Kânker plates of Pamparâjadêva.

I.

[Kalachuri] Samvat 965.

II.

[Kalachuri] Samvat 966.

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SCALE ·80

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. G. GREEN.

(headed by) the minister **Bhôga** (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making **Jaiparâ Vaṇikôṭṭa** the limit,[1] is given to *Gaitâ*[2] **Lâkshmîdhara**. First[3] (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbâ[4] paṭṭî (share). Similarly in the document of **Chikhalî** village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the ¾ Pralavâ (Halbâ) paṭṭî (share). The witnesses for this purpose (are) *Bhaṭṭarâṇaka* **Gôvinda**, *Gaitâ* **Lakshmîdhara**, *Gaitâ* **Mahêśvara**, *Nâyaka* **Chhaṇṭû**, *Nâyaka* **Dâmôdara**, *Sâo* **Pâlaṭû**. **Saṁvat 935, Bhâdrapada (month), in the Mṛiga lunar mansion** (*riksha*), **on Monday, the 1[0]th of the dark fortnight.** Written by Paṇḍit **Vishṇuśarman** and engraved by Sêṭhi **Kêśava** in the **Pâḍi** town. Let good fortune attend.

Plate II.

TEXT.

1 Ôm[5] Svasti **Pâḍi-samâvâsê** samasta-râj-âvalî-maṇâlaṁkrita[6]-sômavaṁ[sânvaya-[7] prasû]ta-mahâ-

2 maṇ[ḍ*]alika-śrîmad-**Vôpadêva**-pâd-ânudhyâta-parama-bhaṭṭâraka-mahamaṇ[ḍ*]alik a[8] -[śrî]mat-**Sômarâ**-

[1] This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparâ Vaṇikôṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lakshmîdhara. Vaṇikôṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparâ and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Dêorî Nâharmau, meaning that Dêorî which is near the village Nâharmau, to distinguish it from another Dêorî. There is a village in Kanker called Pharaskôṭ, which is probably a corruption of Paraśukôṭṭa, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vaṇikôṭṭa as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that Jaiparâ had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *vaṇik-kôṭṭa*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjârâs for storing grain purchased for transport. In olden times the Banjârâs are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparâ may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparâ Vaṇi[k*]-kôṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjârâs alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village *Barâ* in the Saugor district. It has got Hindû tombs called *Surai* and hence people call it Barâ Suraigaon. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barâ is almost elbowed out, and only Suraigaon is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdênagar-Garhâkôṭâ, well known as Garhâkôṭâ, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdênagar, which a Bundêlâ chief Hirdê-Shâh founded in his own name.

[2] The village priest is still called *Gaitâ* in Kanker and Bastar States.

[3] Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *ṭaṅkas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *ṭaṅkas*, or the old 130 *ṭaṅkas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, Chikhalî, for which another *grâmapatra* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *ṭaṅkas*. It appears that the Chikhalî document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhalî-grâmapatrê* and *Vijaya-râjyaṭaṅka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palimpsest seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Pamparâjadêva, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sarâha goja bhâma dohhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

[4] *Paṭṭis* are plots of land in a village and the Halvâ or Halbâ paṭṭî was apparently one cultivated by the Halbâs, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

[5] Expressed by a symbol. [6] Read °*maṇy-alaṁkṛita*. [7] Read -*vaṁśânvaya*-. [8] Read -*mahâmaṇḍalîka*.

place occurs as **Karial** on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N. E., Lat 82° 50′ and 20° 17′. The plates have now been deposited in the Nâgpur Museum.

There are three **copper plates**, each measuring $5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{8}''$. The first is inscribed on one side only. Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription. The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They are in an excellent state of preservation. About 1″ from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $\frac{7}{16}''$ in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung. This ring is oval, $3\frac{3}{16}''$ long and $2\frac{10}{16}''$ broad. It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me.

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular **seal**, about $3\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. It is identical with that described by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 196. Its upper part shows a representation of a standing **Lakshmî** facing full front; on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlily, in the proper left corner a *śaṅkha*.

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates. It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty. It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr. Fleet, which is quite illegible.

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz.; and of the ring and seal 1 lb. 2 oz., total 2 lb. $4\frac{3}{4}$ oz.

The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The **character** is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same king published by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff. The long variety of *î* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *i*, and usually not in the centre of it as in the Âraṅg plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja,[1] nor in the right side of it as in the Raipur plates of Mahâ-Sudêva.[2] The separate sign of the cerebral *ḍ* occurs in *chûḍâmaṇi*, l. 1, and the final form of *t* in *dadyât*, l. 18, and *vasêt*, l. 19. Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l. 5 and the visarga in l. 4, etc. The compound *ṅgh* occurs in *Drôṇasiṅghêṇa*, l. 23, and *ñch* in *kâñchanaṁ*, l. 17; *mahîmatâñ-chchhrêshṭa*, l. 21, and, falsely, in *dânâñch=chhrêyô*, l. 22.

The **numerical symbols** for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l. 22.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to Vyâsa, are in verse, the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

As regards **orthography** we have to note the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vikkrama*, l. 1; the similar doubling of *dh* before *y* in *anuddhyâtaś*, l. 3; the doubling of a consonant after *r* in *svarggê*, l. 18; *visarjjitô*, l. 8; *suvarṇṇaṁ*, l. 16; *dharmmêshu* and *dharmma*, l. 13; *sûryya*, l. 16; *sarvva*, l. 8; *hêtur=vvasu*, l. 3; *bhûr=vvaishṇavî*, l. 16; *bahubhir=vvasudhâ*, l. 19; the form *savvatsara*, i.e. *saṁvatsara*, l. 22; the use of the jihvâmûlîya in *yaḥ=kâñchanaṁ*, l. 17 (but *-râjaḥ kshiti-*, l. 4); of the upadhmânîya in *-pradaḥ parama-*, l. 3; *Śâmbilakayôḥ prativâsi-*, l. 5, etc. The visarga is usually replaced by *s* before hard dentals. Before the stop, however, we find *bhûmiḥ tasya*, l. 20; *-srishṭaḥ tê*, l. 10. A superfluous anusvâra has been added in *bhûmipâṁn*, l. 12. *Tri* and *ṭri* have been interchanged in *pitri-*, l. 3, and *ṭridaśa-*, l. 6. Note finally the forms *tâmbra-*, ll. 10 and 23; *Drôṇasiṅghêṇa*, l. 23, and the use of the genitive in *Vishṇusvâminas*, l. 10.

The inscription is one of the **Râja Mahâ-Sudêva**, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the **29th day** of **Śrâvaṇa**. The engraver was **Drôṇasiṅgha**, who also occurs in

[1] *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 191 and ff.

[2] *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

Mahâ-Sudêvâ's Raipur plates.[1] Like this latter inscription and the Ârang copper plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja,[2] our inscription was issued from **Sarabhapura,** and it states that the illustrious **Mahâ-Sudêvarâja,** whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the *sâmantas* who have been subjugated by his prowess; who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in **Navannaka** and the neighbouring **Śâmbilaka,** in the **Kshitimaṇḍa âhâra:** Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the **Vâjisanêyin Vishṇusvâmin,** of the **Kauśika gôtra,** for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars; together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers[3] and soldiers, free from all taxes; for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The **date** of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. **Mahâ-Sudêva** is the same who has issued the grant published by Râjendralâla Mitra[4] and Dr. Fleet.[5] According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain **Mânamâtra,** who in his turn had risen from the *Prasann-ârṇava, i. e.* who was descended from **Prasanna,** probably his son.

Neither **Mânamâtra** nor **Prasanna** are elsewhere known. **Mânamâtra** can perhaps be identified with **Mânâṅka, "the ornament** of the **Rashṭrâkûṭas,"** who is mentioned in the copper plates of **Abhimanyu** of **Mânapura** edited by Professor Hultzsch.[6] This **Mânâṅka** had a son, **Dêvarâja,** who might be identical with **Sudêvarâja.** In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mâtrâ* and *aṅka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription **Śarabhapura** also recurs in the two other grants by Mahâ-Sudêva and in the Ârang plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja. **Navannaka** may be the present Nahnâ, the Nainâ[7] of the maps, three miles south of Khariâr. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, **Kshitimaṇḍa** and **Śâmbilaka.** They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariâr.

TEXT.[8]

First Plate.

1 Svasti [|*] **Śarabhapurâd**=vikkram-ôpanata-sâmanta-makuṭa-chûḍâmaṇi-
2 prabhâ-prasêk-âmbu-dhôta[9]-pâda-yugalô ripu-vilâsinî-sîmant-ôddharaṇa-
3 hêtur=vvasu-vasudhâ-gô-pradaḥ=paramabhâgavatô mâtâ-pitri[10]-pâd-ânuddhyâ-
4 taś=śrî-**Mahâ-Sudêva-râjaḥ** **Kshitimaṇḍ-âhârîya-Navannaka**-êtat-prâvêśya-
5 **Śâmbilakayôḥ**=prativâsi-kuṭumbinas-samâjñâpayati || Viditam= astu

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[1] *Gupta Inscriptions,* pp. 196 and ff.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 191 and ff.

[3] For the meaning of *châṭa* compare Dr. Vogel in *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902-03,* p. 247.

[4] *J. Beng. A. S.,* Vol. xxxv, Part i, 1867, pp. 195 and ff.

[5] *Gupta Inscriptions,* pp. 196 and ff.

[6] Above, Vol. viii, p. 163; compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. xxx, p. 509.

[7] The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnâ, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śambilaka with the present San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnâ.

[8] From the original plates.

[9] Read *-dhauta-.*

[10] Read *-pitri-.*

i.

2 2

4 4

ii a.

6 6

8 8

10 10

ii b.

12 12

14 14

STEN KONOW. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE ·85

iii a.

16 16

18 18

20 20

iii b.

22 22

Second Plate; First Side.

6 vô yath=âsmâbhir=êtad[1]=grâma-dvayaṁ tridaśa[2]-pati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭhâkarô yâva-
7 d=ravi-śaśi-târâ-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghôr-ândhakâraṁ jagad=avatishṭhatê tâvad=upa-
8 bhôgyas=sanidhis=sôpanidhir=achâṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśya-sarvva-kara-visarjji-
9 tô mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê **Vâjisanêya-Kôśika**[3]**-sagôtra-**
10 **Vishṇusvâminas**=tâmbraśâsanên=âtisṛishṭaḥ [|*] Tê yûyam=êvam=upalabhy=âsy=â-

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 jñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyâ bhûtvâ yathôchitaṁ bhôga-bhâgam=upanayantas=sukhaṁ prati-
12 vatsyatha [|*] Bhavishyataś=cha bhûmipâṁn[4]=anudarśayati [||*] dânâd[5]= viśishṭam= anupâ-
13 lana-jaṁ[6] purâṇâ dharmmêshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadanti dharmma[ṁ*] || (|) tasmâ[d*] dvijâ-
14 ya suviśuddha-kula-srutâya dattâṁ bhuvaṁ bhavatu vô matir=êva gôptu[m*] ||
15 Tad=bhavadbhir=apy=êshâ dattir=anupâlayitavyâ [|*] Vyâsa-gîtâṁś=ch=âtra ślôkân=u-

Third Plate; First Side.

16 dâharanti || Agnêr[7]=apatya[ṁ*] prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhûr=vvaishṇavî sûryya-
17 sutâś=cha gâvaḥ [|*] dattâs=trayas=têna bhavanti lôkâ yaḥ=kâñchanaṁ gâm cha mahîṁ cha da-
18 dyât [||*] Shashṭi[8]-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmidaḥ [|*] âchchhêttâ
19 ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhi-
20 s=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ||

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 Svadattâṁ[9] paradattâṁ vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahîm=mahîmatâñ= chchhrêshṭha
22 dânâ(ñ)ch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam=iti [||*] svamukhâjñayâ **savvatsara**[10] **2 Śrâvaṇa di 20 9**
23 utkîrṇṇaṁ tâmbraśâsanaṁ **Drôṇasiṅghêṇa.**

Seal.

Prasann-ârṇṇava-sambhûta-Mânamâtr-êndu-janmana[ḥ*] **Śrîma[t-Sudê]varâjasya** sthiraṁ jagati [śâsanaṁ].

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[1] The engraver originally wrote *=âsmâbhir=aya-*, but corrected it to *=âsmâbhir=êta-*. The gender in the following is wrong.

[2] Read *tri-*.

[3] Read *-kauśika-*.

[4] Read *bhûmipân=*.

[5] Metre: Vasantatilaka.

[6] The *na* in *anupâlana-* has been added below the line.

[7] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[8] Metre: Ślôka.

[9] Metre: Ślôka.

[10] Read *saṁvatsara*.

No. 22.—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA.

BY R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (Retired).

In Vol. VIII. 122 ff. Mr. H. Krishṇa Śâstri, B.A., publishes an inscription of the Kaḷaśa chief Bhairava II. at Kârkaḷa in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion[1] on the history of the family quotes Mr. Rice's Mûḍgere Taluq inscription of A.D. 1516 (Mg. 41). His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishṇarâya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahârâya led a campaign against the Tuḷu-râjya, and was encamped at the *bhuvana-śâle* in Maṅgalûru . . . . . Bhujabala-Mahârâya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Krishṇarâya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc. . . . ."

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr. Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage[2] runs—*Vijayanagarada bhujabala mahârâyaru Tuḷu râjyada mêle daṇḍu bandu*, and is translated by Mr. Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahârâya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tuḷu kingdom with an army." Here there is no ruler or leader named "Bhujabala Mahârâya." Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "Busbalrao," elder brother of Krishṇadêva Râya, if the date of this expedition to the Tuḷu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "Busbalrao" had died when Krishṇadêva was placed on the throne in A.D. 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Krishṇadêva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Krishṇadêva Râya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Gaṅga Râja of Ummatûr in Mysore. The mention in "Mg. 41" of Krishṇadêva Râya's supreme sovereignty over the Kaḷaśa country during the chieftainship of Immaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, *viz.*, Sunday, July 13, A.D. 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Krishṇadêva Râya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "Busbalrao," *during*, as stated by Mr. Krishṇa Śâstri, the reign of Krishṇarâya; for it was "Busbalrao's" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Krishṇadêva on the throne.

At the date of the grant Krishṇadêva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Koṇḍavîḍu three weeks earlier, *viz.*, on June 23rd, A.D. 1516.

No. 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baijnath, B.A., the Superintendent

[1] Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kaḷaśa* or *Kalasa*. It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mg. 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has *Kaḷasa* in line 11, and *Kaḷaśa* in line 12. On p. 68 of his translation Mr. Rice gives us three times *Kaḷaśa* and five times *Kalaśa*; on p. 69 we have four times *Kalaśa* (not *Kaḷaśa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akshara is always *ḷa* in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr. Krishṇa Śâstri, in the *Epigraphia* spells the word consistently *Kaḷasa*.

[2] See *Ep. Carn.* VI. 155-262, lines 1-2.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request. Mr. Baijnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink estampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr. Baijnath found the plates in the possession of a Brâhmaṇ named Gaṅgâdhar Pârhi of Kâwadgaon close to Râjapura. Gaṅgâdhar received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nâharnî, sixteen miles from Râjapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ and they weigh $29\frac{1}{2}$, 30 and 35 *tôlas*, respectively, the weight of the ring being 26 *tôlas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nâgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *śrî* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures, *viz.*, 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a florated *liṅga* in the form of a *svastika* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows:—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pâtras* or donees referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.[1]

The inscription is in the **Nâgarî character**. The average size of the letters is $\frac{6}{16}''$. They are well formed and clearly written.

The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact, the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy **orthographical peculiarities** are the representation of the initial *i* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nâgarî figure 2 (ll. 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvâra is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *hala* underneath (ll. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll. 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mâtrâs*

[1] Compare my remarks, above, p. 164.

of *ê*, *ai*, *ô* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached —a practice which is still followed in the Bengâlî and Oriyâ writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *dê* of *Madhurântakadêva* has a top, while the very next *dê* of *Kanharadêva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *ê* in ll. 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ô* in ll. 1, 19, 31, and 32. *Ai* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top *mâtrâs* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *dha*, *ra* and *ksha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *ś*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l. 3 and of *śrî* in ll. 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll. 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in l. 8, and *na* for *ṇa* in l. 6. In line 8 *kaṁvala*[1] for *kamala* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattîsgaṛh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of **Râjapura** village, situated in the **Bhramarakôṭya** *maṇḍala*, to one **Mêḍipôta** or a **Chhurikâra Mêḍipôta** and his descendants, together with 70 *gadyâṇaka*[2] gold. The grant was made by the king **Madhurântakadêva**, who belonged to the **Chhindaka** family of the **Nâga** (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the **[Śaka] year 987**, in the **Parâbhava** saṁvatsara, on **Wednesday** of the **bright** fortnight of **Kârttika** month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakshatra* being stated to be **Anurâdhâ**, the *yôga* to be **Saubhâgya** and the *karaṇa* to be **Gara**. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielhorn who says :—

"The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ and the *yôga* Saubhâgya. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karaṇa* Gara. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Viśvâvasu and by the northern luni-solar system Plavaṅga and by the northern mean sign system Kîlaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanker[3] plates."

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantêśvarî, enshrined at Dantêwârâ in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says[4] :—" In the worship of Tari Pennu or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an *extraordinary number of deaths* by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the *flocks* or *herds* suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Meriah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by *purchase* or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwâ and Gahingâ, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwâs purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

[1] Compare Dr Grierson in *J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 1057.

[2] *Gadyâṇaka* is a weight = 32 *guñja*. See Yâjñavâlkya iii. 258.

[3] Above p. 129.

[4] *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XIII. (1852), p. 248 *et seq.*

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians. Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the *benefit of mankind*, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*." Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll. 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yôginîs*. For this purpose this village is *taken* with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, *viz.*, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmaṇa but to a Mêḍipôta (ll. 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gaḍyâṇaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent[1] of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmaṇa, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l. 25 Mêḍipôta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*[2] really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabaliprabandha*, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhuri* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mêḍipôta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1884 A.D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the frée grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *melliahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices.[3] I am further inclined to think that Mêḍipôta was an office, *Mêḍi* being the same as *Mêli* or *Melli* vulgo *Melliah* or *Malia*,[4] the word *pôta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

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[1] The *Kâlikâ Purâṇa* says :—

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Rudhirâdhyâya* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. p. 383).

[2] [The text has *chhuripravadhaṁ*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhuri*."—S. K.]

[3] [The passage in question (l. 14) can also be translated,—"Receivers 12 *Mêḍipôtas*, in their hand property was received." The *Chhurikâra* of l. 25 would then be a special Mêḍipôta.—S. K.]

[4] Capt. MacVicar says :—

"The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroboli (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *boli* (bali) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borisoloo or *Maliah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramari, the capital of Chinna Kimedi, on the conclusion of the Dasserah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim." Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt. MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854). It would appear that Melliah (the procurer) and Meriah (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity. It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim. The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *jôginis*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others. The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brâhmaṇas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purpose of *dayâ* and *dharma* to all living creatures. Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices. If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered.

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff., where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nâgavaṁśi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before. The dynasty is clearly related to the Sinda family of Yelburga. Though styled "Lord of Bhôgâvatî, the best of cities," Madhurântakadêva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his *râj* was limited to Bhramarakôṭya, which is described as a *maṇḍala* in l. 15. He belonged to the Chhindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas[1] mentioned by Chand Bardai, the court poet of Prithvîrâja.

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, **Râjapura** is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indrâvatî river. There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital. The present Râja family also dwelt there for some time. **Chakrakôṭya** is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvarâja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father. He repeatedly defeated the Chôḷas and plundered Kâñchî. He assisted the king of Mâlavâ in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauḍa and Kâmarûpa. He attacked also the king of Siṁhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kêrala. He finally conquered Gâṅgakuṇḍa (IV. 21) Vêṅgî (IV. 29) and Chakrakôṭa (IV. 30). After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Krishṇâ, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death. Dr. Bühler[2] remarks that "Bilhaṇa's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Krishṇâ." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama. They were, as related above, the conquest of Gâṅgakuṇḍa, Vêṅgî and Chakrakôṭa, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned. Gâṅgakuṇḍa was the Chôḷa capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,[3] whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vêṅgî, the country between the Krishṇâ

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a procured one. The sacrificers paid the Melliahs, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted. Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kôtwâl and Kôtwâr in the Saugor district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out. The Kôtwâl is generally of a higher caste than the Kôtwâr and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kôtwâr.

[1] *Prithvîrâja Râsô*, Canto 1, page 54 (Nâgarî Prachâriṇî Granthamâlâ series).

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 319 footnote.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339.

Râjapura plates of Madhurântakadêva.—Śaka 987.

i.

ii a.

ii b.

STEN KONOW

SCALE ·5

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. G. GREEN.

iii a.

28 28

30 30

32 32

iii b.

and the Gôdâvarî. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôṭa and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A.D.), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A.D. Many a southern king[1] likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakôṭa was not near Dhârâ, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vêṅgî, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhârâ is due to the fact that Chakrakôṭya had a king named Dhârâvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhârâ'[2]). In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrakûṭâdhîśvarâṇâṁ kulam=alaṁ karishṇuḥ . . . . samabhavad Dharâvarshanâmô narêśvaraḥ.* The Narâyanpâla inscription also mentions Dhârâvarsha, whose widow Guṇḍa-mahâdêvî gave away the Nârâyaṇapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A.D.[3] The name Chakrakôṭya probably survives in the present Chitrakûṭa or Chitrakôṭa, 8 miles from Râjapura. **Bhramarakôṭya** was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôṭya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôṭa.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[4] svasti [|*] Sahasra-phaṇâmaṇi-kiraṇa-nikar-âvabhâsura-[5]**Nâgavaṁs-ô-**
2 dbhava-**Bhôgâvati**-pura-var-êsvara[6] visada-jaya-paṭu-paṭaha-gâṁ-
3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvani-laṁkârita[7]-(||)daśa-dis-âṁtarâlardhanu[8]-(||)vyâghra-lâṁ-
4 chhana-(|)**Chhiṁdaka**-kula-tilaka-kamala-bhâskara (||) mahâ-mahê-
5 svara(śvara)-charaṇa-kamala-sêvi-kiṁjalka-puṁja-pi[ṁ*]jarita-bhra-
6 marâyamâna(ṇa) (||) surapati-vinirjita-duṁdubhi-tûrya-rav-ô[t*]trâ-
7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ-lavdha-jôyêta[9] (|) êrâvat-ôpari-lavdha-laṁva[10]-
8 kaṁvala-kadalâ(lî)-dhvaja [11]saṁkh-aika-savd-âbhinaṁdita | svasti nri-[12]
9 pa-kâl-âtîta-sa[ṁ*]vat 987 nava-sata-satâsî-sapta-[13]

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 varshasa[14] **parâbhava-saṁvatum-abhyaṁtaraḥ-kârtika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê[15] vudha-**
11 **dinê nakvatra anurâvê[16] saubhâgya-jôgê[17] | karaṇa-gajê[18] | sarvê[19]** mahû-

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[1] The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayâditya III. of the Eastern Châlukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A.D. He burnt Chakrakôṭa (above, Vol. IV. p. 226). Then the Chôḷa Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. (A.D. 1011-33) took Sakkara-kôṭṭam (*South. Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 108), while one of his successors, king Vîrarâjêndra I., claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kaliṅga, and advanced against Chakrakôṭa (*ibid.* Vol. III. p. 70). Next the Chôḷa king Kulôttuṅga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôṭa. This happened prior to 1070 A.D. and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see *e.g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth raider, the sixth being Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 396).

[2] I would therefore, instead of 'Râjakêsarivarman (*i.e.* Kulôttunga Chôḷa I.) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôṭa' read 'Râjakêsarivarman conquered king Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôṭṭa' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 756).

[3] See above, page 161.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read *-vaṁś-ôdbhava.*

[6] Read *-êśvara viśada-.*

[7] Read *-ṭaṁkârita.*

[8] Read *-diś-âṁtarâlô dhanur-.*

[9] Read *-labdha-jay-ôpêta.*

[10] Read *airâvat-ôpari-labdha-lamba-kamala-.*

[11] Read *śaṁkh-aika-śabd-.*

[12] Read *śaka-nṛi-.*

[13] Read *-śata-sapt-âśîti-.*

[14] Read *varshasya.*

[15] Read *saṁvatsar-âbhyaṁtara-kârttika-mâsa-śukla-pakshê budha-.*

[16] Read *anurâdhâ-nakshatrê.*

[17] Read *-yôgê.*

[18] Read *gara-karaṇê.*

[19] Read *sarva-muhûrttêshu.*

12 tram **śrî-Madhurâmtakadêva** || kumara[1] **Kanharadêvaḥ** râjñî **Nâgala-mahâ-**
13 **dêvi** | kumara [2]**Nâikaḥ** nâyaka **Sûdrakaḥ**[3] kumâra **Tumgarâjaḥ** srê-[4]
14 shṭhi **Puliama** || êkânmatî[5] -bhûtvâ pâtra 12 mêḍipôta hastê dravyam
15 grihîtam suvarnna-gadyâṇaka 70 **Bhramarakôṭya-maṇḍala**-madhyê
16 **Râjapura**-grâmam pâda prakshâla[y*]itvâ hastê dhârâm pradatâ(ttam) || â-chamdra-
17 târaka-prabhṛiti siva-nirmâlyam[6] vaditam kâla-kâl-ântarê grihnâ-[7]
18 mam vadati || **Vâṇârasyâm** sahasra-liṅga bhagnê | sahasra-taṭâga[8] bhagnê

Second Plate; Second Side.

19 sahasra vrâhmaṇa[9] | gô-sahasra-ghâtam kritvâ | tasyasyôpi[10] phalam bhavati || sva-
20 da[t*]t[â*]m paradat[tâ*]m vâ jô(yô) harêd(rêta) vasumdharâm [|*] shashṭir[11]-varishaha-sahasrâṇi
21 vishṭhâyâm jâyatê krimi[ḥ*] || sâmânyô=yam dharma-sêtum(tur)=nṛipâṇâm kâlê kâ-
22 lê (yô) pâlanîyam(-yô) bhavadbhiḥ [|*] sarvân=yôpêtam[12] bhâginaḥ pârthavêmdrô bhû-
23 yô yâchatê Râmachamdraḥ [||*] Âkâs-ôtpati[13] nidhi gaja da[t*]tam iti grâmya
24 vâhyam râja-dravyam || [14]jâva chadras=cha sûrjas=cha jâva tishṭhati mêdinî || (|) jâva-
25 tu Bhramakôṭya râjavamsa tâvatu || **chhuri-kâra mêḍipôtasya** putra-
26 pautrê sâsanam[15] pâlanîyam || grâma-mêdhyê[16] chhurî-pravadham[17] kô=pi na pravi-
27 sati[18] || kulâyanî[19]-jôginî-âchâryasya(ḥ) sthalam n=âsti || êtad=arthê

Third Plate; First Side.

28 grâmam grihîtam dayâ-dharma-sarva-jamtu-(|)upakâr-ârtha-hêtum || **Chakrakô-**
29 **ṭya-maṇḍala**-madhyê sâkshi nâyaka śrî-**Dhârêsvaraḥ**(śvaraḥ) **Mudhasêlî Nâga-**
30 **hasti** | karaṇa **Dâriâ** | Likhitam kâyastha-**Dhânûkêna**(ḥ) iti
31 lekha[ṇî] dhritam kumara[20] **Tumgarâja Dhâmadêva Gôvardhanaḥ Danârdanaḥ**[21] pâtra
32 **Gâgirâ** sâdhu **Sâhâraṅga**(-su ?) | **Maṇavridhi**-[22] svahastô=yam matam=ârôpaya-
33 ti ||

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[1] Read *kumâra*. [2] Read *kumâra Nâyakaḥ*. [3] Read *Śûdrakaḥ*.
[4] Read *śrêshṭhi*.
[5] Read *êkânumati-*; cf. *êkamatîbhûtvâ* in ll. 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol. I. p. 177).
[6] Read *śiva-nirmâlyam=uditam*. [7] Read *grihṇâm=imam*.
[8] Read *-taḍâga*. [9] Read *brâhmaṇa*. [10] Read *tasy=âsy=âpi*.
[11] Read *shashṭim varsha-sahasrâṇi*.
[12] Read *sarvân=êvam bhâvinaḥ pârthivêndrân bhûyô bhû-*. [13] Read *âkâś-ôtpatti*.
[14] Read *yâvach=chandraś=cha sûryaś=cha yâvat=tishṭhati mêdinî yâvat=tu Bhramarâkôṭyô râja-vamśô=pi tâvatâ*.
[15] Read *śâsanam*. [16] Read *-mêdhê*. [17] Read *-prabandham*.
[18] Read °*śati*. [19] Read *kulâyinî-yôginî*. [20] Read *kumâra*.
[21] Read *Janârdana*. In Bastar and the adjoining Ôṛiyâ country this name is commonly pronounced *Danârdana*, and I have found a Tahsildâr of Kâlâhandî who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental.
[22] Read *Maṇivṛiddhi*.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nâga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods ; who is lord of Bhôgâvatî, the best of cities ; while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories; whose crest is a bow and a tiger; who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the **Chhindaka** family ; who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahêśvara; whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *dundubhi* (drum) and *tûrya* (musical horn) won from Indra ; who is endued with victories gained since a long time; whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airâvata (white elephant) ; and who is hailed by the sound of conches only ; in the year of the (Śaka) king **987** expired, in the month of **Kârttika,** during the currency of the **Parâbhava-saṁvatsara,** in the **bright** fortnight, on **Wednesday,** in the **Anurâdhâ** lunar mansion, in the **Saubhâgya** *yôga* and **Gara** *karaṇa*, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious **Madhurântakadêva,** Prince **Kaṅharadêva,** Queen **Nâgala Mahâdêvî,** Prince **Nâyaka,** Nâyaka **Śûdraka,** Prince **Tuṅgarâja** and Śrêshṭhin **Puliama,** having unanimously agreed, the village **Râjapura** (situated) in the **Bhramarakôṭya** *maṇḍala* is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 *gaḍyâṇaka* gold are received in the hand of (by) **Mêḍipôta,** (who is the head) of the twelve *pâtras* (persons worthy of receiving gifts). The gift is declared as *Śivanirmâlya* (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc., endure. If any one from time to time says: "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand *liṅgas* in Bâṇâras, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brâhmaṇs and a thousand cows.

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age. Thus does Râmachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth."

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants[1] are given, but other things outside the village are the State property. So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakôṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of **Chhurikâra Meḍipôta's** sons and grandsons.

Nobody enters the *chhuriprabandha* at the village sacrifice. There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jôginîs*. For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the **Chakrakôṭya** *maṇḍala* the witnesses are :—Nâyaka Śrî **Dhârêśvara, Mudhasêlî, Nâgahasti,** (and) Karaṇa **Dâriâ.** Written by **Dhânûka Kâyastha.**

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumâra **Tuṅgarâja, Dhâmadêva, Gôvardhana, Danârdana,** Pâtra **Gâgirâ** (and) Sâdhu **Sâhâraṅga** (Sâhârasu ?). This is in **Maṇavṛidhi's** hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

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[1] In Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. page 122, the following occurs :—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Sûbah of Agrâ, in the forests of Bayâwân and Narwar as far as Berâr, in the Sûbah of Allahâbâd, in the confines of Pattah and Ghoraghât and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sargachh and *Bastar*."

No. 24.—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

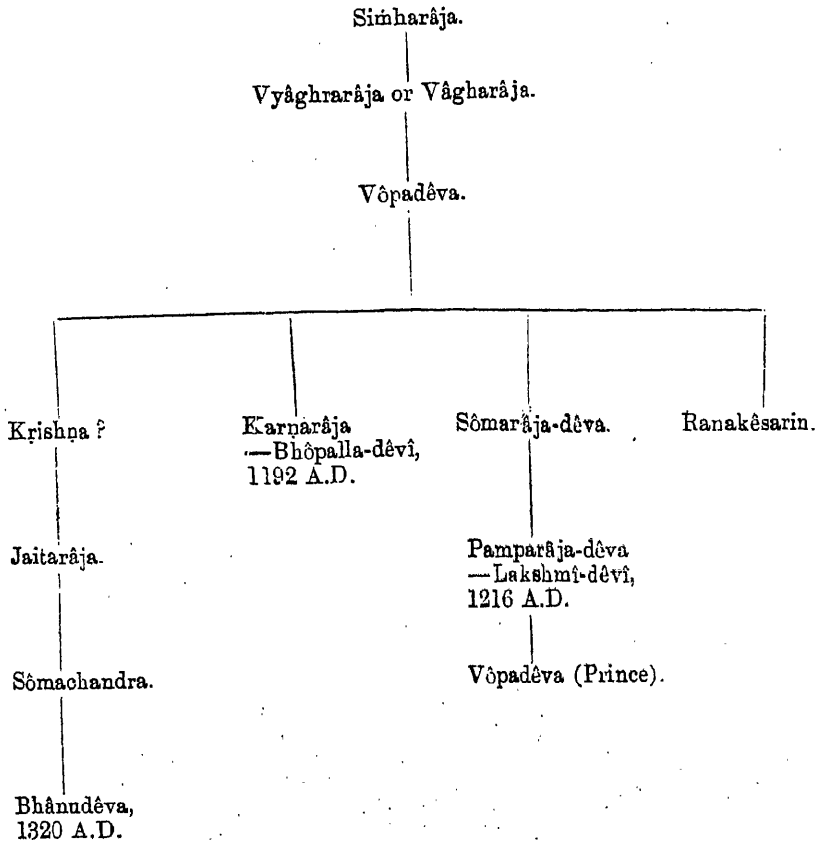
This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnêśvar, *vulgo* Kanêsar, temple at Sihâwâ, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhamtarî tahṣîl of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archæologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr. Gokul Prasâd Iśvardâs, Tahṣîldâr of Dhamtarî, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space 22″ × 13½″. The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about ½″. The script is Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya*, and the name of the *sûtradhâra* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, 8 *Anushṭubhs* and one *Upajâti*.

The following are the principal **orthographical peculiarities** :— *s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anusvâra* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *rêpha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *n* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *panchakaṁ* and *punyataḥ* in lines 12 and 15. *Siṁha* is spelt throughout as *siṁgha*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ṛi* is used instead of the *ri*, *tritaya* being written as *tṛitaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king **Karṇarâja** of **Kâkaira**, and of one by his wife, queen **Bhôpalla-dêvî**. These were all built at the sacred place **Dêvahrada**. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as **Śaka 1114**, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year **A.D. 1191-92**, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Kêśava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called **Kanêsar** or **Karṇêśvara**, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sûtradhâra* **Sûpâ**, and the composer of the *praśasti* **Nṛisiṁha**.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Siṁharâja, whose son was Vâgharâja, from whom was born Vôpadêva, the father of Karṇarâja, who married Bhôpalla-dêvî, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kâkaira inscriptions[1] of these Sômavaṁśî kings we get the following genealogical tree :—

It would appear that Vôpadêva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishṇa of the Kanker *praśasti* being probably identical with Karṇa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kâkaira and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karṇa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, *viz.*, Sihâwâ, and was probably living in Dhanôrâ, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihâwâ. In this village my friend Rai Bahâdur Paṇḍâ Baijnâth, B.A., Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva *liṅga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanôrâ is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Râja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Râja Karṇa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sômarâja and his son Pamparâja favoured Pâḍi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtarî side. Raṇakêsarin was issueless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karṇarâja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory— a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

[1] Above, pp. 123 and ff., and 166 and ff.

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kâkaira family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kôsala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pamparâjadêva would indicate. Karṇarâja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles; that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date[1] of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, *viz.*, **1192 A.D.**, and the latest is that of **Bhânudêva, 1320 A.D.**, there being thus a difference of 128 years between Karṇarâja and Bhânudêva. Karṇarâja stood in the same relationship to Bhânudêva as did the first ancestor Simharâja to Karṇarâja. Simha was great-grandfather of Karṇarâja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhânudêva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Simha and Karṇarâja, Simha's time would be about 1064 A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Râja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Simharâja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Râja family story[2] as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Purî king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihâwâ, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called *Simha* + *avaḥ* = *Simhâwaḥ* (the comfort of Simha) which finally was corrupted into Sihâwâ. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as **Dêvahrada** *tîrtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason[3] for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihâwâ tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *ṛishi* Śṛiṅgin, who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratâwâ where Aṅgâra (Aṅgiras) *ṛishi* used to live, and Muchukunda had his *âśrama* in the village Mechakâ 22 miles from Sihâwâ. About 10 miles west of Sihâwâ there is Dêvakûṭa (the hillock of the gods), which also

[1] It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyâghrarâja of Mahâkâutâra, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

[2] A variant of the same story is that a Purî king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatîsgaṛh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Râja family. Thus the Kanker family seems indebted to the Halbâs, the Kâlâhandî family to the Kandhs, the Rairâkhol to the Butkâ Sudhs, the Bâmrâ to the Bhuiyâs, and so on.

[3] Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tîrtha*, Sihâwâ is the source of the Mahânadî or Chitrôtpalâ, of which it is said:—

Suvarṇâkhyâ purî puṇyâ puṇyô Mârjârakêśarî, Kôśalâyâṁ trayaḥ puṇyâḥ puṇyâ Chitrôtpalâ nadî. Suvarṇapurî is the present Sônpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Mârjârakêśarî is another name of Narasiṁhanâth in Borâsâmbhar Zamîndârî of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man-lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narasiṁhanâth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brâhmaṇs.

contains ruins of old temples.[1] At Sihâwâ there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation. One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahâdêva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12. The other is dedicated to Râmachandra, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Râma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amṛita Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kanker king. One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kêśava. There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karṇarâja in his parents' and brother's name. In the village Bhîtarrâs, which means 'the interior' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihâwâ town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable but stated by the people to represent Râmachandra, etc., and this may possibly be the temple which Bhôpalla-dêvî built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified, the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, *viz.*, that Bhôpalla-dêvî was a Vaishṇavî, while her lord was a Śaiva. It appears that it was in deference to her that Karṇarâja dedicated one of his temples to Kêśava. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town.

TEXT.

1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ [2]तत्पातु [3]वस्तृतयमीस्वरलोचनानामग्न्यर्कसोममयमूर्त्ति-
धरं स-

2 मन्तात् । [4]यंल्लोकदुःखदहनप्रतिभासनादि[स्वा]प्यायनानि क्रपयानुदिनं करोति ॥१॥
[5]कन्दर्पवा-

3 णगणसाणसिलामनोज्ञदिक्कामिनीवदनदर्पणमण्डलसोः[6] । देवः ससी[7] विजय
तेत्रि-

4 तपः पयोधिमु[क्ताफलं] हरसिरोमुकुटैकरत्नं[8] ॥२॥ [9]पुरूरवःप्रभृतिभिः नृपैर्यो-
वद्वधन्वयः । त-

5 स्य तस्मिन्नभूद्भूपः [10][सिं]घराजो नृपाग्रणीः ॥३॥ [11]तस्मादजायत महोपतिमौ-
लिसंघरर्षघृष्ट-[12]

6 चरणः किल वाघराजः । [13]राजन्यती समभवज्जगती समन्ताद्येन प्रजासपि
हतां भजता नृपेण ॥

7 ॥४॥ [14]वोपदेवोभवत्तस्मात्सिंघः[15] सिंघादिवापरः । येन विश्वासिता अग्मु-
द्दिसः[16] सत्तुनृपद्विपाः ॥५॥

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[1] Mr. Gokul Prasâd visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small inscription found in one of them, in which I read the name of Śrî Vâgharâja. Thus the Devakûṭa temples appear to be older than those of Sihâwâ, having been built in the times of Karṇaraja's grandfather.

[2] Metre: Vasantatilaka. [3] Read वस्त्रितयमीश्वर°. [4] Read यल्लोक'

[5] Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read कन्दर्पबाणगणशाणशिलामनोज्ञ°. [6] Read °श्रीः.

[7] Read शशी. I am indebted to Paṇḍit Hirananda Śâstrî, M.A., for pointing out that the moon is Atri's son who comes out of the Ocean in the form of his penance. [8] Read शिरो°.

[9] Metre: Anushṭubh. Read °भिर्नृपैर्यो वबधे न्वयः. [10] Read सिंह°.

[11] Metre: Vasantatilaka. [12] Read °संघसंघर्ष°. [13] Read राजन्वती.

[14] Metre: Anushṭubh. [15] Read सिंहः सिंहा°. [16] Read °द्विषः शत्रु.°

8 [1]तस्माद्दभूत्रृपतिमण्डलमण्डनश्री: स्रीकर्ष्णराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रताप: । [2]यन्यायवर्त्तनकृपाणभ-

9 याप्रवेष्टुं [3]कार्कैरदेसममलं न कलि: समर्थ: ॥६॥ [4]तस्य भोपल्लदेवीति महिषी वरवर्षिनी । [5]वभूव:

10 मेने यांश्रीको लक्ष्मीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ [6]स्वबाहुवीर्य्येण विजित्य सर्व्वांनु-पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्समस्-

11 न्तात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीलांश्चकार[7] साम्राज्यपदं दधान: ॥८॥ [8]तीर्थे देवकृदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-

12 दपञ्चकं[9] । स्रीयं तत्र द्वयं जातं यत्र शंकरकेसवौ[10] ॥९॥ [11]पितृभ्यां प्रददौ चान्यत्क्वरयित्वा[12] द्वयं नृप: ।

13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोहारि त्रिसूदन:(शूलिन:) ॥१०॥ [13]रणकेसरिणे प्रादांन्नृपायैक[14] सुरालयं । [15]तद्दंसच्चीण-

14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृस्नेहेन कर्ष्णराट् ॥११॥ [16]भोपल्लदेव्या तत्रैव प्रासाद: कारित: सुभ:[17] । भर्तु: संक्लेष-[18]

15 मिच्छन्त्या देवत: [19]पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्द्दसोत्तरे[20] सेयमेकादसे सते सके । वर्द्धतां सर्व्वतो नित्यं

16 नृसिंघे[21] कृतिना कृता ॥१३॥ सूत्रधा[र:*] सूपा

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ! Salutation to Śiva.

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—(that triad) which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily.

(V. 2.) May the god moon be victorious—(the moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (-like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V. 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Purûravas and other kings there was a king **Siṁharâja** who was the leader of (other) kings.

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[1] Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read तस्माद° °श्री: श्री°.

[2] Read यन्न्याय°.

[3] Read °द्देश°.

[4] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[5] Read बभूव.

[6] Metre: Upajâti. Read स्वबाहु°.

[7] Read °शीलां°.

[8] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[9] Read पञ्चकं.

[10] Read °केशवौ.

[11] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[12] Read °स्कारयित्वा.

[13] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[14] Read प्रादान्नृ°.

[15] Read तद्दंश°.

[16] Metre: Anushṭubh.

[17] Read शुभ:.

[18] Read संश्लेष°.

[19] Read पुण्यत°.

[20] Metre: Anushṭubh. Read चतुर्द्दशोत्तरे सेयमेकादशे शते शके.

[21] Read नृसिंह°.

(V. 4.) From him was born **Vâgharâja,** whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him). By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides.

(V. 5.) From this lion as it were was born **Vôpadêva,** another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (*i.e.* retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass).

(V. 6.) From him was born the illustrious **Karṇadêva** (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kâkaira country.

(V. 7.) His queen was the beautiful **Bhôpalladêvî,** whom the people considered as if she were Lakshmî (goddess of wealth) come to this earth.

(V. 8.) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable.

(V. 9.) In the holy place **Dêvahrada** five edifices were built by him. Two of them were his own, where Śaṅkara and Kêśava (are enshrined).

(V. 10.) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,[1] to be built bestowed them on (*i.e.* dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V. 11.) One temple Karṇarâja gave to (*i.e.* dedicated in the name of) king **Raṇakêsarin,** through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct.

(V. 12.) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by **Bhôpalla-dêvî,** who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V. 13.) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend. Composed by the clever **Nṛisiṁha.**

The Sûtradhâra (architect) was **Sûpâ** (?).

No. 25.—VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMALATA;

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 682.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof. Kielhorn,[2] with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion. The impressions sent by Paṇḍit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State. I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions. When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof. Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

[1] In the original the word is *triśûnaḥ* which I originally read as *triśûdanaḥ*. Dr. Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text.

[2] *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, H. 2.

mâtâ to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is Pratîhâra **Bôṭaka**, the first of which words I think signifies the race. Bôṭaka was thus a Pratîhâra, *i.e.* Paḍiâr, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratîhâra occurring in an inscription. The third name is *rájasthánîya* **Âdityabhaṭa**, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.[1]

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmalâta spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Mâgha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the Śiśupâlavadha, of the name of the king at whose court Mâgha's grandfather Suprabhadêva is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmalâta is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmalâta of our inscription, supposing the date V.E. 682 to be correct, it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the *Śiśupâlavadha* knows, Mâgha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the *Kâśikâvṛitti* and its commentary called *Nyâsa*. The former is the joint production of Jayâditya and Vâmana, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us in unmistakeable terms that he died about A.D. 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the *Nyâsa* was Jinêndrabuddhi, who like Jayâditya was a follower of the Buddha.[2] And it is inconceivable that I-tsing, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A.D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the *Nyâsa* could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Mâgha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak[3] appears to me to be worth considering. Dr. Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinêndrabuddhi cannot have written before A.D. 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmalâta with the king whose minister Mâgha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Mâgha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinêndrabuddhi flourished about A.D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the *Śiśupâlavadha* would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Mâgha wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr. Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-tsing had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinêndrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Mâgha and Jinêndrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Mâgha and Jinêndrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmalâtas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

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[1] *History of Gujarat* in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 82.

[2] It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinêndrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No. 33 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following: *Iti bôdhisattvadêśîyâchârya-Dvijê(Jinê)ndrabutdhi(ddhi)-virachitâyâṁ Kâśikâ-vivaraṇa-paṁchikâyâṁ dvitîy-âdhyâyasya chaturthaḥ pâdaḥ*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 57.

[3] *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX, pp. 305-6.

The place **Vata**, where the feudatory prince Râjjila was reigning, is doubtless Vasantgadh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kshêmâryâ, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gôshṭhî* of Vaṭa, is no other than the temple of Khimel *mâtâ* in Vasantgaḍh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahmâ mentioned as existing in Vaṭapura in the inscription of Pûrṇapâla dated V.E. 1099, are still existing at Vasantgaḍh. A slightly different name for the place, *viz.* Vaṭâkara, occurs in l. 9. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both Ârâsaṇa and Ârâsaṇâkara. The remains at Vasantgaḍh have been fully described and the question regarding the name Vaṭa and Vaṭâkara is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1905 to March 1906, inclusive, pp. 49 ff.[1]

TEXT.[2]

1 ओं[3] नमः ॥ धातुर्व्यां योगनिद्रा [जलन] — ◡ ◡ [नस्या]कृतिर्व्विश्व
योनेः [4]कैलासोच्चांङ्कश्रिङ्गप्रतिनियतमुदावासिनोर्द्धाङ्कसक्ता [।*] या

2 राच्चिस्सर्व्वलोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता सा देवी दुर्ग्गमेषु
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानीह दुर्गाः[5] ॥ [१*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-

3 रस्याजौ यागे [6]क्रयाफलेष्वसक्तत् [।*] क्षेमार्य्या क्षेमकरी विदधातु शिवानि
नस्सततं[7] ॥ [२*] जयति जयलक्ष्मलक्षितवक्षस्थलसंश्रितश्रियाधारः[8] [।*] श्री-

4 वर्म्मलातनृपतिᳶपतिरवनेरधिकबलवीर्य्यः ॥ [३*] केचित्सन्देशमात्रैरतिविशदपद[9]
मुद्रया पारगंर्च्या[10] केचिच्चान्ये प्रकामं प्रतिवचनयुतैर्क्क[ा]

5 [र्य्यं]जापैरजस्रं [।*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतबलिकुहकैर्भूतिदानेन चान्ये
तेनेत्थं सन्नरेन्द्रव्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः[11] ॥ [४*] तस्याशेषविशे-

6 [ष]दोषरहितान्पुष्णाति भक्त्या गुणान् (।) नाम्ना वज्रभटेति भृत्यपदवी-
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [।*] ख्यातः कीर्त्तिमतामलघ्यचरितः[12] [13]श्रीमातु-
रप्यर्ज्जने[14] किञ्च

7 [ज्ञा]तगुणः प्रभुर्हिमवतस्सूनोश्च संरक्षणे[15] ।(॥) [५*] तस्य सूनुरधिकं प्रियᳶ
प्रियैᳶप्रश्रयादिसकलैर्म्महागुणै[16] [।*] राज्जिलोभवदशेषराजकव्याप्तकी-

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[1] In l. 9 of the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pûrṇapâla, Vaṭa is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the *mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription found at Ghaṭiyâlâ (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 518), the expression *Vaḍa-ṇâṇaya-maṇḍala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vaṭa-Nâṇaka-maṇḍala.* Here the country or district is not called simply after Vaṭa (Vasantgaḍh) but also after *Nâṇaka* which evidently is the present Nâṇâ, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read कैलासोच्चाङ्कशृङ्ग°.

[5] Read दुर्ग्गा ; metre · Sragdharâ.

[6] Read क्रिया°.

[7] Metre: Âryâ; and also of the verse following.

[8] Wrong for °श्रयाधार' which would not have suited the metre.

[9] Read °पदैर्म्मुद्रया.

[10] Read °गच्छा.

[11] Metre : Sragdharâ.

[12] Read °मलङ्घ्य°.

[13] The letter प्य is not in the same line with र and र्ज्जं. but is engraved exactly below between these two letters, and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission

[14] Read, probably °र्ज्ज°° instead of °र्ज्जं°.

[15] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[16] Read °गुणैः.

8 स्तिरमले कुले नृपः[1] [॥*] [६*] ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादिकलावस्तु विशेषत[2] [।*] सोधिकं [3]द्रविणै [4]श्रश्ववटे वैश्रवणायते[5] ॥ [७*] तस्मिन्नाजनि देव्याश्शासति राज्यं

9 वटाकरस्थाने[।*] गोष्ठ्या कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव[6] ॥ [८*] कारापकस्तु सूनुः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [।*] गोष्ठ्या प्रसादपरया निरूपितो ज-

10 [म]ना स वणिक् ।(॥) [९*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिपस्य स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[र्व्या] अपगतक[लु]षा — ◡ — — ◡ — — [।*] यावच्चन्द्रार्क्कभास-

11 [स्सु]तरलजलधे[रू]र्म्मयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[द्दे]वालयं [निष्ठि]तमिह भवतु [7]श्रेयस [8]पौरजानां[9] ॥ [१०*] द्विरशीत्यधिके काले षण्णां वर्ष्षशतोत्तरे [।*] जगन्मातु-

12 [10][रिदं] स[थ]ानं स्था[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिपुङ्गवैः[11] ॥ [११*] दिवाकरसुतस्येयं धूर्त्तराशेर्द्विजन्मनः[12] [।*] पूर्व्वातिमृदुभिर्व्वर्ण्णैः प्रोत्कीर्ण्णा नागमुण्डिना [॥] [१२*] ॥ ⁘ ॥

13 [गो]ष्ठिकाश्च[13] [।] राजिल । वकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारवोटक । राजस्थानीयादित्यभट । जा(?)व(?)र्ण्ण । मातृदासवङ्कदेव । कुलवर्द्धन । धनदत्त[व]सु [।]

14 घुघक । धोन्धकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-गुप्त । [व]पक । पपोट्ट । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास । तरण । — — — — दत्त

15 दृढगुर । धनगर । वपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव । रुद्रक । दत्तभिल्लमालकुय । खिलकु । पार्थ्थदिण्ड । णणु ।- णणवटनाग — —

16 तता । भिलमालकु । सत्तमदेव । वङ्कदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका बूटानाम्नी ॥ * ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां [14]ना-

17 . . . . . . [15]

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[1] Metre: Rathôddhatâ.

[2] Read विशेषतः.

[3] Read द्रविणैः°

[4] Read श्रश्ववटे.

[5] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[6] Metre: Âryâ; and also of the verse following.

[7] The letter य is engraved below the line.

[8] The word *pauraja* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vaṭa)."

[9] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[10] The *aksharas* °रिदं° are very indistinct.

[11] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[12] Read °राशेर्द्वि°.

[13] Read गोष्ठिका श्च.

[14] Read नामानि.

[15] About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.

No. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SANKARAGANA; SAKA-SAMVAT 715.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhau Devram Bhat, a Brahmakshatrî by caste, and residing at Daulatâbâd, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanad*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Tâlukdâr, Aurangâbâd district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about 7¾″ long by about 5″ broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuḍa, squatting and facing full-front; his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards; his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The **characters** of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *â*, *e.g.* in *Âsî*°, l. 2; to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, *e.g.* in °*pulina*°, l. 12; to *ṅga* in *bhaṅga*, l. 14; to *ṅka* in *Śrî-Śaṅkaragaṇarâja*, l. 27; to *rya* in *vîryô*, l. 20; and to *ñcha* in °*pañchabhi*°, l. 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sâmâṅgaḍh grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The **language** is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40; the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Râshṭrakûṭa records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra*(*bra*)*hmachârî* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donee and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of **orthography**, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted; the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhûpas=triviśhṭapa*, l. 5, *Kanakâdṛir=iv=Êndrarâjaḥ*, l. 8, and *pṛiy-â*[*tma**]*jaḥ*, l. 24; the letter *gh* is employed instead of *h* once in *râja-siṁghaḥ*, l. 4; and an *anusvâra* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvastin=naya*°, l. 2.

The inscription records a grant by **Samarâvalôka-śrî-Śaṅkaragaṇa-râja** of the Râshṭrakûṭa family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with **Gôvindarâja I.** The genealogy set forth as far as **Kṛishṇarâja I.** is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes **Gôvinda II.** in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a *double entendre*: "His son was king Gôvindarâja who was like Hari (Kṛishṇa) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of śrî-Pârijâta just as the latter was for having carried off the greatness of the auspicious *pârijâta* (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gôvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gôvardhana (mountain)." The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gôvinda II. defeated a king of the name of **Pârijâta**, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called **Gôvardhana.**[1] The names Pârijâta and Gôvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: "His younger brother was **Nirupama**, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family." What the verse means is that Gôvinda II. was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother's dominions. The Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants of Kṛishṇa III., however, give a slightly different account. They record that "sensual pleasures made **Gôvindarâja** careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, **Nirupama**, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose." The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gôvinda II. with the management of the kingdom, the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Râshṭrakûṭa family.[2] But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed; and hence what most probably happened was that Gôvinda II. gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Râshṭrakûṭa supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gôvinda II. gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother's dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was **Śrî-Nanna**, brother of **Śrî-Kṛishṇarâja** and son of **Śrî-Kakkarâja**. Then follows the preamble of the prose passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

[1] I have taken the word *uddharaṇa* in the sense of "uplifting, upholding," but it also signifies "eradication, extermination." In that case it would mean that Gôvinda II. slew a prince of the name of Gôvardhana. Or if Gôvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gôvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nâsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purâṇas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 8th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gôvardhana* occurs in the Bagumrâ grants of Indrarâja III. (above, Vol. IX. pp. 32 and 36).

[2] This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words: *guru-bhakti-matô=nyasaṁstham*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, *i.e.* the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereigns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gôvinda II. himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party for ousting Gôvinda II. and completely severing his connection with the Râshṭrakûṭa kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his elders, *i.e.* the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor **Samarâvalôka-Śrî-Śaṅkaragaṇa-râja** is specified, and he is mentioned as son of **Śrî-Nanna** just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of **Śrî-Kalivallabha Narêndradêva.** The latter was doubtless an epithet of **(Dhruva-)Nirupama,** who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Śaṅkaragaṇa was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll. 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll. 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from **Tênvi,** and the expression *tat-pâda-pûjârthaṁ guru-dakshiṇâ,* which occurs in l. 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: " And this charter was written by **Chandayika** by order of the supreme ruler, when **715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Śaka Kings.**" The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Druva-) Nirupama, and the Śaka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record— the Paiṭhaṇ grant — of his son and successor Gôvinda III. is dated in Śaka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-)Nirupama could not have lived long after Śaka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gôtra* specified is **Bhâradvâja.** Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like **Sâmira.** And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(lla)bha-narêndra* which is an epithet generally borne by the Râshṭrakûṭa rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śrî-Bhaṭaḥ(ṭâ)rka-mataḥ* || 800. The name *Bhaṭârka* reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A.D. 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatâbâd, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmakshatris in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Kâṭhiâwâr, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates, tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhaṭârka after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Kâṭhiâwâr or known about from his forefathers.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति [॥*] स वोव्यादेधसो[3] धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।*] हरश्च यस्य कांतेन्दु-

[1] From the original plates. [2] Expressed by a symbol. [3] Read °द्वेधसा.

2 कलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*] [1]आसीद्दषत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिंनयं-[2]

3 नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [।*] भूपः शुचिः पृथुरिवाप्तदिगन्तकीर्त्ति [3]गोविन्द-

4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंघः[4] ।(॥) [२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्ति-

5 रार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । [5]भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुकृतिः

6 कृतज्ञः श्रीकक्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव[6] । (॥) [३*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-

7 करटच्युतदानदन्तिदंतिप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः[7] ।

8 क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्र-[8]

9 राजः ।(॥) [४*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयश्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्या[9] ।

10 भोक्ता भुवि[10] शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ।(॥) [५*] आसेतोर्व्विपुलो-[11]

11 पलावलिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमालाजलादाप्रालेयकलांकितोमल-[12]

12 शिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात् । आपूर्व्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

Second Plate; First Side.

13 [13]प्रसिद्धावधिर्य्येनेयं जगती [14]स्वविक्रमबलेनैकातपत्रीकृता ।(॥) [६*] यभूरि-

14 भङ्गमग्रष्टीतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रातमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतयत्नं [।*] यो व-

15 ल्लभं सपदि दण्डबलेन[15] जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ।(॥) [७*] काञ्ची-

16 [16]सकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं [।*] कर्ण्णाटकं

17 [17]बलमचिन्त्यमजेयमन्यैः भृत्यै[18] कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये ।(॥) [८*] तस्मिं[19] दि-

18 वं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजापालः [।*] श्रीकक्कराजसूनुर्म्महो-

19 पति[20] कृष्णराज[ो]भूत् ॥ [९*] त[स्य]नुराष्ट्रवररुचिः प्रथितो बभूव[21] श्रीपा-

20 रिजातविभवाहर[ण]प्रतीत[22] [।*] गोवर्द्धनोद्धरणलच्चितवाहुवीर्यो[23]

21 गोविन्दराजनृपति [24]हरिणा समानः ।(॥) [१०*] तस्यानुजो निरुपमस-

सुदीर्णमो-

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[1] Read °आसीद्विषत्ति°. [2] Read °नय°. [3] Read °कीर्त्तिर्गो°.

[4] Read °सिंहः. [5] Read °भूपस्त्रिविष्टप°. [6] Read °र्ब्बभूव.

[7] Read °दन्तिदन्त° and °ल्लिखितांस°. [8] Read कनकाद्रि°. [9] Read मालिन्याः.

[10] Read भुवः. [11] Read °सेतोर्व्वि°. [12] Read °कलांकितामल°.

[13] Read °प्रसिद्धावधे.° [14] Read °बले°, [15] Read °बलेन.

[16] Read °काञ्चीश°; the letter ल in °केरलनराधिप° was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and न, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above.

[17] Read °बल° and °भजेय°. [18] Read °रन्यैर्भृत्यैः. [19] Read तस्मिन्.

[20] Read °पतिः. [21] Read बभूव. [22] Read °प्रतीतः.

[23] Read बाहु. [24] Read °नृपतिर्हरिणा.

Daulatabad plates of Sankaragana.—Saka-Samvat 715.

i.

ii a.

STEN KONOW.

W. GRIGGS, PHC

SCALE 0·8

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

ii b.

iii a

22 च्च[1] त्यक्तं नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[।*]ज्यं चभार[2] गुरुभक्तिव-
तोन्यसंस्थं[3]

23 मा भूत्कुलान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्मा:[4] [॥*] [११*] पितृव्यस्तस्य [5]गुणवां
श्रीनन्न इति

24 विश्रुत: [।*] श्रीकृष्णराजभ्राता हि श्रीकक्कराजप्रयाज:[6] [॥*] [१२*] तत्पुत्र:

Second Plate; Second Side.

25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो [7]पात्तानुराग: परच्छिद्रापवादरह-[8]
26 स्येष्वन्धमूकवधिरो[9] विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल[10] कान्तारभू-
27 मौ जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां [11]तृट्क्षोता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराज:
28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमंत्या[12] सर्व्वानेवागामिनृपतिग्रामकूट-
29 [13]महत्तराधिकारिदीन्समनुवोधयत्यस्तु व: संविदितं यथास्माभि-
30 र्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्ययशोभिवृद्धये[14] (।) तेन्वीविनि-
31 [15]र्गतब्रह्मचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-
32 शिष्ठ — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्राम: साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिसर्व्वं-
33 देयप्रक्षीणश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थं[16] गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।
34 यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमि-
35 रावृतमति:[17] [18]आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदेत:[19] स पञ्चभिर्म[हा]-
36 [20]पातकै चोपपातकै: संयुक्त[21] स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
37 सेन ।

Third Plate; First Side.

38 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति[22] भूमिद: [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
39 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [१३*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयांशु[23] शुष्ककोटरवासिन: [।*]

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1 ईच्य seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form.

2 Read बभार ; ब and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of ब.

3 Read °भक्तिमतो°.

4 Read लक्ष्म्या:.

5 Read गुणवाञ्छ्री°.

6 Read °प्रियात्मज: ; त्म is omitted in the text. The श्री° of श्रीकक्क° or, what is more probable, the हि preceding it, is superfluous.

7 Read दिक्चक्र: and पात्रानुराग:.

8 हि was first incised, and then it was corrected into ह by erasure

9 Read °बधिरो.

10 Read °सलिल:.

11 Read तृट्छाता.

12 Read °देवानुमत्या.

13 Read °कार्यादीन्समनुबोध°.

14 Read °पुण्य°.

15 Read °ब्रह्मचारि° ; all letters of l. 31 after °ब्रह्मचारी° and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

16 Read °पूजार्थं.

17 Here and in the following the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been followed.

18 Read [illegible]ा°.

19 Read °मोदेत.

20 Read °पातकैश्चोप°.

21 Read [illegible]

22 This ought to be मोदते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit [illegible] metre.

23 Read °तोयासु.

40 कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ।(॥) [१४*] लिखितं चैतत्वासनं[1]
41 शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-
42 मेश्वराज्ञया[2] चन्द्रयिकेन ॥ [3]पुनरपि [4]सिम [।*] पुर्वत[:*][5] चिच-
43 ग्राम [द]चिणत: निबग्राम: पश्चिमत: दधि[वाह]-
44 ल ॥ उतरत:[6] पडलावदपटन एवं चतु[र]— —[7]
45 सिम[8] पुर्वत[9] टंकं । खेतसिमा[10] पुर्वदरिदरिगह्ले (?) [पुन:]
46 टोणस्य टोणस्य मस्तके शिलतलं । तोयनरज । नि-
47 बुतटाकं [।*] दचिणत: जंबुग्र(?)ह्रक: [।] दचिणत:[11] नीबग्राम
48 सती (?)ताविह—रैलाद्रिसंबक: हस्तिनिकगोग्रह्रदरोद-
49 धिवाहलतटा[कं] सिलाद्वयं सिबकपलासचिचाब-
50 दरितटाकं ॥ उतरत:[12] खाटके हटो क — — —

Third Plate; Second Side.

51 यु[न]म(?)णि: । पुर्वदरीर(?)[ल]—वससिमापर्यंत [13]व-
52 ली—[निब]ह । वलभनरेंद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-
53 क उतरत:[14] देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामि भूमी ॥ इयक्षोना-
54 चरमधिकाचरं वा सर्व्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
55 [15]श्रीभट:कंमत: ॥ ८००

No. 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA; SAMVAT 872.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmabhaṭṭa* of Jôdhpur named Nannurâma whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalâ in the Bilâḍâ district, Jôdhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabhâmaṇḍapa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pârvatî. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

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[1] Read चैतच्छासनं.

[2] This word is repeated unnecessarily.

[3] The original inscription ends at चन्द्रयिकेन; and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till l. 55 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

[4] Read सीमा:.

[5] Read पूर्वत:.

[6] Read उत्तरत:.

[7] Probably चतुराघाट°.

[8] Read °सीमा.

[9] Read पूर्वत:.

[10] Read °सीमा.

[11] This दचिणत: is probably a mistake for पश्चिमत:.

[12] Read उत्तरत:.

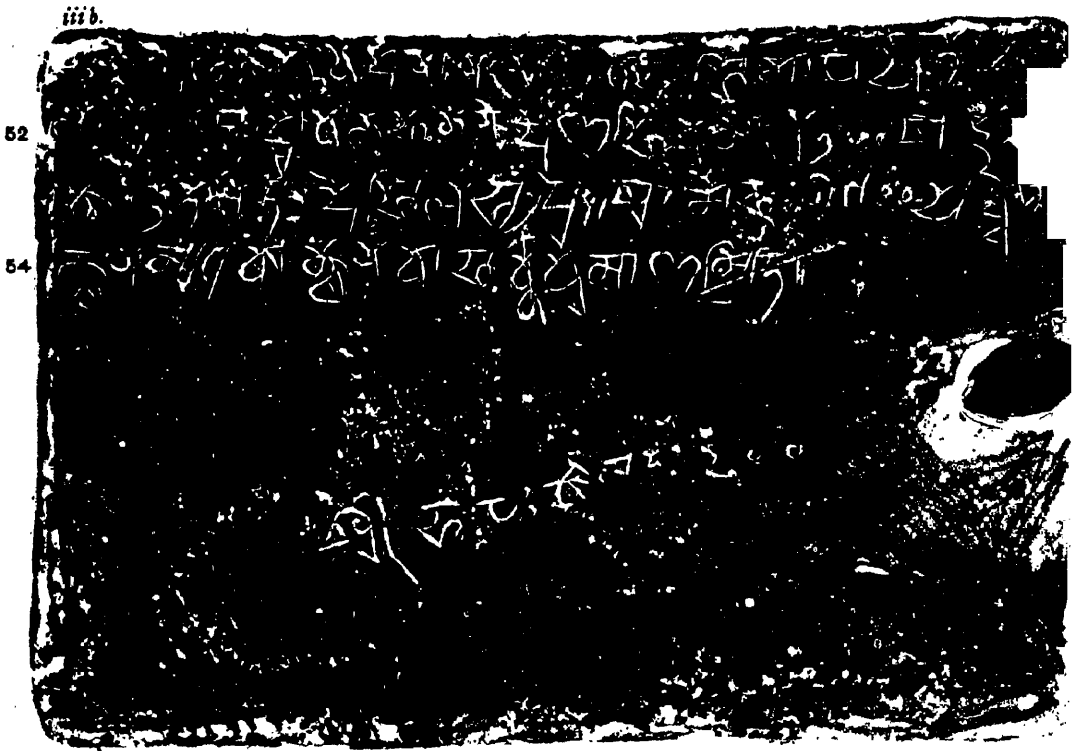
[13] The reading चुली is also possible.

[14] Read उत्तरत:.

[15] Read श्रीभटार्क:-

iii b.

52

54

preserved writing which covers a space of about 2′ 4½″ high by 11¼″ broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *ṅ* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *ś* and *n* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *m*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much nearer to each other than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; *dhi* is written *ddhi* twice in the word *mahârâjâddhirâja*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former *viz.* in *śuttradhâraḥ*, l. 20.

The inscription is dated **Saṁvat 872**[1] **the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra,** and refers itself to the reign of the *P. M. P.* **Nâgabhaṭṭa-dêva** meditating on the feet of the *M. P.* **Vatsarâja-dêva.** It is thus clear that Nâgabhaṭṭa is no other person than Nâgabhaṭa, son of Vatsarâja, of the imperial Pratîhâra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhôjadêva I. In fact, we had only one date, *viz.* Śaka 705 = A.D. 783-84, for Vatsarâja furnished by the Jaina work *Harivaṁśa-Purâṇa.* And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S. 872 = A.D. 815 for his son Nâgabhaṭa.[2]

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*nivêśitâ*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*dêvagṛiha*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramêśvara*, in the village of **Râjyaghaṅgakaṁ**, by the queen **Jayâvalî**, the daughter of **Jajjaka,** who himself was a son of the Pratîhâra **Bapuka,** and wife of **Bhuṁbhuvaka,** the son of **Haragupta** of the family called **Avâṅgânaka.** As Jâyâvalî has been spoken of as queen (*râjñî*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nâgabhaṭṭa, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding, Râjyaghaṅgakaṁ, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalâ. The name of the *sûtradhâra* or mason is **Pañchahari,** the son of **Dêiâ.**

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramêśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pârvatî, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Vishṇu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaishṇava structure. The word *paramêśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Vishṇu.

TEXT.[3]

1 ओं [।] संवत्सरशते ८७२

2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां

3 निवेसित्ता[4] ॥ महाराजाद्धिराज-[5]

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[1] It is worthy of note that, in the copper-plate charters issued by Bhôjadêva I., Mahêndrapâla and Mahîpâla *alias* Vinâyakapâla, letter-numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 892 is a misprint for 872.—S. K.]

[2] The date has already been given by Prof. Kielhorn in his *Synchronistic Table for Northern India,* col. 9, from information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

[3] From the original stone. [4] Read निवेसिता. [5] Read °राजाधिराज°.

4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-
5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
6 [1]जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-
7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्द्धमान-
8 राज्ये राज्यघङ्कग्रामे
9 राज्ञो जायावली प्रतीहार-
10 [2]स्वगोत्रश्रीवपुकपुत्रश्रीज-
11 ज्जकदुहिता ताकुङ्वोत्पनावा-[3]
12 ङ्गानकस्वगोत्रश्रीहरगुप्त-[4]
13 पुत्रभुंभुवकपत्नी [5]अस्य च पर-
14 मेस्वरो निर्द्दी[6] कृत्वा अनेकजन्मा-
15 [7]तरस्वसिवर्तसंसारदुखाव-[8]
16 हरस्य परमेस्वरस्य[9] पादा[10]
17 पुजयित्वा[11] देवगृहं करा-
18 प्य[12] [।*] पुन [13]तस्य उपलेपन[14]
19 देङ्अासुतप[ञ्च]हरि[15]
20 शुत्रधार:[16] ॥

No. 28.—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672.

BY K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛiṅgârkar bâvâ, a well-known reciter of *kîrtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñânêśvara, the well-known saint of Aḷandi, with Jñânêśvara, the author of the Jñânêśvarî, a famous Marâṭhî commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñânêśvarî, who was contemporary with Râmadêva, the last of the Yâdava kings of Dêvagiri, Bhṛiṅgârkar bâvâ was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

[1] Read °राजाधिराज°. [2] Read °सगोत्र°.

[3] Read °वोत्पन्ना°. [4] Read °सगोत्र°.

[5] Here and in the following the rules of *samdhi* have not been observed.

[6] The words परमेश्वरो and निर्द्दी as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.

[7] Some such reading as °जन्मान्तरेष्वभिवर्ति° might be expected.

[8] Read °दुःखा°. [9] Read परमेश्वरस्य. [10] Read पादौ.

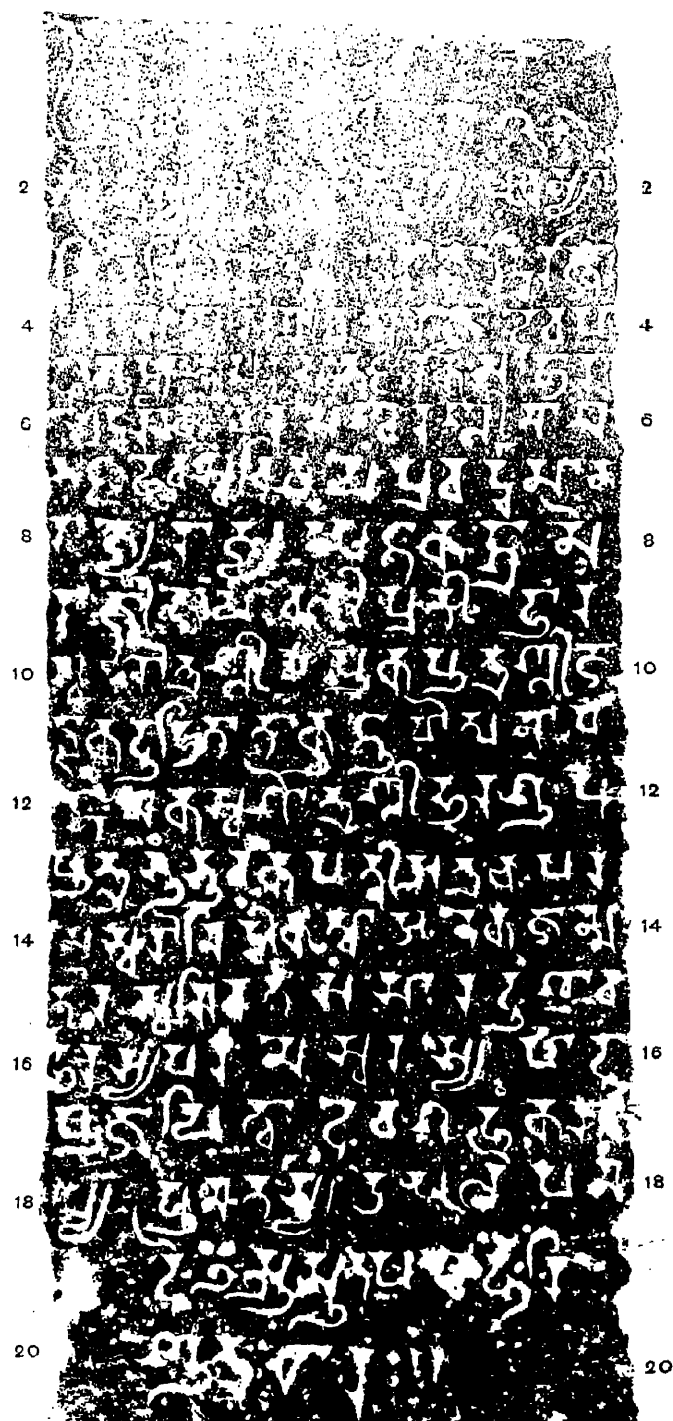
[11] Read पूजयित्वा. [12] Read कारयित्वा. [13] Read पुनस्तस्य.

[14] Read उपलेपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving."

[15] Read °हरिः. [16] Read सूत्रधारः.

Buchkalâ inscription of Nâgabhaṭṭa.—Vikrama Samvat 892.

STEN KONOW. SCALE 0·30 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM AN ESTAMPAGE PREPARED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

The plates were found at Kêndûr, a village in the Khêḍ tâluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr. Purushôttama Râjapâṭhak, now residing at Kêndûr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring 9½″ long by 4½″ broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and 5½″ in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2″ by 1½″. It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kîrtivarman II., and is issued from the city of **Raktapura**, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmêśvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the **full moon day of the month Vaiśâkha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign**, when his victorious camp was at **Raktapura**, Kîrtivarman II., at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brâhmaṇa named **Râmaśarman**, the village of **Beppaṭṭi** in the centre of the villages of **Peṅbâsaḍru, Kisumaṅgalam, Suḷḷam** and **Perbbaḷḷi**, in the district of **Veḷvola**. The five villages can be easily identified with Behaṭṭi, Hebsur, Kusugalla, Suḷḷa and Hebbaḷḷi, in the Dharwar district. Veḷvola is a Sanskritized form of Beḷvola or Beḷvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Marâṭhâ country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kîrtivarman II.'s time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the Vakkalêri grant, which has been published by Mr. Rice[1] and re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn.[2] As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kîrtivarman's reign, while, according to the present grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalêri grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr. Rice and Dr. Kielhorn have proposed to read it as *nava*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was **Polekêśin** who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son **Kîrtivarman I.**, who defeated the kings of Vanavâsi and other countries. His brother Maṅgalîśa being passed over, we are next introduced to **Satyâśraya**, better known as **Polekêśin II.**, who defeated the famous Buddhist king **Harshavardhana**, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang and the hero of Bâṇa's immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. Polekêśin II.'s son, **Vikramâditya I.**, was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakaṇṭha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obeisance done to him by the lord of Kâñchî, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramâditya I.'s son and successor was **Vinayâditya**, who broke the confederacy of the Chôḷas, Kêraḷas, Pâṇḍyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayâditya's son **Vijayâditya**, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. V. p. 200 and ff.

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son **Vikramâditya II.**, who led an excursion into the Tuṇḍâka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipôtavarman, and entered the Pallava capital Kâñchî, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Râjasiṁhêśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasiṁhapôtavarman, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. Vikramâditya II. was succeeded by his son **Kîrtivarman II.**, who issued the present grant.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Svasti [|*] Jayaty=âvishkṛita[ṁ] Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇavaṁ [|*] dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bhuvanaṁ
2 vapuḥ [||*] Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-**Mânavya**-sagôtrâṇâṁ **Hâr[î]ti-putrâṇâṁ** sa-
3 pta-lôkamâtṛibhis=saptamâtṛibhir=abhivardhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâsta(pta)-kalyâṇa-
4 paraṁparâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lâñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-
5 vaśî-kṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâñ=**Chalukyânâṁ** kulam=alaṁkarishṇôr=aśvamêdh-âva-
6 bhṛithasnâna-pavitrî-kṛita-gâtrasya śrî-**Polekêśi**-vallabha-mahârâjasya sû-
7 nuḥ parâkram-âkrânta-**Vanavâsy**-âdi-paranṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kîrtti-śrî-
8 **Kîrttivarmma**-pṛithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjas=tasy=âtmajas=samara-saṁsakta-sakalôttarâ-
9 pathêśvara-śrî-**Harshavardhana**-parâjay-ôpâtta-paramêśvara-śabdas=tasya **Sa-**

Second Plate; First Side.

10 **tyâśraya**-śrî-pṛithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvarasya priyatanayasya
11 prajñâta-nayasya khaṭga(ḍga)-mâtra-sahâyasya Chitrakaṇṭhâkhya-pravara-turaṁgamêṇ=aikê-
12 n=aiv=ôtsâdit-âśêsha-vijigîshôr=avanipati-tritay-ântaritâṁ svagurô śriyam=âtmasâ-
13 t-kṛitya prabhâva-kuliśa-dalita-**Pâṁḍya-Chôḷa-Kêraḷa-Kaḷabhra**-prabhṛiti-bhûbhṛid-a-
14 dabhra-vibhramasy=ânanyâvanata-**Kâṁchîpati**-makuṭa-chumbita-pâdâmbujasya
15 **Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya**-śrî-pṛithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva-
16 ra-bhaṭṭârakasya priyasûnôḥ pitur=âjñayâ Bâlêndugê(śê)kharasya Târakârâti-
17 r=iva daityabalam=atisamuddhataṁ **trairâjya-Kâṁchîpati**-balam=avashṭabhya kara-

Second Plate; Second Side.

18 dîkṛita-**Kavêra-Pârasîka-Siṁhaḷ**-âdi-dvîp-âdhipasya sakal-ôttarâpatha[2]-nâtha-mathan-ôpârjit-ô-
19 rjita-pâḷidhvaj-âdi-samasta-pâramaiśvaryya-chinha(hna)sya **Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya**-śrîpṛithu(thi)vîvalla-
20 bha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priy-âtmajaś=śai[śa*]va êv=âdhigat-âśêsh-âstra-
21 śâstrô dakshiṇâśâ-vijayini pitâmahê samunmûlita-nikhila-kaṇṭaka-saṁhatir=uttarâpatha-
22 vijigîshôr=gurôr=agrata êv=âhava-vyâpâram=âcharann=arâti-gaja-ghaṭâ-pâṭa-

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[1] From the original plates.
[2] The engraver has originally written °*pathê*, but corrected it.

Kêndûr Plates of Kîrtivarman II.—Śaka Samvat 672.

i.

ii a.

STEN KONOW,

SCALE 0·7

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

ii b.

18

20

22

24

26

iii a.

28

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32

34

23 na-viśîryyamâṇa-kṛipâṇa-dhâras=samagra-vigrah-âgrêsara[ḥ*] san=sâhasa-rasikaḥ
24 parâṁ(â)mukhîkṛita-śatrumaṇḍalô Gaṁgâ-Yamunâ-pâḷidhvaja-paḍaḍhakkâ-mahâśabda-mâ-
25 ṇikya-mataṁgaj-âdîn=pitṛisât=kurvvan=paraiḥ palâyamânair=âsâdya katham=api vidhivaśâ-
26 d=apanîtô=pi pratâpâd=êva vishaya-prakôpam=arâjakam=utsârayan=Vatsarâja i-

Third Plate; First Side.

27 v=ânapêkshit-âpara-sâhâyakas=tad-avagrahân=nirggatya svabhuj-âvashṭambha-prasâdhit-âśêsha-viśva-
28 mbharaḥ prabhur=akhaṁḍita-śaktitrayatvât(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhaṁjanatvâd=udâratvân=niravadyatvâd=yas=sa-
29 masta-bhuvan-âśrayas=sakala-pâramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hêtu-pâḷidhvaj-âdy-u[j*]jvala-prâjya-
30 râjyô **Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya**-śrîpṛithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva-
31 ra-bhaṭṭârakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sâmrâjya-lakshmî-svayaṁvar-â-
32 bhishêka-samay-ânantara-samupajâta-mahôtsâhaḥ âtmavaṁśaja-pû-
33 rvva-nṛipati-chchhây-âpahâriṇaḥ prakṛity-amitrasya **Pallavasya** samûl-ônmûlanâya
34 kṛita-matir=atitvarayâ **Tuṁḍâka**-vishayaṁ prâpy=âbhimukh-âgatan=**Nandipôtavarmm**-â-
35 bhidhânaṁ **Pallavaṁ** raṇa-mukhê saṁprahṛitya prapalâyya kaṭumukha-vâditra-sa-

Third Plate; Second Side.

36 mudraghôsh-âbhidhâna-vâdya-viśêshân(shau)=khaṭvâṁga-dhvaja-pra[illegible]-prabhûta-prakhyâta-hasti-varâ-
37 n=sva-kiraṇa-nikara-vikâsa-nirâkṛita-timiram=mâṇikya-râśiñ=cha hastêkṛitya Kalaśabhava-nila-
38 ya-harid-aṁgan-âṁchita-kâṁchîyamânâṁ **Kâṁchîm**=avinâśya praviśya satata-pravṛitta-dâ-
39 n-ânâ(na)ndita-dvija-dîn-ânâtha-janaḥ **Narasiṁhapôtavarmma**-nirmmâpita-śilâmaya-
40 Râjasiṁhêśvar-âdi-dêvakula-suvarṇarâśi-pratyarppaṇ-ôpârjit-ôrjita-pu-
41 ṇyaḥ anivârita-pratâpa-prasara-pratâpita-**Pâṁḍya-Chôḷa-Kêraḷa-Kaḷabhra**-
42 prabhṛiti-râjanyakaḥ kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita-śukti-mukta-muktâphala-
43 prakara-marîchi-jâla-vilasita-vêl-âkulê ghûrṇamân-ârṇô-nidhânê dakshiṇâ-
44 rṇavê śarad-amala-śaśadhara-viśada-yaśô-râśi-mayaṁ jayastambham=atishṭ[h*]ipat

Fourth Plate; First Side.

45 **Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya**-śrîpṛithu(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bha-
46 ṭṭârakasya sûnuḥ(r) bâlyê suśikshita-śâstra-śastra[ḥ*] sva-guṇa-kalâp-ânandita-hṛi-
47 dayêna pitrâ samârôpita-yauvarâjya[ḥ*] svakula-vairiṇaḥ **Kâṁchîpatêr**=nnigrahâ-
48 ya mâṁ prêshaya ity=âdêśaṁ prârthya labdhvâ tad-anantaram=êva kṛita-prayâṇas=sann=a-
49 bhimukham=âgatya prakâśa-yuddhaṁ kartum=asamartthaṁ pravishṭa-durggaṁ **Palla**-
50 vaṁ samantatô=bhibhûya bhagnaśaktiṁ kṛitvâ prabhûta-matta-mataṁgaja-su-
51 varṇa-mâṇikya-kôṭîr=âdâya pitrê samarppitavân=êvaṁ kramêṇa prâpta-sâ-

52 rvvabhauma-padaḥ pratâp-ânurâg-âvanata-samasta-sâmanta-makuṭa-mâ-
53 lâ-rajaḥ-puṁja-piṁjarita-charaṇa-sarasiruhaḥ(ruhaḥ) **Kîrtivarm(a)na-Satyâ-**

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

54 **śraya**-śrîpṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakas=sarvân=êva-
55 m=âjñâpayati [|*] Viditam=astu vô=smâbhir=**dvisaptaty-uttara-shaṭchhatêshu Śakavarshêshv=atîtêshu**
56 **pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê shashṭhê varttamânê Raktapuram=** adhivasa-
57 ti vijaya-skandhâvârê **Vaiśâkha-paurṇamâsyâṁ sômagrahaṇê** Kâśyapa-gô-
58 trâya **Vâjappaśarmmaṇaḥ**[1]**-pautrâya Mâkaya**-Vâjapê[ya*]-yâjinaḥ
59 putrâya vêda-vêdâṁga-pâragâya **Râmaśarmmaṇê Veḷvola-visha-**
60 yê **Peṇbasaaru-Kisumaṁgalaṁ-Suḷḷaṁ-Perbaḷḷi**-nâma-grâmâṇâm=ma-
61 dhyê **Beppaṭṭi-nâma-grâmô** śrî-mahâdêvî-vijñâpanayâ dattaḥ

Fifth Plate.

62 Tad=âgâmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=cha râjabhir=âyur-aiśvaryy-âdînâṁ vilasitam=achi-
63 r-âṁśu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhir=âchandr-ârka-dhar-ârṇava-sthiti-samakâlaṁ yaśaś=chikî-
64 rshubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśêshaṁ paripâlanîyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna
65 Vyâsêna [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya
66 yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Svan=dâtuṁ sumahach=chhakyaṁ
67 duḥkham=anyasya pâlanaṁ [|*] dânaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ v=ētti(v=êti) dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [||*]
68 Svadattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ [|*] shashṭh(ṭ)iṁ varsha-saha-
69 srâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kri(kṛi)mir=iti [||*] **Dhanaṁjaya-Puṇyavallabhêna** likhita-
70 m=idaṁ.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishṇu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean.

(Lines 2 to 6.) The great king, the prosperous **Polekêśi-vallabha,** whose body was purified by the *avabhṛitha* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous **Chalukyas,** who belonged to the family of Mânavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hâritî, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kârttikêya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nârâyaṇa.

(Ll. 6 to 8.) His son was the prosperous **Kîrtivarman,** the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of **Vanavâsi**[2] and other countries of hostile kings.

[1] [Looks like *Vâjapeśarmmaṇaḥ*.—S. K.]

[2] Also called Banavâsi or Banavase.

Kêndûr Plates of Kîrtivarman II.—Śaka Samvat 672.

STEN KONOW.

SCALE 0·7

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LIT

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

iv b.

54 56 58 60

v.

(Ll. 8 to 9.) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paramêśvara* by defeating the prosperous **Harshavardhana**, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war.

(Ll. 10 to 16.) The dear son of that[1] asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was **Vikramâditya**, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called Chitrakaṇṭha, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three[2] kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the **Pâṇḍyas, Chôḷas, Kêraḷas, Kaḷabhras** and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,[3] whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of **Kâñchî** who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor.

(Ll. 16 to 20.) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of **Kavêra, Pârasîka, Siṁhaḷa** and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three[4] kings and the lord of **Kâñchî** at the command of his father, just as Kârtikêya, at the command of Śiva defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pâḷidhvaja*[5] and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was **Vinayâditya**, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 20 to 30.) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pâḷi*-banner,[5] the *ḍhakkâ*, the great musical instruments,[6] rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like Vatsarâja, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pâḷidhvaja* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was **Vijayâditya**, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 31 to 45.) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the **Pallava** king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the **Tuṇḍâka**[7] district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing **Pallava** king named **Nandipôtavarman,**

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[1] *Tasya* means "of one who is well-known or referred to above."

[2] Compare the expression *avanipatitritaya* with *trairâjya* in line 17. *Âtmasât-kṛitya* should be °*kṛitvâ*.

[3] Vikramâditya is compared to Indra.

[4] *Trairâjya* is used by Jinasêna in the following verse (*Âdipurâṇa*, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean Chôḷa, Kêrala and Pâṇḍya :—

prasâdhya dakshiṇâm=âśâṁ vibhus trairâjyapâlakân |
samaṁ praṇamayâm=âsa vijitya jayasâdhanaiḥ ||

[5] For the explanation of *pâḷidhvaja*, see my paper in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV. p. 104.

[6] The expression *mahâśabda* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhârata*, p. 211.

[7] Tuṇḍâkavishaya or Toṇḍai is a name of the Draviḍa country. Kâñchî [illegible] was the capital of it.

took[1] possession of particular musical instruments, called *kaṭumukhavâditra* and *samudraghôsha*, the *khaṭvâṅga-dhvaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays, who entered, without destroying it, the city of **Kâñchî**, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced Brâhmaṇas, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of Râjasiṁhêśvara and other gods, which had been caused to be built by **Narasiṁhapôtavarman**, who distressed **Pâṇḍya**, **Chôḷa**, **Kêraḷa**, **Kaḷabhra** and other kings by the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory[2] in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was **Vikramâditya**, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 46 to 54.) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir-apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues; who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of **Kâñchî**, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the **Pallava** king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father; who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, **Kîrtivarman**, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all;

(Ll. 55 to 61.) Be it known to you, **when six hundred and seventy-two years** of the **Śaka era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous** reign was **current**, when our victorious camp was located at **Raktapura**, on the **full moon of** Vaiśâkha during a lunar eclipse, the village named **Beppaṭṭi** surrounded by the villages named **Peṇbasaaru**, **Kisumaṅgalam**, **Suḷḷam** and **Perbbaḷḷi**, in the district of **Veḷvola**, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to **Râmaśarman**, well versed in the Vêdas and Vêdâṅgas, who was the son of **Mâkaya**, a performer of the *Vâjapêya* sacrifice, and the grandson of **Vâjappaśarman** of the Kâśyapa gôtra.

(Ll. 62 to 64.) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure.

(Ll. 65 to 70.) And it is said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including Sagara. Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit. It is very easy to give what is one's own; it is difficult to preserve what is given by others. Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better. He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by **Dhanañjaya**[3] **Puṇyavallabha**.

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[1] The expression *hastê-kṛitya* is not wrong; compare Dhanañjaya, *Dvisandhânakâvya* XIII. 36, and Bhaṭṭôji Dîkshita's remark on Pâṇini I. 4, 77: *svîkâramâtram=ity=anyê; hastê-kṛitya mahâstrâṇîti*. See *Padamañjarî*, p. 224 (Benares edition).

[2] Vikramâditya II. did not set up a pillar of victory; only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar.

[3] This must be the same person who composed the Vakkalêri grant five years later. A relative of his, perhaps his father, was Anivâritapuṇyavallabha, who wrote the Kâñchî inscription of Vikramâditya II. (above, Vol. III. p. 359 f.).

No. 29.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII. page 274.*)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more **dates of Chôḷa kings** (Nos. 137-158), and two dates (Nos. 159 and 160) of the king **Peruñjiṅgadêva,** "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôḷa sovereignty about A.D. 1231-32."[1] Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king **Râjâdhirâja [II.] Râjakêsarivarman,** of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced **between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.** The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong; but No. 142 reduces the period, during which **Râjarâja II.** must have commenced to reign, to the **time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A.D. 1146.**[2]

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa II. Râjakêsarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long.

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôḷa kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.— RAJARAJA I.

137.— In the Śivayôganâthasvâmin temple at Tiruviśalûr.[3]

1 Svasti śrî [|| —] Kô-Râjarâjakêsarivarmmakku yâṇḍu 5 âvadu ivv-âṭṭ[ai] [Dha]nu-[n]âyaṟṟu Nâyaṟṟu-kk[i]ḻamaiyum Mûlamum pakka-
2 m [4]prathipadamum kûḍiṉa vara-yôgatt[i]ṉ pôdu.

"**In the 5th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Râjarâjakêsarivarman,**— on the day of the auspicious *yôga* which was combined with the first *tithi* of a fortnight,[5] (the *nakshatra*) **Mûla** and a **Sunday** in the month of **Dhanus** of this year."

I have previously found[6] that Râjarâja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the **25th** June and the 25th July A.D. 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to **Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989,** which was the 8th day of the month of **Dhanus,** and on which the first *tithi* (of the bright half of Pausha) *commenced* 5 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Mûla,** by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious *yôga*— also called *amṛita-yôga*[7]— of a Sunday with the *nakshatra* Mûla, see above, Vol. VI. p. 21, No. 33, and note. Compare also Hêmachandra's *Śabdânuśâsana-vṛitti*, end of Adhyâya II. Pâda 2: *Mûlârkaḥ*[8] *śrûyatê śâstrê sarvakalyâṇa-kâraṇam* | *adhunâ Mûlarâjas=tu chitraṁ lôkêshu gîyatê* ||.

[1] See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p. 89.
[2] Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.
[3] No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.
[4] Read *pratipada°*.
[5] It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.
[6] See above, Vol. VII. p. 6.
[7] See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 114, No. 10.
[8] I.e. *Mûla-nakshatrêṇa yuktô 'rkaḥ sûryaḥ.*

138 and 139.— In the Amṛitaghaṭêśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyûr.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] [Tiru-ma]gaḷ . . . .
2 . . . . śrî-kôv=Irâjarâjakêsaripanmaṟku yâṇḍ[u] 16 vadu âgum yâṇḍu Pi-
3 [ra]ṭṭâdi=tti[ṅga]ḷ piṟ=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 eṭṭu]=kki[ḻa]mai[2] Tiṅgaḷ nâḷ Pu[ṉa]rpûśam . . . .
9 . . . . i[v*]v-[âṇḍêy] Tulâ-nâyaṟu pû[rvva-bha]kshat[tu] dvâ[da]śiyum Nâya[ṟ]u-kiḻa[m]ai[yum] peṟṟa Iraivadi . . .[3]

"In the year which was the 16th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Râjarâjakêsarivarman,**— on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8— eight—] of the second half of the month **Puraṭṭâdi** . . . . on [the day of] **Rêvati** which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Tulâ** in this year."

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000,** which was the 29th day of the month **Puraṭṭâdi** (*i.e.* the month of **Kanyâ**), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Âśvina) *commenced* 0 h. 55 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The second date apparently corresponds to **Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000.** This was the 18th day of the month of **Tulâ**, and on it the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kârttika)[4] ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise; but as the *nakshatra* was **Rêvatî** only from 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding *nakshatra*) Uttara-Bhadrapadâ.

140.— In the Śiva temple at Pêraṅgiyûr.[5]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] . . . . śrî-Râja-Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 2[4]âvadu . . . . i-yâṇḍu [6]Mṛiñchika-nâyaṟṟu pû[r]vva-pakshattu=P[pudaṉ]-kiḻamaiyum pañjamiyum peṟṟa Ti[ru]vô[ṇa]ttiṉ nâ[ḷ].

"In the 2[4]th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious **Râja-Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Śravaṇa,** which corresponded to the fifth *tithi* and to a **[Wednesday]** of the first fortnight of the month of **Vṛiśchika** in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Râjarâja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to **Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008,** which was the 12th day of the month of **Vṛiśchika,** and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mârgaśîrsha) ended 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was **Śravaṇa** the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original.

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[1] No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
[2] The letter *ḻa* is engraved below the line.
[3] Read *Rêvati-nâḷ*.
[4] *I.e.* the *utthâna-dvâdaśî-tithi* (the *tithi* of the awakening of Vishṇu).
[5] No. 208 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
[6] Read *Vṛiśchika-*.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amṛitaghaṭêśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyûr.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pû-mâlai m[i]ḍaindu . . . .
16 . . . . kô=Pparakêśaripatmar=â[na] Tribhuvana-chchakravatti-
17 gaḷ śrî-Vikrama-Śôḻadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 6 âṟ[â]vadu V[ṛi]śchi . . . . [2][y]aiyum [Bu]daṉ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Mṛigaśîrshatti=nâḷ.

"In the 6th— sixth — year (*of the reign*) of king Parakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôḷadêva, — on the day of **Mṛigaśîrsha**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the [second?] *tithi* of the . . . . [of the month of] **Vṛiśchi[ka]**."

The reign of Vikrama-Chôḷa has been found [3] to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and this date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123.** This was the 11th day of the month of **Vṛiśchika**, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kârttika) ended 4 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Mṛigaśîrsha**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142.— In the Grâmârdhanâthêśvara temple at Elvânâśûr.[4]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pû maruviya Tiru-mâdum . . . .
13 . . kô=Pparakêsari[pa]tmar=âna Tribhuvanachchakravar-
14 tigaḷ śrî-Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu [5] [1]5[vadu] [6] Mê-
15 sha-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu ashṭami[yu]m Budan-ki-
16 ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pûśatti-nâḷ.

"In the [1]5th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mêsha**."

With the result previously obtained [7] for the commencement of the reign of Râjarâja [II.] Parakêsarivarman, this date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161,** which was the 13th day of the month of **Mêsha** and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśâkha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Pushya,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

143.— In the Grâmârdhanâthêśvara temple at Elvânâśûr. [8]

4 . . . . kô=Pparakêśaripanmar=âna [Tri]bu-
5 vanachchakravattigaḷ śrî-Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nâya]ṟu [a]para-pa-
6 ksha[t*]tu navamiyum Nâyaṟṟu-ki[ḻa]maiyum peṟṟa A . . . . .

[1] No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
[2] Perhaps *dvitîyaiyum* is meant.
[3] See above, Vol. VII. p. 8.
[4] No. 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
[5] The letter *ṇ* is engraved below the line.
[6] The letters *vadu* are written in a group.
[7] See above, Vol. VIII. pp. 2 and 264.
[8] No. 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

"In the 1[7]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of A . . . . . ,[1] which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162, which was the 7th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mârgaśîrsha) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

The result shows that the *nakshatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel *a* remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta).—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Râjarâja II.

144.—In the Grâmârdhanâthêśvara temple at Elvânâśûr.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pû maruviya Tiru-mâdum . . . .

. . . . kô-

8 P[p]ara[k]êsaripatmar=âna Tribhuvana[ch]chakrava[r]tigaḷ śrî-Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 15[vadu][3] M[î]na-

9 nâyaṟṟu p[û]rvva-pakshattu pañ[jami]y[u]m Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa M[ṛi]gaśî[r]shatti=nâḷ.

"In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of Mṛigaśîrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mîna."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A.D. 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mêsha); but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (*pañ[jami]yum*) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamiyum*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mîna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h. 41 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśîrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the three dates, the date No. 142 would show that the reign of Râjarâja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D. 1146.[4]

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145.— In the Tyâgarâjasvâmin temple at Tiruvârûr.[5]

1 Svasti śr[î] ௳ Kaḍal śûḻnda pâr-mag[a]ḷu[m] . . . . .

2 . . . . . kô Râjakêsaripa[nma]r=âṇa Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattigaḷ śrî-Râjâdha(dhi)râjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 2[âvadu][6] Mêsha-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu shashṭhiyun=Diṅgaṭ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Puṉarpûśatti=nâḷ.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Râjakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjâdhirâjadêva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mêsha."

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[1] The name of the *nakshatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Aśvati (Aśvinî), Attam (Hasta), Aviṭṭam (Dhanishṭhâ) or Anuḷam (Anurâdhâ).

[2] No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[3] The letters *vadu* are written in a group.

[4] Compare the date No. 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.

[5] No. 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

[6] The word *âvadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2.

The five dates Nos. 145-149 are of the reign of a king **Râjâdhirâja Râjakêsarivarman**, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kaḍal śûḻnda*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the **28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163**. With such a commencement of his reign: —

This date, No. 145, corresponds to **Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164,** which was the 7th day of the month of **Mêsha,** and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaiśâkha) ended 19 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu,** by the Brahma-siddhânta *from* 7 h. 13 m., according to Garga *from* 9 h. 51 m., and by the equal space system *from* 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.—This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu *only from* 7 h. 13 m. (or later) after mean sunrise; and in the case of the date No. 106, above Vol. VIII. p. 263, where also the *nakshatra* was found to be Punarvasu *from* 8 h. 32 m. (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakshatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* Ârdrâ. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, instead of the *nakshatra* Ârdrâ in which the moon was at the commencement of the day.[1]

146.—In the Kapardîśvara temple at Tiruvalañjuḻi.[2]

1 Svasti [śrî] [||*] Kaḍal śûḻnda pâr-mâdarum . . . .

5 . . . . [kô] Râjakêsari[vanma]r= â[ṉa] Tribhuvanachchakrava[tti]-

6 gaḷ śrî-R[â]jâdhirâjadêvaṟku [y]âṇḍu [Sâ]vadu Siṁ[ha]-n[â]yaṟ[ṟu] [a]para-pakshattu [dv]âda[śiyu]m [Ti]-

7 [ṅga]ṭ-kiḻamai[yu]m peṟṟa [Puṉa]r[pû]śat[tu] nâ[ḷ].

"In the [8]th year (*of the reign*) of king **Râjakêsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjâdhirâjadêva,**— on the day of **Punarvasu,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170,** which was the 14th day of the month of **Siṁha,** and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrâvaṇa) *commenced* 2 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu,**[3] by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

147.— In the Tyâgarâjasvâmin temple at Tiruvârûr.[4]

1 [Sva*][sti] śrîḥ ||— Kaḍal śûḻnda pâr=ê[ḻu]n=diśai . . . .

7 . . kôv=Irâjakêsaripaṟmar=âṉa Tribhuvanachchakravattigaḷ śrî-Râjâdhirâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 10[âvadu][5] Mîṉa-nâ[yaṟ]u pûrvva-pakshattu trayôdaśiyuñ=Jevvây-kkiḻamai-yum peṟṟa Magattu nâḷ.

"In the **10th year** (*of the reign*) of **king Râjakêsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjâdhirâjadêva,**— on the day of **Maghâ,** which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mîna.**"

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[1] For other dates with *nakshatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare *e.g.* Nos. 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series.

[2] No. 627 of the Government Ep[illegible]hist's collection for 1902.

[3] A 12th *tithi* joined with the [illegible]ra Punarvasu is called *jayantî*; it is a *mahâ-dvâdaśî*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has [illegible]ed in the original date (as a current *tithi*).

[4] No. 540 of the Governm[illegible]hist's collection for 1904.

[5] The word *âvadu* seems to[illegible]d by a flourish added to the symbol for ten.

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173,** which was the 5th day of the month of **Mina**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phâlguna) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Maghâ**, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

148.— In the Darbhâraṇyêśvara temple at Tirunaḷḷâr.[1]

1 Svasti śrî[h] [||*] Kaḍal śûḻ[n]da [pâ]r-mâdarum . . . . . [k]ô-v=Irâ[śa]kêsar[i]paṛmar=â[na Tiribuva]ṉa[ch]chakkarava[t*]tig[aḷ] śri-I[â]j[â*]d[i]ra[ja*]dêvaṟku yâ[ṇ]-

2 ḍu padiṉ-oṉṟâvadu Siṁha-nâ[ya]ṟṟu pû[r]va-pasha(ksha)ttu pañjamiyu[m] Budaṉ-kiḻamai[y]um p[e]ṟṟa Śôd[i]-nâḷ.

"In the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of king **Râjakêsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Râjâdhirâjadêva,**— on the day of **Svâti,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Simha.**"

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173,** which was the 19th day of the month of **Simha,** and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Bhâdrapada) ended 13 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Svâti,** by the equal space system for 17 h. 44 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

149.—In the Vrishabhapurîśvara temple at Mêl-Śêvûr.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kaḍal śûḻnda pâr-m[â]darum . . .

2 . . . . kô Irâśakê[śa]ripatmar=âṉa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Râjâ[dhirâ*]jadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 13âvadu Kaṟkadaga-ṉâyaṟṟu=ppadinmu(mû)ṉṟân=dî(di)yadiy=[â]-

3 ṉa Budan-kiḻamaiyum=apara pakshattu êkâda[ś]iyum peṟṟa R[ô]śaṇi-nâḷ.

"In the 13th year (*of the reign*) of king **Râjakêsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Râjâ[dhirâ]jadêva,**— on the day of **Rôhiṇî,** which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a **Wednesday,** the thirteenth solar day of the month of **Karkaṭaka.**"

In the three hundred years from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, *viz.* Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181.

In A.D. 1097 the Karkaṭaka-saṁkrânti took place 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June; the first day of the month of **Karkaṭaka** therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was **Wednesday, the 8th July.** On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Âshâḍha) ended 5 h. 36 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In A.D. 1181 the Karkaṭaka-saṁkrânti took place 10 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June which was the first day of the month of **Karkaṭaka**; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was **Wednesday, the 8th July.** On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Âshâḍha) *commenced* 4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî,** by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system *from* 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

[1] No. 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

[2] No. 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

It is clear that if, as was assumed above, the reign of Râjâdhirâja Râjakêsarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand, I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures [1] only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really **Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181.** It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulôttuṅga III. Parakêsarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No. 94) of the 39th year of Kulôttuṅga III. corresponds to the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the reign of his successor Râjarâja III. commenced in June-July A.D. 1216; and of this king again we have two dates (Nos. 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Râjêndra-Chôḷa III. commenced in March-April A.D. 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Râjâdhirâja Râjakêsarivarman, *i.e.* **Râjâdhirâja II., commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.**

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

150.—In the Grâmârdhanâthêśvara temple at Elvânâśûr.[2]

1 Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Vîrar[â]jêndira-Śôḷadêvaṟk[ku] yâṇḍu 6vadu Magara nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakku[li]ttu[3] dvit[î]yaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḻamai[y]um peṟ[ṟa A]viṭṭatti=nâḷ.

"**In the 6th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vîrarâjêndra-Chôḷadêva,**— on the day of Śravishṭhâ, which corresponded **to a Monday** and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184,** which was the 22nd day of the month of **Makara,** and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Mâgha) *commenced* 5 h. 36 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Śravishṭhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

151.—In the Amṛitaghaṭêśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyûr.[4]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Puyal vâyppa . . . .
5 . . . . kô=[Ppa]rakêsaripaṉmar=âṉa [5]Tibuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ Madu[r]aiyum Pâṇḍi[ya]ṉaiyum muḍittalai-koṇḍ-aruḷiya śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Śôḷadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 16 vadu Mêsha-nâyaṟṟu pûrva-pakshattu [a]ṭṭamiyu[m]
6 Viyâḻa-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pûśatti=nâḷ.

"**In the 16th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Parakêsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,** who was pleased to take Madurai and the

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[1] Mr. Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are '13.' I would suggest that 'the thirteenth' solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down '13' also for the latter.

[2] No. 158 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[3] Read *-pakshattu.*

[4] No. 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[5] Read *Tribhu.*°

crowned head of the Pâṇḍya,—on the day of **Pushya** which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mêsha.**"[1]

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194,** which was the 7th day of the month of **Mêsha,** and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Pushya,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

152.—In the Śivayôganâthasvâmin temple at Tiruviśalûr.[2]

1 Svasti śrî ||— [Pu]yal vâppa . . . .
16 . . . . kô=P[pa]ra-
17 k[êśa]ri[pa]rmar=[â]ṉa T[i]ribuva[ṉa]chcha[kka]ravattigaḷ Ma[du]rai[yu]m [P]âṇ[ḍi]-
18 yan muḍi-ttalaiyuṁ=goṇḍ-aruḷi[na śrî-Kulô]ttuṅga-Śô[ḷa]-
19 dêvarkku yâṇḍu padiṉe[ṭ]ṭâva[du] Kum[bha]-nâya[ṟ]ṟu pûr[va]-paksha[ttu]
20 tri(tṛi)tîyaiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyum p[e]ṟṟa [Pû]rattu nâ[ḷ].

"**In the eighteenth year** (*of the reign*) **of king Parakêsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,** who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pâṇḍya,—on the day of **Pûrva-Phalgunî,** which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha.**"

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakshatra* could not possibly be Pûrva-Phalgunî; and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Pûrva-Phalgunî (*Pûrattu*) instead of Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ (*Pûraṭṭâdi*).[3] In my opinion, the date corresponds to **Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196,** which was the 10th day of the month of **Kumbha,** and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phâlguna) *commenced* 5 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ,** by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

153.—In the Vaṭâraṇyêśvara temple at Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu.[4]

1 [Sva]sti [śrî] [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Maduraiyu[m Î]ḻamum P[âṇ]ḍi[ya]n muḍittalai[yu]ṁ=go-
2 [ṇ]ḍ-aru[ḷi]na [śrî]-Kulôttuṅga-Śô[ḷa]d[ê]va[r]kku yâṇ[ḍu 2]3 vadu . . . .
. . . . . .
4 . . . . Kanni-nâyaṟ[ṟu]=ppadinâ[ṟâṉ=di]yadi[y]=â[ṉa] Śevvây-kka(kki)[ḻa]mai[ya(yu)]m pû[ru]va-[pa]ksha[t]-
5 tu [tṛi]tîyaiyum peṟ[ṟa] Śittirai-nâ[ḷ].

"**In the [2]3rd year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,** who was pleased to take Madurai, Îḻam and the crowned head of the Pâṇḍya,—on the day of **Chitrâ,** which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a **Tuesday** which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of **Kanyâ.**"

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200.** The preceding Kanyâ-saṁkrânti took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August; the first day of the month of **Kanyâ** therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

[1] Another inscription of the [1]6th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No. 42 of 1906). But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakshatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged. What is actually found is [*pû*] . . . . *miyum Viyâḻa-kkaḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pû[śattu] nâḷ.*

[2] No. 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

[3] Compare the date No. 50, above, Vol. VI. p. 283.

[4] No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Âśvina) *commenced* 7 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Chitrâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.—There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvitîyaiyum*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*tritîyaiyum*).

F.—RAJARAJA III.

154.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly.[1]

1 Svas[ti] śr[î] [||*] [Tri]bhuvanachchakravattigaḷ śrî-[2]Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 24[âvadu[3]] Mid[u]ṉa-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu êkâdaśiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiy[u]m peṟṟa [Ś]ôdi-nâḷ.

"**In the 24th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**—on the day of **Svâti**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mithuna.**"

The reign of Râjarâja III. has been found to commence[4] between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216. This date of the 24th year corresponds to **Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240,** which was the 9th day of the month of **Mithuna**, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyaishṭha) ended 3 h. 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Svâti**, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

155.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly.[5]

1 Svas[ti] śrîḥ [||*] Tribhu[va]ṉachchakravarttigaḷ śrî-[6]Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 2[9[7] âvadu[8]] Tulâ-nâyaṟṟu=ppûrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamaiyum [Ś]evvây-kiḻamaiyum peṟ-

2 ṟa Śôdi-nâḷ.

"**In the 2[9]th**[7] **year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**—on the day of **Svâti**, which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Tulâ.**"

The date, **for the 29th year,** regularly corresponds to **Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244,** which was the 7th day of the month of **Tulâ**, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of Kârttika) ended 12 h. 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Svâti**, by the equal space system for 15 h. 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.—For the 26th year of the reign of Râjarâja III. the date would be incorrect.

156.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly.[9]

1 Svast[i] śrî [||*] Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vattigaḷ śrî-[10]Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 2[9[10]âvadu[10]] Tulâ-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Śevvây-kka(kki)[ḻa]maiyum peṟṟa Ś[ôd]i-nâḷ.

"**In the 2[9]th**[10] **year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**—on the day of **Svâti**, which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Tulâ.**"

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[1] No. 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[2] This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *râja* placed side by side.

[3] This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

[4] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 260.

[5] No. 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[6] This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *râja* placed side by side.

[7] The second figure of the date might also be 6.

[8] This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

[9] No. 502 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[10] See the notes on the preceding date.

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to **Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.**

157.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly.[1]

1 Svast[i] śr[î] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḷ śr[î]-[2]Râjarâjadêvaṟku [y]âṇḍu 2[9 âvadu][3] Kumbha-nâyaṟṟu-ppû[r]vva-pakshattu navamiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḻa[m]aiyum peṟṟa Urôśaṉ[i]-nâḷ.

"In the **2[9]th year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Rôhiṇî,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha.**"

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245,** which was the 14th day of the month of **Kumbha,** and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phâlguna) *commenced* 1 h. 12 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

158.— In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly.[4]

1 Svast[i] śr[î] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gaḷ śr[î]-[2]Râjarâjadê[va]ṟku [y]âṇḍu 2[9âvadu][3] Kumbha-nâyaṟṟu=ppûrvva-pakshattu navam[i]yum Tiṅgaṭ-k[i]ḻa[m]aiyum peṟṟa Urôśaṉ[i]-nâḷ.

"In the **2[9]th year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**—on the day of **Rôhiṇî,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha.**"

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to **Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.**

G.— PERUNJINGADEVA.

159.—In the Jambunâtha temple at Jambai.[5]

1 Svasti śr[î] [||*] Śa[galabu]vaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-kô=Pperu[ñ]jiṅgadêva[ṟ]ku yâṇḍu 16vadu Daṉu-nâyaṟṟu pû[rvva-pakshattu] trayôdaś[i]yum Tiṅgaṭ-k[i]ḻamaiyu[m*] peṟṟa Urôśaṉ[i]-[6]nâḷ.

"In the **16th year** (*of the reign*) of the **emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Peruñjiṅgadêva,**— on the day of **Rôhiṇî,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of **Dhanus.**"

Above, Vol. VII. p. 165, I have found that the reign of Peruñjiṅgadêva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to **Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258,** which was the 14th day of the month of **Dhanus,** and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausha) *commenced* 7 h. 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî,** by the Brahma-siddhânta the whole day, according to Garga *from* 1 h. 19 m., and by the equal space system *from* 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rôhiṇî, this *tithi* is a *mahâ-dvâdaśî* (*pâpa-nâśinî*).

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[1] No. 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[2] This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *râja* placed side by side.

[3] This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

[4] No. 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

[5] No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[6] The syllables *śaṉ[i]* are repeated by mistake in the original.

160.— In the Grâmârdhanâthêśvara temple at Elvânâśûr.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] . . . . Śagalabuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-kô-[2]Pparuñ-
2 jiṅgadêvarkku yâṇḍu muppadâvadu Tulâ-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu
3 tri(tṛi)tîyaiyum Tiṅga[ḷ]-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Kâttigai-nâḷ.

"**In the thirtieth year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Peruñjiṅgadêva,**— on the day of **Kṛittikâ,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Tulâ.**"

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272,** which was the 13th day of the month of **Tulâ,** and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Âśvina) *commenced* 6 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikâ, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., by the Brahma-siddhânta for 0 h. 39 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Parântaka I. Parakêsarivarman.

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.)

No. 101 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 36, Kaliyuga 4044 (current) : Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943.
No. 55 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 40 : Saturday, the 25th July A.D. 946.

B.—Râjarâja I. Râjakêsarivarman.

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.)

No. 137 (Vol. IX. p. 207).—Year 5 : Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989.
No. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 66).—Year 7 : the 26th September A.D. 991.
No. 61 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 11 : Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 996.
No. 25 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 15 : Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 999.
No. 27 (Vol. V. p. 197).—Year 15 : Wednesday, the 15th May A.D. 1000.[3]
No. 138 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16 : Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000.
No. 139 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16 : Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000.
No. 2 (Vol. IV. p. 67).—Śaka 929 (current). The date is incorrect.
No. 140 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 24 ; Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008.[4]
No. 3 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Year 28, Saka 934. The date would correspond to the 23rd December A.D. 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C.—Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. Parakêsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A.D. 1012.)

No. 102 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 5 : Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017.
No. 32 (Vol. VI. p. 20).—Year 9, Śaka 943 (current) : Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020.
No. 4 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Śaka 943 (current) : Wednesday, the 1st March A.D. 1021.
No. 5 (Vol. IV. p. 69).—Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954 : Monday, the 23rd October A.D. 1032.

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[1] No. 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
[2] Read *-Pperuñjiṅga.*
[3] In the original the week-day is wrongly given as Thursday.
[4] The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday.

No. 33 (Vol. VI. p. 21).—Year 22, Śaka 955 : Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033.
No. 34 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959. The date is incorrect.
No. 62 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 31 : Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042 [1]

D.—Râjâdhirâja I. Râjakêsarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.)

No. 15 (Vol. IV. p. 218).—Year [3]2 (for 22) : Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039.
No. 12 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 26 : Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.
No. 13 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045.
No. 14 (Vol. IV. p 217).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046.[2]
No. 11 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 30 : Śaka 970 (current). The date does not admit of exact verification.
No. 35 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 35 : Śaka 975 :—probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.[3]

E.—Râjêndradêva Parakêsarivarman.[4]

(The 28th May A.D. 1052.)

No. 38 (Vol. VI. p. 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 : Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
No. 36 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 : Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
No. 37 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984. The date does not admit of exact verification.

F.—Vîrarâjêndra Râjakêsarivarman.[5]

(Between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.)

Vol. VII. p. 9.—Year 5 : Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067.

G.—Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I. Râjakêsarivarman (Râjêndra-Chôḷa II.)

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

No. 56 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073.
No. 39 (Vol. VI. p. 278).—Year 7, Śaka 998 : Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.[6]
No. 63 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086.
No. 6 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?). The date does not admit of exact verification.
No. 9 (Vol. IV. p. 72).—Śaka 1035 ; Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114.
No. 7 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 44 : Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.
No. 8 (Vol. IV. p. 71).—Year 45 : Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114.
No. 40 (Vol. VI. p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036 : Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.
No. 26 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 48 : Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118.
Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol. IV. p. 262, and Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 48 : Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.[7]

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[1] The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.
[2] The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.
[3] The 13th *tithi* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.
[4] In No. 37 surnamed Râjakêsarivarman.
[5] No. 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A.D. 1069-70).
[6] The month Mâgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phâlguna.
[7] In No. 28 the 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No. 20.

H.—Vikrama-Chôḷa Parakêsarivarman.

(The 29th June A.D. 1118.)

No. 21 (Vol. IV. p. 263, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 4 : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1122.
Nos. 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII. p. 262).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122.
No. 22 (Vol. IV. p. 264, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122.
No. 57 (Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Thursday, the 31st May A.D. 1123.
No. 10 (Vol. IV. p. 73, and Vol. VII. p. 4).—The 340th day of year 5 : Sunday, the 3rd June A.D. 1123.[1]
No. 141 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 6 : Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123.
No. 84 (Vol. VIII. p. 1).—Year 7 : Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124.
No. 105 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year 8 : Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1125.
No. 42 (Vol. VI. p. 280).—Year 9, Śaka 1049 : the 27th May A.D. 1127.[2]
No. 59 (Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 10 : Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A.D. 1128.[3]
No. 64 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 19th December A.D. 1128.
No. 58 (Vol. VII. p. 4).—Year 11 : Saturday, the 5th January A.D. 1129.
No. 65 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 15. The date does not admit of verification.
No. 41 (Vol. VI. p. 279, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 16: Monday, the 16th April A.D. 1134.
No. 43 (Vol. VI. p. 281, and Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) : Thursday, the 18th April A.D. 1135.

I.—Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa II.[4]

Vol. VII. p. 9.—Śaka 1056 (for 1065) : the 24th March A.D. 1143.

J.—Râjarâja II. Parakêsarivarman.

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A.D. 1146.)

No. 85 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1149.
No. 86 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152.
No. 89 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152.[5]
No. 87 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 12 : Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158.
No. 88 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 15 : Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161.
No. 144 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 15 : Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161.[6]
No. 142 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 15 : Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161.
No. 106 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year opposite to 16 : Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
No. 143 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 17 : Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162.

K.—Râjâdhirâja II. Râjakêsarivarman.

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.)

No. 145 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 2 : Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164.
No. 146 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 8 : Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170.
No. 147 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173.
No. 148 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173.
No. 149 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 13 (for 19 ?) : Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181 (?).

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[1] The 7th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

[2] The year Plava is wrongly quoted instead of Plavaṅga.

[3] In the original date either the *nakshatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.

[4] Perhaps identical with Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa II. Râjakêsarivarman, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15.

[5] The month of Mîna is wrongly quoted instead of Kumbha.

[6] The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th.

L.—Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III. Parakêsarivarman (Vîrarâjêndra-Chôḷa,[1] Tribhuvanavîra[2]).

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178.)

No. 66 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : Monday, the 11th August A.D. 1180.[3]
No. 67 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : the date is incorrect.
No. 107 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182.
No. 150 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 6 : Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184.
Nos. 108 and 109 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184.[4]
No. 68 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 22nd August A.D. 1184.
No. 23 (Vol. IV. p. 264).—Year 8 : Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185.
No. 90 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188.[5]
No. 19 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 12 : Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189.
No. 60 (Vol. VII. p. 6).—Year 14 : Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192.[6]
No. 110 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 16 : Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194.
No. 151 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194.
No. 24 (Vol. IV. p. 265).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194.[7]
No. 69 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Monday, the 13th February A.D. 1195.
No. 70 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1195.
No. 152 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 18 : Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196.[8]
No. 71 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Monday, the 2nd September A.D. 1196.[9]
No. 17 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 : Tuesday, the 12th November A.D. 1196.
No. 72 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Wednesday, the 30th April A.D. 1197.
No. 16 (Vol IV. p. 219).—Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119 : Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197.[10]
No. 111 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 20 : Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198.[11]
No. 31 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 20. The date is quite incorrect.
No. 73 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 7th April A.D. 1199.
No. 74 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Saturday, the 10th April 1199.[12]
No. 153 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 23 : Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200.
No. 112 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 23 : Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200.
No. 113 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 25 : Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202.[13]
No. 44 (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year 27 : Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205.
No. 29 (Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207.
No. 114 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 32 : Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209.[14]
No. 18 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 34 : Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.
No. 91 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 35 : Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213.
No. 92 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 36 : Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214.

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[1] This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years.
[2] This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year.
[3] I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date.
[4] The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.
[5] The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.
[6] The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second.
[7] The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.
[8] The *nakshatra* Pûrva-Phalgunî is wrongly quoted instead of Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ.
[9] The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.
[10] The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th.
[11] The *nakshatra* Uttarâshâḍhâ is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadâ.
[12] The month of Ṛishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mêsha.
[13] The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th.
[14] The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

No. 93 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 37 : Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214.
No. 30 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 37 : Sunday, the 7th June A.D. 1215.
No. 94 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 39 : Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217.

M.—Râjarâja III. Râjakêsarivarman.[1]

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.)

No. 115 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 2 : Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218.
No. 75 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 4 : Monday, the 22nd June A.D. 1220.
No. 76 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 5 : Wednesday, the 19th August A.D. 1220.[2]
No. 77 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year opposite to 6 : Thursday, the 13th October A.D. 1222.
No. 95 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year opposite to 8 : Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224.[3]
No. 116 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year opposite to 8 : Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225.[4]
No. 117 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 10 : Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226.
No. 78 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 21st April A.D. 1226.
No. 118 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 12 : Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227.
No. 119 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231.
No. 120 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232.
No. 45. (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year opposite to 16 : Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232.
No. 46 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 17 : Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233.
No. 47 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233.
No. 121 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233.
No. 48 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233.
No. 122 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233.
No. 49 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 18 : Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234.
No. 123 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 19 (for 18) : Sunday, the [illegible]1th June A.D. 1234.
No. 50 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 19 : probably Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234.[5]
No. 124 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234.
No. 125 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235.
No. 128 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 (?, for 21) : Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237.[6]
No. 51 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year 22 : Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238.[7]
No. 52 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239.
No. 53 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239.
No. 54 (Vol. VI. p. 285).—Year opposite to 22 : Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239.
No. 154 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 24 : Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240.
No. 126 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year opposite to 24 : Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241.
No. 127 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242.
Nos. 155 and 156 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 29 : Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.
Nos. 157 and 158 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 29 : Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.
No. 129 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 29 : Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245.
No. 130 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 30 : Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245.[8]

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[1] This surname occurs only in the date No. 45.

[2] The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th.

[3] The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

[4] [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mîna.

[5] In the original date either the *nakshatra* Uttiraṭṭâdi (Uttara-Bhadrapadâ) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttiram (Uttara-Phalgunî), or the first fortnight instead of the second.

[6] If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first.

[7] The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

[8] The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th.

No. 96 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248.
No. 97 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248.

N.—Râjêndra-Chôḷa III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246.)

No. 79 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 3 : Saturday, the 20th March A.D. 1249.
No. 98 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 4 : Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249.
No. 131 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250.
No. 80 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1252.
No. 83 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year opposite to 7. The date is intrinsically wrong.
No. 132 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 9 : Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255.
No. 133 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year opposite to 11 : Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257.
No. 134 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 16 (for 17) : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262.
No. 135 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264.[1]
No. 136 (Vol. VIII. p. 274).—Year 20 : Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266.
No. 81 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 30th June A.D. 1266.
No. 99 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 22 : Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267.
No. 82 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year 22 : Sunday, the 8th May A.D. 1267.

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O.—Peruñjiṅgadêva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

Vol. VII. p. 164, B.—Year 7 : Friday, the 30th July A.D. 1249.
No. 159 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 16 : Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258.
Vol. VII. p. 164, A.—Year 18, Śaka 1182 : Sunday, the 31st October A.D. 1260.
No. 160 (Vol. IX. p. 217).—Year 30 : Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272.
Vol. VII. p. 165, D.—Year 31 : Saturday, the 10th February A.D. 1274.

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P.—Tribhuvanavîra-Chôḷadêva.

(Between the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332.)

No. 100 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 11 : Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283.)

From the numerous dates of Pâṇḍya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, I here give five (Nos. 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos. 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that **Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268,** and **Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.**

[1] The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king **Râjakêsarivarman Vîra-Pâṇḍya,** according to Mr. Venkayya a ruler of Koṅgu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign **which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202** (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient *data* for exact verification, even where at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pâṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô Mâṟapaṇmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravattigaḷ śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍiya-dêvaṟku yâṇḍu 7vadu [Risha]bha-[nâyi]ṟṟu=ppadiṉm[û]ṉṟân=diyadiyum pûrvva-[2] mikshattu daśamiyum Nâyiṟṟu-kkiḻa-[3]

2 mai[yu]m peṟ[ṟa*] U[tti]rattu nâḷ.

"**In the 7th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,** — on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni,** which corresponded to a **Sunday,** to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of **Rishabha.**"

I have previously found [4] that the reign of Mâṟavarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II. commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245.** The preceding Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A.D. 1245, which was the first day of the month of **Vṛishabha**; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyaishṭha)[5] *commenced* 0 h. 43 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Mâṟavarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

B.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunêśvara temple at Kiḷaḍi.[6]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô Mâṟava[rmma]r=âṉa Tr[i]bhuvaṉachcha[ka]vattigaḷ[7] [em]maṇḍalamuṅ=goṇḍ-aruḷiya śr[î]-Kulaśêkharadêvaṟkku [yâ]ṇḍu 23vadu Mith[u]na-ṉâyaṟṟu 6 ti[8] pûrvva-pakshattu [tṛi]t[î]yai[yum] Veḷḷ[i]-kk[i]ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pûśattu nâḷ.

"**In the 23rd year** (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,** who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Pushya,** which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of **Mithuna.**"

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[1] No. 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[2] Read *-pakshattu.*

[3] The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure.

[4] See above, Vol. VI. p. 305.

[5] *I.e.* the *tithi* of the *Daśaharâ.*

[6] No. 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[7] Read °*chakra.*°

[8] The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadi.*

I have previously found [1] that the reign of Mâṟavarman Kulaśêkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A.D. 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to **Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291.** The preceding Mithuna-saṁkrânti took place 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A.D. 1291, which was the first day of the month of **Mithuna**; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Âshâḍha) ended 3 h. 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which **Mâṟavarman Kulaśêkhara I. must have commenced to reign,** to the time from **(approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268.**

65.—In the Arjunêśvara temple at Kiḷaḍi.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] . . . . śrî-kô Mâṟapaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvanachchakavattiga[l][3] e]mmaṇḍalamuṅ=goṇ[ḍ-a]ruḷiya śrî-Kulaśêgaradêvaṟku yâṇḍu 30vadiṉ edirâm=âṇḍu Ka[r]kkaṭaka-nâyaṟṟu 8 ti[4]m apara-pakshattu ê[k]âda[śi]yum peṟṟa Rôhiṇ[i]-nâḷ.

"**In the year opposite the 30th year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,** who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Rôhiṇî**, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of **Karkaṭaka.**"

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Mâṟavarman Kulaśêkhara I. this date regularly corresponds to **[Saturday], the 5th July A.D. 1298.** The preceding Karkaṭaka-saṁkrânti took place 17 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A.D. 1298. The first day of the month of **Karkaṭaka** therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Âshâḍha) ended 18 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 22 h. 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

66.—In the Bhûmîśvara temple at Guḍimallûr.[5]

1 Suvasi[6] [śrî] [||*] Kô Mâṟapaṉmar Ti[ru]buvaṉachchakkarava[t]ti śrî-Kula-[ś]êgaradêvaṟku yâṇḍu 12[âvadu][7] paṉṉ[i]raṇ[ḍâva]du [M]êsha-nâyaṟṟu pupu[ṟu]va-[8]pakshattu chatuttesiyuṁ Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Aviṭṭat[tu n]âḷ.

"**In the 12th—twelfth—year** (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** (*alias*) **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,**—on the day of **Dhanishṭhâ**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mêsha.**"

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishṭhâ on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mêsha. Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

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[1] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 278.

[2] No. 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[3] Read *°chakra.°*

[4] The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadiyu*.

[5] No. 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[6] Read *svasti.*

[7] The word *âvadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2.

[8] Read *pûrva-*.

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Mâṟavarman Kulaśêkhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Mâṟavarman Kulaśêkhara II. (which has been found [1] to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314) the date would regularly correspond to **Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325,** which was the 4th day of the month of **Mêsha,** and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h. 9 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date, and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Attattu nâḷ*, "the day of Hasta," instead of *Aviṭṭattu nâḷ*.

The date would prove that Mâṟavarman Kulaśêkhara II. could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A.D. 1314.

D.—JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

67.—In the Satyagirinâtha-Perumâḷ temple at Tirumaiyam.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Śrî-kô-[Chchaḍai]paṉmar=âṉa Tr[i]buvaṉaśa[kra]vatt[i]gaḷ śr[î]-Parâkk[i]ṟama-Pâ[ṇḍiyadê]varkku [â]ṇḍu 5vad[iṉ]

2 edir 7vadu . . . . -n[â]yaṟṟu apara-pakshattu dvâdiśiyum Nâyaṟṟu-kk[i]-ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttarâḍattu nâḷ.

"**In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king [Jaṭâ]-varman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva,—** on the day of Uttarâshâḍhâ, which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of . . . . ."

I have previously found[3] that Jaṭâvarman Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, *i.e.* of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to **Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369,** which was the 11th day of the month of **[Kumbha],** and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mâgha) ended 21 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system *from* 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jaṭâvarman Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A.D. 1357.

POSTSCRIPT.

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.[4]

In the Kariyamâṇikka-Perumâḷ temple at Vijayamaṅgalam.[5]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Naṉmaṅgalañ=jiṟakka [||*] [Śaga]r-yâṇḍu âyiratt=iru-nûṟṟ=iraṇḍil [kô]v=[Irâ]śa[k]êsaripa[ṉ]mar=âṉa [Tri]bhuvaṉachcha[kravat]-

2 tigaḷ śrî-Vîra-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu pa[di]ṉaiñjâvadu [6]Tu[l]â-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu=[7]Ttiṅgaṭ-kiḻamaiy[u]m daśamiyum pe[ṟṟa] Ut[t]irattu n[â]ḷ.

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[1] See above, Vol. VI. p. 315.

[2] No. 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

[3] See above, Vol. VII. p. 17.

[4] This king is neither a Pâṇḍya nor a Chôḷa, but a ruler of Koṅgu; see Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79.

[5] No. 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

[6] The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line.

[7] The guttural *ṅ* is engraved above the line.

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (*of the reign*) of king [Râ]jakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vîra-Pâṇḍyadêva**,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunî, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a **Monday** of the second fortnight of the month of **Tulâ**."

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired; but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect.

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to **Monday**, the 2nd October A.D. 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tulâ, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Âśvina) ended 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghâ and Pûrva-Phalgunî.

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A.D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tulâ, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Âśvina) ended 18 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pûrva-Phalgunî, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 10 m., according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the equal space system *from* 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for **Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current)**. For this year it would correspond to **Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293**, which was the 29th day of the month of **Tulâ**, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Kârttika**) ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was **Uttara-Phalgunî** during the whole of the day.

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of **the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A.D. 1279-80)** that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos. 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern List*.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara.

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A.D. 1190.)[1]

No. 2 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to 13: Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204.
No. 1 (Vol. VI. p. 301).—Year 12 opp. to 13: Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214.
No. 45 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13?): Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216(?).
No. 44 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 14 opp. to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217.

B.—Mâṛavarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.)

No. 6 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year 7: Monday, the 13th March A.D. 1223.
No. 5 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year 9: Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225.
No. 46 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230.

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[1] Or perhaps: Between the 7th October and the 29th November A.D. 1190.

No. 3 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234.

No. 4 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235.

C.—Mâṛavarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II.

(Between the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.)

No. 63 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245.
No. 10 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year 11: Sunday, the 25th April A.D. 1249.
Nos. 7 and 8 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11: Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251.
No. 9 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11; Wednesday, the 14th June A.D. 1251.[1]

D.—Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A.D. 1251.)

No. 11 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253.
No. 12 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253.
No. 13 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 3: Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253.
No. 17 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257.[2]
No. 14 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259.
No. 15 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259.
No. 16 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260.
No. 18 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 11: Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261.[3]

E.—Vîra-Pâṇḍya.

(Between the 11th November A.D. 1252 and the 13th July A.D. 1253.)

No. 32 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 7: Sunday, the 13th July A.D. 1259.
No. 31 (Vol. VII. p. 10).—Year 15: Thursday, the 10th November A.D. 1267.

F.—Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268.)

No. 20 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278.
No. 48 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 22: Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289.
No. 64 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 23: Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291.
No. 21 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 26: Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293.[4]
No. 19 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 27: Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294.
No. 49 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 30: Wednesday, the 31st July A.D. 1297.
No. 65 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year opp. to 30: Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298.
No. 50 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 34: Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301.[5]
No. 51 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 29 (for 39): Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306.
No. 22 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 40: Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308.
No. 47 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 40, Śaka 1229: Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308.

[1] The month of Mîna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna.
[2] In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyâ is quoted instead of Tulâ.
[3] Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday.
[4] The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.
[5] The 3rd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd.

G.—Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II.

(Between the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276.)

No. 25 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 6 : Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281.
No. 52 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 10 : Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285.
No. 54 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 12 : Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287.[1]
No. 26 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 12 : Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287.[2]
No. 53 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 11 (for 12) : Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287.
No. 23 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14) : Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289.
No. 24 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14) : Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289.
No. 27 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year opp. to 14 : Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290.
No. 55 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 2 opp. to 13 : Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290.[3]
No. 56 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 9 for 10(?) : Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286(?).[4]

H.—Mâṟavarman Kulaśêkhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.)

No. 29 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 4 : Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317.
No. 30 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 5 : Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319.[5]
No. 28 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year 8 : Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321.
No. 66 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year 12 : Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325.[6]

I.—Mâṟavarman Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya.

(Between the 1st December A.D. 1334 and the 1st November A.D. 1335.)

No. 33 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 6, Śaka 1262 : Wednesday, the 1st November A.D. 1340.
No. 34 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 8 (for 18) : Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J.—Jaṭâvarman Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

No. 67 (Vol. IX. p. 225).—Year 7 opp. to 5 : Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369.
No. 35 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 10 opp. to 5, Śaka 1293 : Friday, the 9th January A.D. 1372.

K.—Kôṉêraṉmaikoṇḍâṉ Vikrama-Pâṇḍya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.)

No. 59 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 4 : Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405 (?).[7]
No. 58 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 8 : Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408.
No. 57 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 15, opp. to 2, Śaka 1339 : Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418.

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[1] The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th.

[2] The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

[3] The [first day of the] month of Kanyâ is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Siṁha.

[4] This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J. Sundara-Pâṇḍya I., corresponding to Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259.

[5] The date is intrinsically wrong. The month of Siṁha is wrongly quoted instead of Mîna, and the *nakshatra* Pushya (*Pûśat'u nâḷ*) instead of Pûrva-Phalgunî (*Pûrattu nâḷ*).

[6] The *nakshatra* Dhanishṭhâ (*Aviṭṭattu nâḷ*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Attattu nâḷ*).

[7] In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

L.—Jaṭilavarman Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya Arikêsaridêva.

(Between the 18th June and the 19th July A.D. 1422.)

No. 37 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year opp. to 31: Thursday, the 19th July A.D. 1453.[1]

No. 36 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 2 opp. to 31, Śaka 1377: Monday, the 24th March A.D. 1455.

No. 38 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 4 opp. to 31: Wednesday, the 16th March A.D. 1457.

No. 39 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 8 opp. to 31, Śaka 1381: Wednesday, the 17th June A.D. 1461.[2]

M.—Mâṛavarman Vîra-Pâṇḍya.

(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443).

No. 60 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 11 opp. to 2: Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455.

No. 61 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14: Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457.

No. 62 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14: Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457.

N.—Jaṭilavarman Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya Kulaśêkhara.

(Between the 15th November A.D. 1479 and the 14th November A.D. 1480.)

No. 40 (Vol. VII. p. 14).—Year 20, Śaka 1421: Thursday, the 14th November A.D. 1499.

O.—Mâṛavarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya III.

(Between the 2nd June A.D. 1531 and the 1st June A.D. 1532.)

No. 42 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 22 opp. to 2, Śaka 1477: Saturday, the 1st June A.D. 1555.

P.—Jaṭilavarman Śrîvallabha.

(Between the 29th November A.D. 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535.)

No. 41 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 3, Śaka 1459: Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537.

Q.—Jaṭilavarman Śrîvallabha Ativîrarâma.

(Between the 23rd August A.D. 1562 and the 22nd August A.D. 1563.)

No. 43 (Vol. VII. p. 16).—Year 5, Śaka 1489: Friday, the 22nd August 1567.

No. 31.— TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr. Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chôḷa documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamiḻ text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 98, does not contain any misreadings.[3] But the translation on p. 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chôḷa inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

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[1] Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday.

[2] Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st.

[3] Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'); the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p. 232 below.

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a collotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill of **Tirumalai** near **Pôḷûr** in the North Arcot district. The **language** is Tamiḻ, and the **alphabet** is likewise Tamiḻ, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti śrî*, l. 1 ; *shai* of *vishaiya*, l. 9 ; *Mahî*°, l. 10 ; *Śrî-Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva* and *ja* of *Jayaṅgoṇḍa*, l. 12 ; *śrî*, *Jina* and *dêva*, l. 13 ; *vyâpâri*, l. 13 f.).

The inscription is dated in **the 13th year** of the reign of the Chôḷa king **Parakêsarivarman** *alias* **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva I.** (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A.D. 1012.[1] Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamiḻ verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru maṉṉi*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundêvaṉâr's commentary on the *Vîraśôḻiyam*.[2]

The list of conquests opens with Iḍaiduṟai-nâḍu (l. 1 f.), *i.e.* the country of **Yeḍatore** in the Mysore district, and Vaṉavâśi, *i.e.* **Banavâsi** in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of Koḷḷippâkkai, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Râjâdhirâja I. in the course of a war against Sômêśvara I. and Vikramâditya VI.,[3] and it is mentioned as **Koḷḷipâke** in an inscription of Jayasiṁha II.[4] Maṇṇai-kaṭaka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of **Maṇṇe** in the Nelamaṅgala tâluka of the Bangalore district.[5]

Îḻam (l. 2) or Îḻa-maṇḍala (l. 3) is the Tamiḻ designation of the island of Ceylon. Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the **Pâṇḍya** king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon : a crown and the 'necklace of Indra.' Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahâvaṁsa* (chapter LIII.) also refers to the crown of the Pâṇḍya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôḷas,[6] and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pâṇḍya inscriptions.[7]

The **Kêraḷa** (l. 3) is the king of Malabar. Śândimattîvu (l. 5), *i.e.* the island of Śântimat (?), is unknown. **Muśaṅgi** is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchchaṅgi in the Bellary district.[8] **Jayasiṁha** of **Raṭṭa-pâḍi** (l. 6), who was put to flight at Muśaṅgi, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II.[9]

Śakkaragôṭṭam, *i.e.* **Chakrakôṭṭa**, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ.[10] **Madura-maṇḍala** (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pâṇḍya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At Âdinagar (?) Râjendra-Chôḷa I. captured **Indraratha** of the race of the Moon (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,[11] this prince may be identical with that **Indraratha** who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ.

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[1] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 196 ; above, Vol. VIII. p. 262.

[2] Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 197.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 52.

[4] Above, Vol. III. p. 231. Compare also Vol. VI. pp 224, 225 and 227 (*Kollipâkâ*).

[5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. p. 10 of the Introduction.

[6] *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 63 f. ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 72 and note 78.

[8] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 94, note 4.

[9] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 96.

[10] *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 132.

[11] *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Odda-vishaya (l. 9) is the province of Orissa, and **Kôsalai-nâḍu** is probably *Southern* Kôsala.[1] Taṇḍabutti, *i.e.* Daṇḍabhukti, and its ruler Dharmapâla are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Raṇaśûra, who ruled over Takkaṇalâḍam (l. 10), *i.e.* **Dakshiṇa-Virâṭa**[2] or Southern Berar, and with Gôvindachandra,[3] the ruler of **Vaṅgâḷa-dêśa**, *i.e.* the Bengal country. **Mahîpâla**, whom the Chôḷa king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Pâla king Mahîpâla I.[4]

The list of conquests closes with **Uttiralâḍam** (l. 11), *i.e.* **Uttara-Virâṭa** or Northern Berar, and the **Gaṅgâ**, *i.e.* the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll. 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of **Malliyûr** in **Karaivaḻi**, a subdivision of **Perumbâṇappâḍi**. The temple was called Śrî-Kundavai-Jinâlaya (l. 13), *i.e.* the Jina temple of Kundavai. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to **Kundavai**, the daughter of Parântaka II., elder sister of Râjarâja I. (and consequently the paternal aunt of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.) and wife of **Vallavaraiyar** Vandyadêvar.[5] The sacred hill (**Tirumalai**) is stated to have formed part of **Vaigavûr**, a *paḷḷichchandam, i.e.* 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'[6] in **Mugai-nâḍu**, a subdivision of **Paṅgaḷa-nâḍu**, a district of **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-maṇḍala**. Malliyûr is the modern **Guḍimallûr** near Arcot.[7] The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89, and above, Vol. VII. p. 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No. 20. Mr. Venkayya has shown that my former identification of **Kaḍâram** with a place in the Madura district[8] must be wrong, because the Chôḷa king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, **Nakkavâram** and **Pappâḷam**, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.[9] Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *niṟaiśîr-viśaiyamum*, and in line 11 *kalai-ttakkôr pugaḻ talai-ttakkôlamum*. The second of them, **Takkôlam**, may be identical with Ptolemy's Τάκωλα ἐμπόριον, which Colonel Gerini places at Takôpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.[10] Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kaṇḍiyûr near Tanjore reads *niṟai-śrîvishaiyamum*, 'the prosperous Śrîvishaya.'[11] This may be the correct reading; for according to the larger Leiden grant (l. 80) **Śrîvishaya** was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Kaṭâha or Kaḍâram.

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[1] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 97.

[2] In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 87 f., Mr. Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Iḻâḍa* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lâṭa* (Gujarât), but to *Virâṭa* (Berar).

[3] Page 34 of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note:—"The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śêramâṉ, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karûr) and a Gôvindachandra (king of Kannâḍa)."—*Kannâḍa* (= Kannaḍa or Karṇâṭa?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkaṇalâḍam*, which happens to precede the name *Gôvindaśandaṉ* (l. 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to Karuvûr, is probably derived from *Âdinagar-avai* (l. 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

[4] *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 4.

[5] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 68. For three other princesses named Kundavai see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 298, note 13, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 100.

[6] Above, Vol. VII. p. 116, note 1.

[7] See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p. 36 f., Nos. 418, 416 and 419.

[8] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 106.

[9] *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p. 17. Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 194 f.

[10] *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p. 247.

[11] See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p. 4.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Tiru manni vaḷarav=iru-nila-maḍandaiyum pôr-chchaya-ppâvaiyuñ=jîr-ttaṉi-chchelviyu[m]=daṉ perun-dêviyar=âgi iṉb=uṟu neḍ-udiyal ûḻiyuḷ Iḍaidu-
2 ṟai-nâḍun=duḍar-vaṉa-vêli-ppaḍar Vaṉavâśiyuñ=juḷḷi-chchûḻ-maḍiḷ=Koḷḷippâkkaiyu=naṇṇaṟk-aru-muraṇ Maṇṇaikkaḍakkamum poru-gaḍal Îḻatt=araś[a]rda=muḍiyum ânga-
3 var dêviyar=ôṅg-eḻil-muḍiyu=muṉṉ=avar pakkal=Ttennavar vaitta śundara-muḍiyum Indiraṉ=âramun=deṉ-ḍirai Îḻa-maṇḍala=muḻuvadum eṟi-baḍai=Kkêraḷar
4 muṟaimaiyiṟ=chûḍuṅ=gula-daṉam=âgiya palar pugaḻ muḍiyuñ=Jeṅgadir-mâlaiyuñ=jaṅg-adir-vêlai-ttol-peruṅ-gâvaṟ=pal-baḻan-di(dî)vuñ=jeruviṟ=cheṉa-
5 vil[1] irubatt-oru-gâl=araiśugaḷai katta Paraśurâmaṉ mêv-aruñ=Jândimattivv-araṇ[2] karudi iruttiya śem-boṟ-Ṟiru-ttagu-muḍiyum bayaṅ=goḍu paḻi miga Muśaṅgiyil mu-
6 dug-iṭṭ=oḷitta Śayaśi(śi)ṅgaṉ [3]aḷa-pperum-bugaḻoḍum pîḍ-iyal Iraṭṭabâḍi êḻ-arai ilakkamu=nava-nedi-kkula-pperu-malaigaḷum vikkirama-vîrar Śakkaragôṭṭamu=
7 muḍira-baḍa-vallai Madura-maṇḍalamum kâ-miḍai-vaḷaiya=Nâmaṇaikkôṇamum veñ-jilai-vîrar Pañjappaḷḷiyum pâś-uḍai-ppaḻa=naṉ-Mâśuṇi-dêśamum ayarvi-
8 l-vaṇ-gi(gî)rttiy=Âdinagar-avaiyiṟ=Chandiraṉ=ṟol-gulatt=Iradaraṉai[4] viḷaiy=amarkkaḷattu=kkiḷaiyoḍum piḍ[it]tu=ppala-daṉattoḍu niṟai kula-daṉa-kkuvai-
9 yuñ=[ki]ṭṭ-aruñ=jeṟi-miḷaiy=[5]Oṭṭa-vishaiyamum bûśurar śêr nal-Kkôśalai-nâḍun=Daṉmabâlaṉai vem-muṉaiy=aḻittu vaṇḍ-uṟai-śôlai=Ttaṇḍayu(bu)ttiyum=Iraṇa-
10 śûraṉai muraṉ=uṟa=ttâkki=ttikk-aṇai-gi(gî)rtti=Ttakkaṇalâḍamuṅ=Gôvindaśandaṉ mâv=iḻind=ôḍa=ttaṅgâda-śâral Vaṅgâḷa-dêśamun=dôḍu-gaḍaṟ-chaṅgugoṭṭaṉ=[6]Mahîbâlaṉai
11 veñ-jama[r*]-vaḷâgatt=añjuvitt=aruḷi oṉ-ḍiṟal yâṉaiyum peṇḍir-baṇḍâramu=nittila-neḍuṅ-gaḍal=Utti[ra]lâḍamum veṟi-maṇaṟ-ṟîrtta-tteṟi-buṉaṟ=Kaṅgaiyu=mâ-p-
12 poru-daṇḍâṟ=koṇḍa kô=Pparagêśaribaṉmar=âṉa uḍaiyâr Śrî-Râjêndra-Chôḷadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 13âvadu [Ja]yaṅgoṇḍa-Śôḻa-maṇḍalattu Paṅgaḷa-nâṭṭu naḍuvil
13 va[g]ai Mugai-nâṭṭu=ppaḷḷichchandam Vaigavûr=Ttirumalai Śrî-Kundavai-Jinâlayattu dêvaṟku=Pperumbâṇappâḍi=Kkaraivaḻi Malliyûr irukkum vyâ-
14 pâri Nannappayaṉ maṇavâṭṭi Śâmuṇḍappai vaitta tirunandâviḷakku oṉṟinukku=kkâśu irubadum [tiru]vamudukku vaitta kâśu pattum [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

(L. 12.) In the **13th year** (*of the reign*) of king **Parakêsarivarman** *alias* the lord **Śrî-Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva**, who,—

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[1] Read =*chinavi*. [2] Read °*ttiv-araṇ*.

[3] Other inscriptions read *aḻapp-arum*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 93, note 5.

[4] Read =*Indraradaṉai*. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner:— (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandira*, the third word before it. (2) The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads =*Indiradaṉai*. (3) *Indraratha* is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings.

[5] The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads *kiṭṭ-aruñ=jeṟi-miṉai*.

[6] Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No. 20, *tôḍu-gaḍaṟ-chaṅguv-oṭṭal*.

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(L. 1.) in (*his*) life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmî), having become constant, was increasing, (*and*) while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(L. 11.) seized by (*his*) great, warlike army (*the following*) :—

(L. 1.) **Iḍaidurai-nâḍu**; **Vaṇavâśi**, (*round which*) a fence of continuous forests was spreading;[1] **Koḷḷippâkkai**, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood;[2] **Maṇṇai-kkaḍakkam**, whose strength was unapproachable;[3] the crown of the king of **Îḻam** (*on*) the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (*king*); the beautiful crown[4] and the necklace of Indra, which the king of the South (*i.e.* the **Pâṇḍya**) had previously deposited with that (*king of* Îḻam); the whole **Îḻa-maṇḍala** (*on*) the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting (*king of*) **Kêraḷa** rightfully wore; many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmî), which Paraśurâma, having considered the fortifications of **Śândimattîvu** impregnable, had deposited (*there*), when, in anger, (*he*) bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven and a half *lakshas* of **Iraṭṭabâḍi**, (*which was*) strong by nature, (*and which he took*), together with immeasurable fame, (*from*) **Jayasiṁha**, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at **Muśaṅgi** and hid himself; the principal great mountains (*which contained*) the nine treasures (*of* Kuvêra);[5] **Śakkaragôṭṭam**, whose warriors were brave; **Madura-maṇḍala**, whose forts (*bore*) banners (*which touched*) the clouds; **Nâmaṇaikkôṇam**, which was surrounded by dense groves; **Pañchappaḷḷi**, whose warriors (*bore*) cruel bows; the good **Mâśuṇi-dêśa**, whose fruits were fresh; a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures, (*which he carried away*) after having captured **Indraratha** of the old race of the **Moon**, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the hall (*at*) **Âdinagar**, (*a city*) which was famous for unceasing abundance; **Oḍḍa-vishaya**, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fights; the good **Kôśalai-nâḍu**, where Brâhmaṇas assembled; **Taṇḍabutti**, in whose gardens bees abounded, (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed **Dharmapâla** (*in*) a hot battle; **Takkaṇalâḍam**, whose fame reached (*all*) directions, (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked **Raṇaśûra**; **Vaṅgâḷa-dêśa**, where the rain-wind never stopped, (*and from which*) **Gôvindachandra** fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant;[6] elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field **Mahîpâla**, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; **Uttiralâḍam**, as rich in pearls as the ocean; and the **Gaṅgâ**, whose waters dashed against bathing-places (*tîrtha*) covered with sand,—

(L. 12.) Châmuṇḍappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided (*at*) **Malliyûr** (*in*) **Karaivaḷi**, (*a subdivision*) of **Perumbâṇappâḍi**, deposited twenty *kâśus* for one perpetual lamp and ten *kâśus* for offerings to the god of the **Śrî-Kundavai-Jinâlaya** (*on*) the holy mountain (**Tirumalai**) of **Vaigavûr**, a *paḷḷichchandam* in **Mugai-nâḍu**, a subdivision (*vagai*) in the middle of **Paṅgaḷa-nâḍu**, (*a district*) of **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-maṇḍala**.

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[1] It seems most natural to take *paḍar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskṛit *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior.'

[2] This was perhaps done by the besieging Chôḷa army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *ŝuḷḷi* the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* notes the following:—'broutilles, menu bois sec pour brûler.'

[3] Other inscriptions read *naṇṇaṛk-arum-araṇ*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable.'

[4] It seems more simple to take the first member of *ŝundara-muḍi* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara.'

[5] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 95, note 1.

[6] Compare *pagaḍ=iḻind=ôḍa*, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 34, text line 7 f.

No. 32.—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI; KOLLAM 149.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Mâmballi bhaṇḍârattil of the Mâmballi *maṭha* and was secured for me for publication by Mr. S. Govinda Pillai, High Court Vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same *maṭha*, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kiḷappêrûr [1] dynasty of the Vêṇâḍu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrî-Vîra-Dêvadaraṅ-Kêraḷavarman of Kiḷappêrûr.[2]

The plate measures $10\frac{1}{3}'' \times 3\frac{1}{7}''$ and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayâḷam characters, the word Mâmballi. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet. The words *svasti* and *śrî* in line 1; the letter *śrî* occurring in the name Śrîvallavaṅgôḍai in lines 7, 18 and 19; *rakshi°* and *rakshâ°* occurring in the words *rakshichchu* and *rakshâbhôgam* in l. 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom; this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pû* (of *pûṅgâ* in l. 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *hra*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast: *e.g. irundaruḷiy=êḍattu vaichchu*, (= at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in l. 5; *paṭṭâra-gakkoḷḷa* for *paṭṭâragarkk=uḷḷa* (= belonging to the *bhaṭṭâraka*) in lines 6 and 12; *ari* for *ariśi* (= rice) in l. 9; *Muruṅaiyûr* for *Muruṅgaiyûr* in l. 21; *Śaññaran* for *Śaṅgaran* in l. 22; *rakshichchu* for *rakshittu* in l. 12. The phrase *nâṇâḷichcheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayâḷam language into *nâṇaḷichche*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vêṇâḍu king Śrîvallavaṅgôḍai.[3] It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

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[1] [Kiḷappêrûr is annexed as the house-name of the Vêṇâḍ (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV, p. 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Âṟṟiṅgal, which is the hereditary domain of H. H. the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr. Nagamaiya's *Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 579). The country round Âṟṟiṅgal seems to have been known as Kûpadêśa in ancient times. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vêṇâḍu and Kûpadêśa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vêṇâḍu kings are said to have assumed the family name Kiḷappêrûr after this annexation.—V. Venkayya.]

[2] [This name occurs without the title *vîra* in a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription from Vîraṇam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kêraḷavarman II. and assigned A.D. 1193 for his date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 283).—V. V.].

[3] [In the name Śrîvallavaṅgôḍai *kôdai* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vêṇâḍu. The first part of the name, *i.e.* Śrîvallavaṉ (Śrîvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vêṇâḍu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrîvallavaṅgôḍai be a similar compound, Śrîvallavaṉ or Śrîvallabha might be the name of a Pâṇḍya king. The Pâṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vîra-Pâṇḍya, with whom the Chôḷa Âditya II. is said to have fought in his youth. Vîra-Pâṇḍya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chôḷa (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Śuchîndram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrîvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pâṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Singhalese chronicle *Mahâwaṁsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 975-991 by Vallabha, the Chôḷa king (Mr. Wijesiṁha's *Translation*, Chapter LIV, p. 85). It is, however, doubtful if the Chôḷas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Singhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Mâmballi plate was a Chôḷa feudatory. The history of the Chêras is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrîvallabha, whose feudatory the Vêṇâḍu ruler might have been in A.D. 973, belonged.—V. V.]

on a **Sunday** corresponding to the **Aśvati-nakshatra** in the month **Vṛiśchika** when the planet **Jupiter** stood in the constellation **Tulâ**. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date :—" If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to **Sunday, the 9th November A.D. 973**, which was the 15th day of the month of **Vṛiśchika**, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśira ended 11 h. 12 m., while] the *nakshatra* was Rêvatî for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise, and **Aśvinî (Aśvati)** for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was 191° 44′, and his true longitude 195° 27′, *i.e.* in either case **Jupiter was in the sign Tulâ**."

" The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* Aśvinî, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and I have no doubt whatever that either Aśvinî (Aśvati) has been quoted erroneously instead of Rêvatî, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,[1] the date would regularly correspond to **Monday, the 10th November A.D. 973**, the 16th day of **Vṛiśchika**, when the *nakshatra* was **Aśvinî (Aśvati)** for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign **Tulâ**."

The inscription informs us that **Umaiyammai of Tirukkalayapuram**, daughter of **Âdichchan**, set up a *bhaṭṭâraka* (image) in the temple at **Ayurûr**. The king Śrîvallavaṅgôdai made a gift of land to Umaiyammai for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaṭṭâraka* set up in the Ayurûr temple; and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the **Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr** temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poduvâḷs* of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poduvâḷs* of the temple of Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nâḻis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paṟais* (of 9 *nâḻis* each) of paddy.[2] If the word *uḍai* used in l. 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of '*of* or *belonging to*,' the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that Umaiyammai was a near relation of Śrîvallavaṅgôdai — either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrîvallavaṅgôdaiy=uḍai Âdichchaṉ=Umaiyammai* means Âdichchaṉ Umaiyammai *belonging to* Śrîvallavaṅgôdai. She might perhaps be the daughter of the **Chôḻa king Âditya II.**,[3] to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *uḍai* be a mistake for *iḍai* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.[4]

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *aṭṭippêṟu* (ll. 8 and 19) implies 'acquisition by the pouring of water.' This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, *etc.*[5] The meaning of the expressions *kîḻîḍu* and *iḍaiy=îḍu* is not definitely known. *Kîḻ-îḍu* literally means 'that which is placed under,'[6] and *iḍaiy=îḍu*, 'that which is placed in the middle.' A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kîḻîḍu* with reference to that person. If this person sublet to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *iḍaiy=îḍaṉ*, *i.e.* he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poduvâḷ* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

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1 [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p. 236, the name of the week-day is engraved over an erasure.—F. K.]

2 [See below, p. 238, note 3.—V. V.]

3 [The record may belong either to the reign of Âditya II. or of his successor Madhurântaka. If Umaiyammai was the daughter of the Chôḻa king Âditya II., it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of Tirukkalayapuram. In all probability she was a private individual.—V. V.]

4 [See below, p. 238, note 10.—V. V.]

5 [See below, p. 237, note 12.—V. V.]

6 [Compare Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292.—V. V.]

become the name of a sub-caste among the **Ambalavâsi** section of the Malayâḷis. Then again, the word *ûrâḷan* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *adhikâri* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamiḻ and Malayâḷam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,'[1] and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukkâlvaṭṭam* implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavatî temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhaṭṭâraka* set up by Umaiyammai might be taken to be **Bhagavatî**. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vaṭṭam* (circuit or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhaṭṭâraka* instead of *bhaṭṭârakî* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavatî temple in the present instance. How *mukkâlvaṭṭam* came to mean a Bhagavatî temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śiṟṟûrnaḍai* and *Śiṟṟûrnaḍai-ttaṇḍam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are:—**Kollam, Tirukkalayapuram, Ayirûr, Tiruchchengunṟûr, Iḍaiyâmaṇam, Muruṅṅaiyûr, Maṇalmûkku, Puṇalûr** and **Kuḍagôṭṭûr.** Of these Kollam, Ayirûr and Tiruchchengunṟûr are the modern **Quilon, Ayirûr** and **Chengunnûr**[2] (the head-quarters of the tâluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Iḍaiyâmaṇam might be identified with Edamaṇ, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway; and Punalûr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT.[3]

First Side.

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kollan=dôṉṟi nûṟṟu-nâṟpattoṉbadâm=âṇḍu Tul-
2 ttuḷ Viyâḷa=niṉṟa Mirichchiga ñâyiṟṟu [Ñâyiṟ=âṇḍa][4]
3 Achchuvadi i-nnâ[ḷ]âl Kollattu=p[pû]ṅgâviṉ kôyiluḷ=uya-
4 riya koṭṭiluḷ Tiruchchengunṟûr=pparuḍai=pperu-makkaḷ kûṭṭa-
5 ṅ=gûḍi irundaruḷiy=eḍattu[5] vaichchu Tirukkalaiyapuratt=Âdichchaṉ=Umaiyammai
6 Ayururiṟ=piradiṭṭai-śeyda paṭṭâragaraiyum paṭṭâragarkkoḷḷa[6] pûmiyum Âdi-
7 chchaṉ=Umaiyammaikku [nî]rôḍ=aṭṭi-kkoḍuttâṉ Vêṇâḍ=uḍaiya Śrîvallavaṅgôdai [||*] Âdich-
8 chaṉ=Umaiyammai tâṉ=aṭṭiṟpêṟu koṇḍadu Tiruchchengunṟûr=ppaṭṭâraga-
9 rkku=kkîḻ-îḍây=chchiṟṟûr naḍaiy=oḍu kûḍa nâṉâḻi=chchey[da]ri tiruvamudi-
10 ṉukkum [o]ṉbadi=ṉâḻi=ppaṟaiyâl irunûṟu paṟai=chche[y]du nel âṇḍu-
11 varai kuḍuppidâga=ppoḍuvâḷ kaiyyil nîrôḍ=aṭṭi=kkuḍuttâḷ [||*] Ayurûr mu-
12 kkâl-vaṭṭamum paṭṭârakkoḷḷa[7] iḍaiy-îḍum rakshichchu koḍuttu rakshâpôgaṅ=

[1] [The word *adhikârin* is also used in the sense of 'minister;' *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 92, and above Vol. VII. p. 196.—V. V.]

[2] [According to Mr. Nagamaiya the village is called Chengannur (*Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 581) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavatî, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V. V.]

[3] From the original copper plate.

[4] This portion is engraved over an erasure.

[5] Read *irundaruḷiyay-iḍattu.*

[6] Read *paṭṭâragarkkuḷḷa.*

[7] Read *paṭṭâragarkkuḷḷa.*

Mamballi plate of Srivallavangodai.—Kollam 149.

13 goḷḷakkaḍaviyar poduvâḷmâr [||*] i-pparisu śeyda kîḻ-îṭṭil ûrâḷarâga i-
14 ḍaiy-îḍarâga pukku viḷakkavum poruḷ kavaravum peṟâr [||*] [1] idâ[ṉṉâli]l=oṉṟu

Second Side.

15 śeyyumavaṉ [2]yeppêṟṟu-vagai chchiṟṟûr-naḍai=ttaṇḍam irunûṟṟu=kkaḻañju
16 poṉ taṇḍa-ppaḍa-kkaḍaviyaṉ [||*] avaṉku[3] pâḍu tâṅgumavaṉum ippari-
17 śê taṇḍappaḍuvidu [||*] i-pparisu mêṟ=chollappaṭṭa Ayurûr mukkâ-
18 l-vaṭṭamum paṭṭâragarkk=oḷḷa[4] iḍaiy-îḍuñ=Śrîvallavaṅgôdaiy=uḍai-
19 Âdichchaṉ=Umaiyammai aṭṭi-ppêṟu koṇḍadu [||*] Śrîvallavaṅgôdaiy=u-
20 ḍaṉ=irukka=Ttiruchcheṅguṉṟûr=ppaṭṭâragarkku kîḻ-îḍâga aṭṭiy=e-[5]
21 ḍatt=aṟiyuñ=jâdukkaḷ Muruṅṅaiyûr=Ttêvam=Bavittiraṉ nâṉum=aṟi-
22 vaṉ [||*] Iḍaiyâmaṇattu Śaṅṅaraṅ=Gaṇḍaṉ nâṉum=aṟivaṉ [||*] Maṇalmûkki[ṉ]
23 Kaṇḍan=Dâmôdaran nâṉum=aṟivaṉ [||*] Vêṇâṭṭiṟku adigâraṅ=jeygi-
24 ṉṟa Puṉalûr(i) Iravi Parandavaṉ nâṉum=aṟivaṉ [||*] Kuḍagôṭṭûr=Pparan-
25 davaṅ=Gaṇḍaṉ nâṉum=aṟivaṉ [||*] ivai Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr=ppoduvâ-
26 ḷ Śât[ta]ñ=Jaḍaiyaṉ=eḻuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 7). Hail! Prosperity! In the year **one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding**[6] **to the Achchuvadi** (*aśvati-nakshatra*) **in the month of Mirichchigam (Vṛiśchika), when Jupiter stood in Tulâ**—while[7] the great men of the *paruḍai*[8] (assembly) of **Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr** were pleased to be assembled[9] on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of **Kollam, Śrîvallavaṅgôdai, (the king) of Vêṇâḍu** gave, by the pouring of water, to **Âdichchaṉ-Umaiyammai** of **Tirukkalayapuram,** the *baṭṭârakar*[10] set up by Âdichchaṉ-Umaiyammai at **Ayurûr,** and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭârakar*.

(Ll. 8 to 11). Âdichchaṉ=Umaiyammai gave, as *kîḻ-îḍu* to the *baṭṭârakar* of Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvâḷ*,[11] what she acquired by gift,[12] so that (he)

[1] [The reading seems to be *id[ai] ṉaiyil-oṉṟu.* If *ṉai* has to be taken as *ṉâ* it would be quite different from the other *ṉâs* which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *ṉâ.*—V. V.]

[2] [The reading seems to be *vevvêṟṟu.*—V. V.]

[3] Read *avaṉukku.*

[4] Read *paṭṭâragarkkuḷḷa.*

[5] Read *aṭṭiyay-iḍattu.*

[6] [The original has *Ñâyiṟ=âṇḍa Achchuvadi,* which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakshatra*) Aśvati (Aśvinî) which was governed by Ñâyiṟu (the Sun).' If then the week-day be Sunday, *Ñâyiṟ=âṇḍa* would correspond to the modern *Ñâyiṟâḷcha* and the word *âḷcha* which Dr. Gundert derives from the root *âḻu* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *âḷ* 'to rule.'—V. V.]

[7] [The expression *iḍattu vaichchu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayâḷam *iḍattil vechchu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *iḍattil.*—V. V.]

[8] [The word *paruḍai* occurs also in the form *paraḍai* and is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *parishat.*— V. V.]

[9] [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated."— V. V.]

[10] [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Âdichchaṉ Umaiyammai; see below, p. 238, note 10.— V. V.]

[11] [According to Dr. Gundert, *poduvâḷ* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *agappoduvâḷ* with *pûṇuṇûl* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property.— V. V.]

[12] [*Aṭṭiṟpêṟu* is evidently the same as *aṭṭippêṟu* which, according to Dr. Gundert, means "complete purchase of a freehold." Mr. Nagamaiya defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jenmi's rights by sale (*Travancore Manual,* Vol. III, p. viii.)— V. V.]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,[1] four *nâḻi* of rice[2] for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *paṟai* of paddy at nine *nâḻi* per *paṟai*, annually.[3]

(Ll. 11 to 13). The *poduvâḷs* shall protect the mukkâl-vaṭṭam[4] of Ayurûr and the *iḍaiyîḍu* of the *bhaṭṭâraka*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded).[5]

(Ll. 13 to 14). The *ûrâḷars* shall not enter as[6] *iḍaiyîḍars* in the *kîḻîḍu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,[7] and shall neither dismiss (the *kîḻiḍars*) nor collect the rent.

(Ll. 14 to 16). He that reduces this to a fourth[8] shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kaḻañju* of gold.[9]

(Ll. 16 to 17). He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way.

(Ll. 17 to 19). Both the *mukkâlvaṭṭam* of Ayurûr and the *iḍaiyîḍu* belonging to the *bhaṭṭârakar*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Âdichchaṉ=Umaiyammai (of, or) related to Śrîvallavaṅgôdai.[10]

(Ll. 19 to 22). (The following are the signatures of) the *sâdhus* who were present at the time when Âdichchaṉ=Umaiyammai, while she was with Śrîvallavaṅgôdai, made this gift of

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[1] [I take *chiṟṟûr-nadaiyôḍu kûḍa* as meaning "together with the shrine at Śiṟṟûr." *Naḍai* (*naḍa*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr. Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatinaḍai meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati.'— V. V.]

[2] [I would read in the original *chêvad=ari* (l. 9) and *chêvadu nel* (l. 10) and take *chêvadu nel* as equivalent to *śennel* which occurs in the Ambâsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahârâja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue — as *śeñjâli*."— V. V.]

[3] [As the dative *tiruvamudiṉukkum* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *paṟai* of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *nâḻi* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *nâḻi* of rice or 160 *paṟa* according to the equivalent of the *paṟa* given in line 10. How 160 *paṟa* of rice can be obtained from 200 *paṟa* of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Râjarâja I., 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambâsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahârâja.— V. V.]

[4] [The word *mukkâlvaṭṭam* occurs in the Tiruuelli plates of Bhâskara Ravivarman, where Professor Hultzsch has translated it by 'temple' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292). According to Dr. Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Koṅgaṇimâr.' An inscription at Tiruvâlîśvaram near Ambâsamudram in the Tinnevelly district mentions *Tiripuradâna* (°*dahanam*) *paṉṉiṉa śêvagaṉâr tirumukkâlvaṭṭam*, where *tirumukkâlvaṭṭam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No. 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905).—V. V.]

[5] [According to Dr. Gundert *rakshâ-bhôgam* is synonymous with *râja-bhôgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one-fifth (of the revenue).—V. V.]

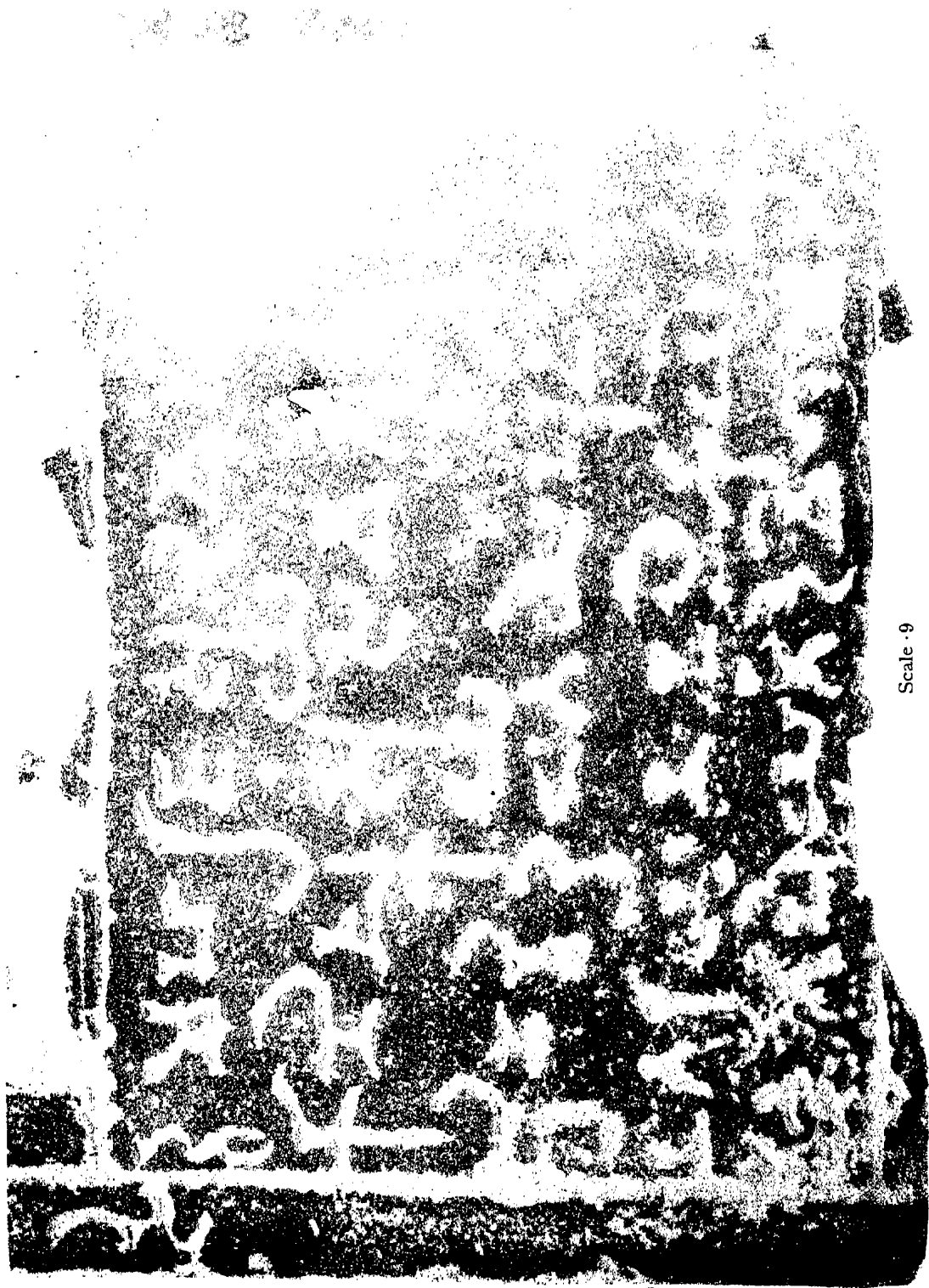
[6] [The word *âga* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhâskara Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *âvadu* or *âgilum* and the Malayâḷam *âgaṭṭê*.— V. V.]

[7] [*I-ppariśu* means 'in this manner, thus.' I would translate the passage thus: "Neither the *ûrâḷar* nor the *iḍaiyîḍar* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kîḻîḍu* thus settled or to seize (any) property."— V. V.]

[8] *I.e.* he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity.

[9] [I would translate the passage as follows: "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kaḻañju* (to) the shrine at Siṟṟûr." See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above.—V. V.]

[10] [Instead of *Ayurûriṟ=piradiṭṭai śeyda paṭṭâragar* of line 6, we have here *Ayurûr mukkâl-vaṭṭam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkâlvaṭṭam*. Instead of *paṭṭâragarkk=oḷḷa pûmi* in line 6, we have here *paṭṭâragarkk=oḷḷa iḍaiyîḍu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurûr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Âdichchaṉ-Umaiyammai from Śrîvallavaṅgôdai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 5 to 7 that Âdichchaṉ-Umaiyammai had obtained the concession from Śrîvallavaṅgôdai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrîvallavaṅgôdaiy=uḍai* at the end of l. 18 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrîvallavaṅgôdaiy=iḍai*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *uḍai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Âdichchaṉ-Umaiyammai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrîvallavaṅgôdai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him.— V. V.]

British Museum inscription of Kanishka.

land as *iḍaiyîḍu* to the *bhaṭṭârakar* of Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr :—[1] I, Dêvam-[2]Pavittiraṉ of Muruṅṅaiyûr, also know ;[3]

(L. 22). I, Śaṅṅaran Kaṇḍaṉ of Iḍaiyâmaṇam, also know ;

(Ll. 22 to 23). I, Kaṇḍaṉ Dâmôdaraṉ of Maṇalmûkku, also know ;

(Ll. 23 to 24). I, Iravi-Parandavaṉ[4] of Puṇalûr, the *adhikârin* of Vêṇâḍu, also know ;

(Ll. 24 to 25). I, Parandavan-Kaṇḍaṉ of Kuḍagôṭṭûr, also know.

(Ll. 25 to 26). This is the writing of Śâttaṉ-Śaḍaiyaṉ, the *poduvâl* of Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr.

No. 33.—THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS.

By Professor H. Lüders, Ph.D., Rostock.

I.—BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA.

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr. Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhoti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nâga and his wife.

The writing is Brâhmî of the earlier Kushaṇa type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahârâja dêvaputra Kaṇishka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

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[1] [In the original the name Âdichchaṉ-Umaiyammai is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if Śrîvallavaṅgôdai was seated with the members of the assembly of Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr in the palace at Kollam (ll. 4-5) while making the gift to Âdichchaṉ Umaiyammai. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows :—"(The following are) the *sâdhus* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (Âdichchaṉ Umaiyammai)—while Śrîvallavaṅgôdai was sitting with (the assembly ?) — granted the *kîḻîḍu* (of the land ?) to the lord (bhaṭṭâraka) of Tiruchcheṅguṉṟûr." The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9.— V. V.]

[2] [The name of the man was apparently Dêvaṉ Pavittiraṉ.— V. V.]

[3] *I.e.* the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same.

[4] [Parandavaṉ is apparently a *tadbhava* of the Sanskṛit *Paraṁtapa*.—V. V.]

TEXT.

1 Siddha[ṁ][1] maharâjasya dêva[putrasya][2]
2 Kâṇishkasya savatsarê [10][3]
3 gri 2 di 9 êtayê purvay[ê] [4]
4 [u]tarâyaṁ[5] na[va]mikâyaṁ[6] [h]â-
5 [rmya]n=[d]ata[ṁ][7] priyatâṁ dêvi [8] grâ[masya].[9]

REMARKS.

1 The *anusvâra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture. — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner.—3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt —4 The *ê* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayaṁ*.—5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *natarâyaṁ*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone.—6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental.—7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure.—8 The *ê*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dê* in the first line it is added in the middle.—9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural.

TRANSLATION.

Success ! In the year 10 of the *mahârâja dêvaputra* Kâṇishka, in the second (*month of*) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a temple was given in the northern *navamikâ* (?). May the goddess of the village be pleased !

NOTES.

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvâra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *â* appears in the word *hârmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taitt. Âr. VI*, 6, 2 instead of the ordinary *harmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Atharvav. XVIII*, 4, 55. In *hârmyan=dataṁ* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following mute, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurâ inscription, above Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8: *prîyatâm=bhagavân=Ṛishabhaśrîḥ*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record : *priyatâṁ dêvi grâmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kâṇishka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *ṇ*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brâhmî inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement.[1] In the Kharôshṭhî inscriptions of Suê Vihâr [2] and Zeda [3] the name is read as *Kanishka*, in that of Manikyâla as *Kaneshka*,[4] but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kaṇishka* and

[1] Mathurâ inscr. of S. 5, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 34 ff., No. 4; Mathurâ inscr. of S. 7, above Vol. I. p. 391, No 19; Mathurâ inscr. of S. 9, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 173, No. 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 37, No. 6; Mathurâ inscr., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p 149, No. 25; Sârnâth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. VIII. p. 176, No. 3[a]; Sârnâth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. III. p. 179, No. 3[d].

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326.

[3] *Journ. As.* Ser. VIII. Vol. XV. p. 137.

[4] *Journ. As.* Ser. IX. Vol. VII. p. 8.

E. Hultzsch. Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.

Kaṇeshka would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *ṇ*, and I would therefore propose to use Kaṇishka as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sârnâth inscription, No. 3[a], the editor, it is true, reads *Kaṇishkasya*, but the photo-lithograph[1] distinctly shows *Kâṇishkasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nâgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nâgî. That during the Kushaṇa period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurâ inscriptions[2] which mention the temple (*st[h]âna*) of the *nâgêndra* Dadhikarṇa and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarṇa (*Dadhikarṇṇadêvikulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utarâyaṁ navamikâyaṁ*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (*i.e.* intercalated) ninth (*lunar day*)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *êtayê purvayê*, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitîya*.[3] The words must therefore be connected with *hârmyan=dataṁ*, and as a form ending in *-âyaṁ* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *â*; *utarâ navamikâ* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamikâ* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utarâ navamikâ* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nâgî. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

II.—MATHURÂ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAṀVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurâ. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 15, and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythic' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first-rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available.—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

[1] [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *â* is quite certain.—S. K.]

[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

[3] Professor Hultzsch writes to me that he is nevertheless inclined to connect *utarâyaṁ navamikâyaṁ* with the date, but he would take *uttara* in the sense of *uchyamâna*, *upari-likhita*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brâhmî of the Kushaṇa type. The *sha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a **mahârâja râ[jâtirâja] dêvaputra** whose name began with **Vâsu**, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

TEXT.

1 Mahârajasya[1] r[â]........[2]
2 sya dêvaputrasya Vâsu.....[3]
3 savatsarê[4] 70[5] 4 varsham[â]-[6]
4 sê prathamê divasê
5 triś[ê][7] 30 asyaṁ[8] purvvayaṁ[9]
6 Talakiy[ê][10] mahadâṇḍa-
7 nâyakasya[11] Vâ-
8 linas[y]a[12] k[shê]t[rê][13] Mihi-
9 .... [mahâdaṇḍa][14]-.

REMARKS.

1 The *â*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—2 The *â*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *râjâtirâja*-.—3 The *â*-stroke is quite distinct, though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below.—4 The *ê*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct.—5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below. —6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *â* are not quite distinct.—7 The *ê*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper.—8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight.—9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental.—10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ê*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakiyaṁ* would be possible.—11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nâ* of line 7 and the *li* of line 8. The *nâ* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *sâ*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nâ*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain.—13 The *ksh* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ê* of *kshê* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trô* as in Capt Watts' eye-copy.—14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dê*.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the *mahârâja râjâtirâja dêvaputra* Vâsu......, in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (*date specified as*) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vâlina at Talakiya (*or* Talakî ?) Mihi......

Mathura inscription of Samvat 74.

2

4

6

8

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dâṇḍa* appears again in the same word in the Set-Mahet inscription, above Vol. VIII, p. 181, and we may further compare such forms as *âṁtêvâsisa* and *âṁtêvâsiniyê* in the Mathurâ inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198 f., Nos. 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. Cunningham[1] originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurâ inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.[2] In 1891 Bühler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,[3] and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushaṇas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Bühler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brâhmî inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurâ or its neighbourhood :—

(1) Mathurâ inscription of the time of *svâmin mahâkshatrapa* Śoḍâsa, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, Bühler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind., loc. cit.*, Bühler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kâman inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Bühler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurâ inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 17, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 5, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102.

(4) Mathurâ inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 1, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 182, No. 1, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 11.

(5) Mathurâ inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 2, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 2, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 102, No. 13.

(6) Mathurâ inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurâ inscription, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 184, No. 7, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

[1] The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

[2] Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 194.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 373, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brâhmî inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration :—

(8) Mathurâ inscription of the time of *mahârâja* Huviksha, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No. 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurâ inscription, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 10, and Plate; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No. 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurâ inscription of the time of *mahârâja* Huvishka, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No. 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 103, No. 14.

(12) Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20, and Plate; p. 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos. 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurâ inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sâñchi inscription of the time of *mahârâja râjâtirâja dêvaputra* Shâhi Vâsashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f., and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr. Fleet in a paper in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326 ff., and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr. Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357.[1]

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vâsu, whereas we know that from 33-60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1-7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

[1] Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurâ inscription of the time of *mahârâja râjâtirâja dêvaputra* Huvashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, note 61.

No. 2, and S. 77 for Nos. 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No. 4, it is true, mentions the *mahârâja râjâtirâja dêvaputra* Hûvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihâra* of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the *mahâkshatrapa* Śoḍâsa, I refer to the remarks of Dr. Fleet in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 1024 ff.

If the St. Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40. The inscription No. 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44, No. 9 in S. 45, No. 10 in S. 47, and No. 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huviksha or Huvishka.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign.[1] In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 79. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vṛidhahasti (*Vriddhahastin*), a preacher in the *Koṭṭiya(Koṭṭika)gaṇa*, the Vaïrâ (*Vajri*) *śâkhâ*. There is another Mathurâ inscription dated in S. 60,[2] recording a gift made at the request of the *gaṇin*, the venerable Kharuṇa, a pupil of this same Vṛiddhahastin. If Vṛiddhahastin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *gaṇin*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photo-lithograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurâ or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr. Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr. Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurâ Museum. The inscription, which is in Brâhmî characters of the Kushaṇa type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sâñchi inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integrant part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushaṇa period[3] certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

[1] Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate; Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. XX, p. 37, and Plate V, fig. 6.

the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, Plate to p. 689. Here the St. Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No. 12 as 70. I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I contend that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality.

Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vâsu[dêvasya]*. When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors. I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *aksharas dêvasya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vâsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S. 76 and S. 78,[1] whereas the first undoubted record of Vâsudêva's reign was dated in S. 80. What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty. But the evidence for the existence of a king Vâsushka in S. 76 and S. 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly. As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sâñchi inscription mentioning a king Vâsashka[2] is quite uncertain, and the Mathurâ inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S. 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vâsushka has not yet been published. As Dr. Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known. Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present. If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vâsu* to *Vâsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vâsudêvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks. **Talakiya** or **Talakî** seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it. The title *mahâdaṇḍanâyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times. In the Kushaṇa inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *daṇḍanâyaka* occurs in the Manikyâla inscription,[3] where the correct reading in l. 2 is, not *Laladoḍa-nayago*, but *Lala-daḍanayago*.

III.—MATHURÂ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚOṆḌÂSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29. In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 1. And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 24. For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above.

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at **Mathurâ**. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off. On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides. This, however, is not the case. Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines. With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

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[1] Mathurâ inscription of S. 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96; Sâñchi inscription of S. 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f.

[2] This is the reading suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of Vâsushka, if the existence of such a name should be proved; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357 f.

[3] *Journ. As.* Ser. IX. Vol. VII. p. 8 f.

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurâ inscriptions; see especially the letters *da*, *śa* and *sha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śêgrava (*Śaigrava*) *gôtra*, the treasurer of *svâmin mahâkshatrapa* Śoṇḍâsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

TEXT.

1 Svâmisya mahâkshatrapasya Śomḍâsasya[1] gamjavarêṇa brâhmaṇêna Śêgrava-sagôtrêṇa [p]...[2].

2 raṇi imâshâṁ yamaḍa-pushkaraṇînaṁ paśchimâ pushkaraṇi udapânô ârâmô[3] stambhô i...

3 [śilâ]paṭṭô[4] cha-.

REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka-*. —3 The outlines of the letters *ṇi udapânô ârâmô* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilâ* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

TRANSLATION.

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahâkshatrapa* Śomḍâsa, a Brâhmaṇ of the Śêgrava (*Śaigrava*) *gôtra*, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*).

NOTES.

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imâshâṁ*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurâ the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pâli, *imêsaṁ* and *imâsaṁ*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imâshâṁ* as he was wont to render *imêsaṁ* by *imêshâṁ*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkaraṇî* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pâli *pokkharaṇî*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt. *yamala* or *yamaḷa*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brâhmaṇêna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the mahâkshatrapa, which is generally supposed to be Śoḍâsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *śo*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Ṣâṅdâsasya* (for *Śâṁḍâsasya*) and the latter *Saudâsasya* (for *Śauḍâsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvâra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *śo*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvâra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gaṁjavarêṇa* and in *pushkaraṇînaṁ*.

The form Śomḍâsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brâhmî inscription at Mathurâ mentioning this *mahâkshatrapa*[1] Bühler read *Śoḍâsasa*, but the photo-lithograph by no means excludes the reading *Śoṁḍâsasa*. Right above the *śo* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hêmaṁtamâsê* which Bühler read as *anusvâra*. In the Mathurâ lion-capital inscription[2] Mr. Thomas reads the name as *Śuḍasa* and *Śuḍisa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akshara* seems to be *śo*, and that the alternative forms *Śu°* and *Śau°*, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2.

[2] *Above*, Vol. IX. pp. 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Śoḍâsa* and *Śuḍâsa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anusvâra* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Śoṁḍâsa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Śoḍâsa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Śonḍâsa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gajavarêna*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaja* into *rajê*, 'during the reign.' The new reading *gaṁjavarêṇa* shows that *gañjavara*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* V, 177 and Kshêmêndra's *Lôkaprakâśa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey,[1] *gañjavara* is the Persian *ganjwar*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśôka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.[2]

The donor calls himself by his *gôtra* name Śêgrava, which in correct Sanskrit would be Śaigrava. According to the *Gaṇapâṭha* the Śaigrava *gôtra* is referred to by Pâṇini in II, 4, 67 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Śaigrava* with Pâli *Siggava*,[3] the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasaṁpadâ* ordination on the great Tissa Moggaliputta.[4]

No. 34.—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917.

By the late Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.[5]

Pathârî in Long. 78° 15′ and Lat. 23° 56′, is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopâl Agency of Central India.[6] Its antiquities were first described, in 1848, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or lakes, and that the present town of Pathârî and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus:— 'Near to the western edge of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular . . . . On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 70, thus:—'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

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[1] See the *St. Petersburg Dictionary s. v.*

[2] In the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of Śoṇḍâsa. With the exception of the first three *aksharas* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads: *brahmaṇá*[*ṇa go*(?)*da va*(?)-*tha*(?). *na*]. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brâhmaṇa* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brâhmaṇa* Śaigrava, the *gañjavara* of Śoṇḍâsa, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

[3] *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, Vol. II. p. 266.

[4] See *Dîpav.* V, 57; 69, etc.

[5] [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

[6] Constable's *Hand Atlas of India* Plate 27 D a.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmî-Nârâyaṇa,[1] but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A.D. 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishṇu sitting on Garuḍ over the door-way.'

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle; and an excellent photograph[2] of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr. Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I, p. 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately[3] all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31; and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—38. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it *e.g.* in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 933, published with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 159 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A.D. They include the rare sign for *jh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *jhaṭiti* towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *aṁsa* and *dhvaṁsa* are written *ansa* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Vishṇu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *ôṁ namaḥ* at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharâ metre, one in the Vasantatilakâ metre, one in the Upajâti metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.[4]

[1] The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmî-nirmandhraptna-*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmî-Nârâyaṇa-*.

[2] The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsch from Mr. Cousens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless.

[3] Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

[4] I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38.

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *ôm namaḥ* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *praśasti*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king **Parabala** of some **Râshṭrakûṭa** family founded a temple of Śauri (Hari, Vishṇu), before which he erected the Garuḍa-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *praśasti* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Vishṇu, under the names of Murâri, Kṛishṇa and Hari. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king **Jêjja**, under whom 'this **Râshṭrakûṭa** *vaṁśa*' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of **Karṇâṭa** soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the **Lâṭa** kingdom. Jêjja's son was **Karkarâja** (v. 11), who put to flight[1] the king **Nâgâvalôka** and invaded his home (vv. 14 and 15). And Karkarâja's son was **Parabala**, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was eomposed (V. 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *praśasti* was composed by Harsha (v. 29) and engraved by the *sûtradhâra* Sâhila (v. 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever.— **The date** at the end of line 31 is *samvat 917 Chaittra-śudi 6 Śukrê, i.e.* "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917." In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for *9* is the same as *e.g.* in line 6 of the Dêôgaḍh pillar inscription of the time of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X, Plate xxxiii. 2), and in line 22 of the Gurmha plate of Jayâdityadêva II. of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXX. Part I. Plate i). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 917, to **Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861**, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

The *praśasti* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses.[2] Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Mâgha's *Śiśupâla-vadha*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem.[3] I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with *Śiś.* XIX. 52. The former is :—

Śakalîkṛita-sarvâṅgâ nânâbharaṇabhûshitâḥ |
dṛiśyantê ripavô yasya nânâbharaṇabhûshitâḥ ||

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)[4] decorated with manifold ornaments (*âbharaṇa*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*raṇa-bhû*)."

And Mâgha's verse is :—

Śastravraṇamaya-śrîmad-alaṁkaraṇabhûshitaḥ |
dadṛiśê snyô Râvaṇavad=alaṁkaraṇabhûshitaḥ ||

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alaṁkaraṇa*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Râvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (*raṇa-bhû*) that was not connected with Laṅkâ."[5]

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[1] The original apparently mentions the place where Nâgâvalôka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

[2] Compare *e.g.* verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.

[3] The *praśasti* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *śrîmatî*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *śryaṅka mahâkâvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

[4] Compare the following note.

[5] Mallinâtha explains: *sarvâṅgîṇavraṇabhûshaṇatvêna Râvaṇa êv=âyaṁ Laṅkâsaṁbandha-virahât=tu vyatirêka ity=arthaḥ* | *upamâ-vyatirêka-yamakânâṁ saṁkaraḥ* |

Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *âbharaṇa-bhûshita* and *alaṁkaraṇabhûshita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*dṛiśyantê* and *dadṛiśê*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Śiśupâlavadha* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse: the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Mâgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Among the contents of the *praśasti* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a **Râshṭrakûṭa king Parabala,** for whom it furnishes a date in A.D. 861. The second point is, that Parabala's **father Karkarâja** defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king **Nâgâvalôka.** And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarâja's father Jêjja, after defeating certain **Karṇâṭas,** took possession of the Lâṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskṛit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungir plate of Dêvapâla[1] translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1781 — that the Pâla king **Dharmapâla** married 'Raṇṇâdêvî, a daughter of the glorious **Parabala,** the ornament of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** family;' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *biruda* of one of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, perhaps of Gôvindarâja III. or Amôghavarsha I., according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapâla. Now there cannot remain any reasonable doubt that the Râshṭrakûṭa Parabala of our Pathârî inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungir plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapâla. But it does not follow that Dharmapâla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapâla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archæological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapâla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king **Nâgâvalôka**[2] who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarâja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nâgâvalôka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vigraharâja,[3] in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Châhamâna Gûvaka I. of Śâkambharî, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Châhamâna *Mahâsâmantâdhipati,* which records a grant that was made at Bhṛigukachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious **Nâgâvalôka,** and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A.D. 756).[4] I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

[1] See *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 123, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 253.

[2] I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *birudas* ending in *avalôka* of certain Râshṭrakûṭa kings (*Khaḍgâvalôka, Vikramâvalôka, etc.*).

[3] See above Vol. II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrîman-Nâgâvalôka-pravaranṛipa°.*

[4] If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756.

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lâṭa kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jêjja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lâṭa from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol. VIII. App. II. p. 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lâṭa, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jêjja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say —

Harshêṇa nûnaṁ rachitâ praśastir=
vidhêr=vaśâd=aśma-talê vilînâ |
prakâśit=êyaṁ pramadâch=chhramêṇa
satâṁ mudaṁ saṁtatam=âtanôtu ||

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôṁ[2] namaḥ || [3]Lakshmî-nîraṁdhrapîna[sta]nakalaśa-la[sa]t-pallavâ · Vṛitra-śatrôs=ttrailôkyasvâmya-dîkshâvidhi-varaguravô=[r]i-

2 shṭanâśa-prachaṇḍâḥ | dôrddaṇḍâḥ Kêśikêśagraha-ruchiraru[t-â]ghushṭa-h[i]ṁsrâṅsadêśâ[4] Daityêbha-sthûlakumbha[stha]-

3 ladalana-d[ṛi]ḍhâḥ pâṁtu vas=tê Murârêḥ ||[1*] [5]Vâ(bâ)lârkka[chchhav]i-chakrav[âka]vimala-vyâl[â]hat-âvêshṭitaḥ[6] karṇṇ[â]lamvi(mbi)ta-kuṁḍalô[7] jaladhara-

4 chchhêdâvadâta-chchhaviḥ | satkârttasvarakûṭa-nirggata iva snigdhêndranîlôpala-stambhaḥ[8] skandhaga-padmarâgayugalaḥ Krishṇô=stu

5 vaḥ śrêyasê ||[2*] [9]Tribhuvanabhavana-stambhô nabhastalâṁbhôdhi-sêtur=agha-dahanaḥ | vra(bra)hmâṁḍamaṁḍa(ḍa)lâṁvu(bu)jadaṇḍa-ruchir=jjayati[10] Ha-

6 ri-charaṇaḥ ||[3*] [11]Ahimakarachakra-kuvalayavilasatkamal-âlayaḥ sa-dâna[vakâ]yaḥ | jalanidhir=iva Harir=avatât=purâṇa-purushô=pi yaḥ sadâ nava-kâ-

7 yaḥ[12] ||[4*] [13]Râj=âsîd=varachakkralâṁchhita-karô lakshmî-sanâthaḥ purâ dṛiptâri-prava(ba)ladvishat-pramathanaś=ch=â[dhâ]ra-bhûtô bhuvaḥ | vâ(bâ)hûdasta-mahîdharô [nara]-

8 ka-hâ tuṁgadvipadhvansakṛit=[14]Kaṁsârâti-samô=py=akṛishṇatanubhṛich=chhrî-Jêjja âryyaiḥ stu[ta]ḥ ||[5*] [15][Ra]mya-prasûtir=achchhidras=tuṁgaḥ pṛithur=akaṁṭakaḥ | śrî-Râshṭra[kû]-

9 ṭa-vaṁśô=yaṁ samṛiddhô yattra bhûbhṛiti ||[6*] [16]Jitvâ [vikaṭa]karighaṭâ-pra[bhuta]ra-Karṇṇâṭabhaṭasahasrâ[ṇi] | [pṛithu ?] L[â]ṭ-âkhyaṁ râshṭraṁ lavdhaṁ(bdhaṁ) yasy=âgrajên=âjau ||[7*] [17][Vana]-

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[1] From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr. Cousens. [2] Denoted by a symbol.
[3] Metre: Sragdharâ. [4] Read °*srâṁsadêśâ*. [5] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[6] Compare *Śârṅgivêsha-phaṇikañchuka-*, above Vol. II. p. 4, v. 22.
[7] Originally *-kuṇḍalô* seems to have been engraved.
[8] Compare *Śiśupâlavadha* III. 11. [9] Metre: Âryâ.
[10] Originally *-ruchêr=* was engraved.—Compare above Vol. I. p. 40, verse 2: *vra(bra)hmâṇḍamaṇḍalamahôtpalanâla-lîlâṁ vi(bi)bhrat.*
[11] Metre: Âryâgîti.
[12] Compare *Śiśupâlavadha* xiv. 70: *navaṁ budhâ yaṁ purâṇa-purushaṁ prachakshatê.*
[13] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [14] Read °*dhvaṁsakṛit=*. [15] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[16] Metre: Âryâ. [17] Metre: Mâlinî.

10 mahisham=asahyaṁ vâjinô lôla-nêttrâ madagalita-kapôlâ dantinaḥ siṁham=ugraṁ | [jvalitapavana ?]-kîrṇṇâ vairi-vîrâḥ Kṛitâṁtaṁ raṇa-śirasi yam=êkaṁ mênirê naika-[rûpaṁ ||] [8*]

11 [1]Ekô=p=îtas=tataḥ kurvvann=arâti-[ku]lam=âkulaṁ | chârucbâmîkar-ôpê[tô n]îla-rûpaṁ vi(bi)bha[rtti] yaḥ ||[9*] [2][Prâpt-ôchchhrayâ ?] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — prakaṁpâ[n]=mukt-âli[bh]iḥ svamahima-pratipâdanâya | [dêśâ ?]nta[râṇy=u]-

12 pagatâ vikalâ diśâsu yasya dhvajâ iva sadâ ripu[vô] bhramanti ||[10*] Tasy=âtmajô ripuva(ba)l-[â]nta ⏑ — ⏑ — — ḥ[3] śrî-Karkkarâja iti saṁyati lavdha(bdha)-kîrttiḥ | P[ârth-âgraṇ ?]î-

13 r=iva va(ba)bhûva[4] nirasta-śalyô duḥśâsanâriva(ba)la-śâsana-bhîmasê[na]ḥ || [11*] [5]Vi[kshipta ?]-[vai ?]ri- . . . . ⏑ — ⏑ ṇâ | ya[t-ka]rêṇa raṇâṁbhôdhi-mathanê[6] Mandarâyitaṁ ||[12*] [7]Vidhvasta[vai]-

14 riva[nitâ]-nayanapraṇâlî-saṁsakta-kajjalayutâsrujala-pra[vâhai]ḥ | sêshichyamânam=api chandramarîchi-[hâri sphîtaṁ] va(ba)bhûva [nanu] yasya yaśô=tichittraṁ ||[13*] [8]Ḍurvvârârâti-mattadvi[rada]-

15 ghanaghaṭâṭôpasaṁghaṭṭa-chaṇḍê saṁgrâmê [hrishṭa-yô]dhê [tura]gakhurarajaś-chhanna-dikchakkrav[âlê |] [valga ?]t-pâlidhvaj[âlau] kshatarudhi[rasa]ritprâjya-sâmantachakrê chakrê Nâgâvalôkaṁ [jha]ṭiti ⏑[9]

16 lav[a]nê[10] yaḥ parâvṛitta-mûrttiṁ ||[14*] [11]Durvvâravairivaravâraṇa-kuṁbha[mukta]-muktâphalapra[kara]-nirmmaladantamâlâ | Nâgâvalôkanṛipa-[vêśma]ni viprakîrṇṇê yasy=ôddhataṁ prahasat=îva kṛipâṇa-p[âlî] ||[15*]

17 [12]Śakalîkṛita-sarvvâṅgâ nânâbharaṇabhûshitâḥ | dṛiśyantê ripavô yasya nânâbharaṇabhûshitâḥ [16*] [13]Yasy=ôtpalachchhavi[mu]shâ s[v]ajal-ônnatêna[14] khaḍgêna tuṁgatara-bhû[mibhṛi]-

18 [tâṁ śi]rassu | dhârânipâta-janitair=asṛijâṁ[15] pravâhair=yuddhê mahâpralaya[kâla ?]ghana-[pratîtiḥ ?[16]] ||[17*] [17]Ahimakara iv=âdya tyakta-dôshânushaṁgô himakara iva jâ[ta]ḥ

19 śuddha-mûrttiḥ kalâvân | parava(ba)ladalan-ôgrô=nugra-chakshuḥ pratâpî **Parava(ba)la** iti puttras=tasya [śâst]=îha bhû[miṁ] ||[18*] [18][Tyaktvâ ?]mâyâm=adaṁbhañ=cha sakta-kârttasvarâḥ sadâ | bhuṁ[jatê] śrî-[19]

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[1] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilakâ.

[3] The original possibly has °*lâṇṭaka êva mûrttaḥ*.

[4] Originally *vibhûva* or *vôbhûva* was engraved.

[5] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).—I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary. Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 203, l. 7.

[6] Originally *raṇâṁbhôvdhi-* was engraved.

[7] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.—Compare *Śiśupâlavadha* XV. 90.

[8] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[9] The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence.

[10] Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *vu*.

[11] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[12] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh). See above, p. 250.

[13] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[14] The water of the sword-blade (*asidhârâ-jala, khaḍgadhârâ-payas, khaḍgadhârâmbhas*) is often spoken of by poets; compare *e.g. Êkâvalî*, pp. 64 and 168, and above Vol. II. p. 307, v. 21.

[15] The plural of *asṛij* is similarly used in *Śiśupâlavadha* xvii, 55 (*asṛiñji*).

[16] I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *i* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *pra*, but it has clearly been struck out.

[17] Metre: Mâlinî.

[18] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[19] This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrîphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Bilva fruit.'

(V. 18.) Now his son **Parabala** rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night; who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits; who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess.

(V. 24.) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms— conquered for him *pâlidhvaja* banners.

(V. 25.) He caused to be built this temple of Śauri,[1] resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods.

(V. 26.) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected ?) on the mountain of Garuḍadhvaja(?),[2] exactly so was this large Garuḍa-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari.[1]

(V. 27.) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Vishṇu's foot making three strides, or the body of Sthâṇu[3] shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śêsha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,[4] the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king **Parabala**.

(V. 28.) His prime minister was [Ksh ?]i . . ., administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king **Parabala**. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer[5] of Madhu this Garuḍa-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes.[6]

. . . .

(Line 31.) **The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.**

No. 35.—ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA;

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two.

BY H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

On a hillock to the south of **Hanumkoṇḍâ**[7] (Anmakoṇḍa) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of **Padmâkshî** which, unlike other buildings attributable to the **Kâkatîya** period,[8] is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

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[1] *I.e.* Vishṇu.

[2] I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original. *Garuḍadhvajâdri* might be equivalent to *Kṛishṇagiri*.

[3] *I.e.* Śiva.

[4] These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuḍa on the top of the pillar.

[5] *I.e.* Vishṇu.

[6] In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Vishṇu.

[7] This is the form given in Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 46.

[8] The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakoṇḍa was built by Prôla's son Rudra in or about A.D. 1162-63 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door-posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kâkatîya kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, p. 4). Mr. Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the*

some **Jaina** images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmâkshî temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina[1] goddess **Kadalalâya** and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (Jaina temple). At present the Brâhmaṇas of Anmakoṇḍa, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmâkshî, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgâ.[2] It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brâhmaṇas.

Anmakoṇḍa, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Anmakundâ (l. 16) or Ammakunde (l. 75), was originally the capital of the Kâkatîya kings and was situated in the **Andhra** country.[3] The neighbouring town of Warangal (**Ôruṁgallu** in Telugu or **Êkaśilânagara** in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of **Gaṇapati's** reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kâkatîya family.[4] Anmakoṇḍa and Warangal are now stations

Nizam's Territories, p. 47). The temples near the Râmappâ Lake in the Warangal district are (*ibid.* p. 49) of the same type as the great temple at Hanumkoṇḍâ, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A.D. 1213-14 by Rudra of Rêcharla, who was a dependant of the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati. The village Uparpalle in the Yelgandal district, is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kâkatîya period (*ibid.* p. 74). The *vimâna* of the Tripurântakêśvara temple at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool district was constructed in A.D. 1254-55 under the orders of the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No. 169.) The Padmâkshî temple at Anmakoṇḍa is the earliest known structural monument of the Kâkatîya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

[1] Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Anmakoṇḍa is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories.*

[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmâkshî to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four *Śâsanadêvîs* of the Jaina mythology. Ambâ or Ambikâ, the *Śâsanadêvî* of the 22nd Tîrthaṅkara Nêminâtha, is supposed to be a form of Durgâ. Padmâvatî was the *Śâsanadêvî* of Pârśvanâtha (Dr. Burgess' *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. V. p. 45 f. and p. 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mailama in the *basadi* at Anmakoṇḍa was either Ambikâ or Padmâvatî—called, in Kanarese, Kadalalâya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

[3] Above, Vol. III., p. 82, and footnote 4.

[4] The Gaṇapêśvaram inscription of the time of Gaṇapati states (v. 9) that Rudra, son of Prôla, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after these towns in the city of Ôruṁgallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants; while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrêśvara and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already in existence as an important city (see l. 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra. Rêcharla Rudra, a general of Gaṇapati (see above, p. 256, note 8) is said to have put to flight king Nâgati and founded the temple of Rudrêśvara at the city of Orugallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name. Ôruṁgallu or Orugallu, which was thus improved by the Kâkatîya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of Prôla, Rudra and Gaṇapati, while Anmakoṇḍa was the capital. No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1107, Viśvâvasu (=A.D. 1185-86) states that the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâkatîya Rudradêva-Mahârâja was "the lord of Anumakoṇḍa, the best of towns." Nos. 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to Gaṇapati and are both dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1174, Paridhâvin (=A.D. 1252-53). The former refers to Gaṇapati as "the lord of Anumakoṇḍa, the best of towns." In Śaka-Saṁvat 1175 Gaṇapati still called himself the lord of Anumakoṇḍa (Mr. Butterworth's *Nellore Inscriptions*, O. 28). But No. 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1176, Ânanda, distinctly states that Gaṇapati was ruling with Orugallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rudramadêvi (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradêva-Mahârâja) reigned from the newly established capital Warangal or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Pratâparudra ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tamil country from his throne at Ôruṁgallu. He is generally known as Ôruṅgaṇṭi Pratâparudradêva, *i.e.* Pratâparudradêva of Ôruṁgallu.

on the Hyderabad-Bezvada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. in the district of Sabbi-sâyira 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the **Western Châlukya** empire, and to have been conferred by **Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramâditya VI.** on his feudatory the Kâkatîya chief **Tribhuvanamalla-Bêta.**[1] Sabbi-sâyira is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dominions are published.[2]

The subjoined inscription[3] engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear **Kanarese** characters of the twelfth century A.D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1′ 3½″ on the east and west faces and 1′ 2½″ on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3′ 6″, 3′ 5½″, 3′ 7″, and 3′ 3½″ respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the **Sanskrit** language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanarese prose (ll. 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 99, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The *anusvâra* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll. 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll. 86, 98, 100 and 102). The *virâma* occurs once in l. 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The *ê*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *virâma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In ll. 40 and 55, however, the *e* of *ḍe* in the word *perggaḍe* and *ê* of *yê* in the word *hṛidayêśvari*, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the *ê*-sign first described, marks the *ai*-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long *î* from the short *i* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha*. The forms *krimâ°* for *kramâ°* in l. 20 and *yejña°* for *yajña°* in l. 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of **Jinêndra** (v. 1) and refers in ll. 6 to 24 to the reign of the *mahârâjâdhirâja*, *paramêśvara* and *paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the [Western] Châḷukya king Tribhuvanamalladêva [Vikramâditya VI.] and his feudatory the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Kâkati Bêta (l. 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañchamahâśabda*) and who was 'the lord of Anmakundâ (l. 16), the best of towns.' The hereditary minister of Kâkatî Bêtarasa (l. 30) was the *daṇḍâdhinâtha* **Vaija** (v. 2). Verse 3 states that Vaija brought his master the *maṇḍaḷika* Kâkati Bêta (ll. 32 and 37) to the feet of the **Chaḷukya** (l. 33) emperor[4] (*chakrin*) (*viz.* Vikramâditya VI.) and made him rule the district of

[1] See verse 3 below.

[2] Sebbi or Chhebbi thirty, a small district over which the Western Gaṅga king Pañchaladêva was ruling in A.D. 971, and which took its name from the village of Chabbi or Chhabbi in the Hubli tâluka of the Dharwar district (Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 307) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sâyira district which was ruled by the Kâkatîya chief Bêta.

[3] No. 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr. Cousens refers to this as No. 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumkoṇḍâ and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 48).

[4] In footnote 7 on p. 91 of Vol. VI. above, Professor Lüders questions the propriety of the title *chakrin* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramâditya VI, in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1081. He presumes that the title *chakrin* is based on the analogy of the epithets *sarvajñachakravartin*, *pratâpachakravartin* and *Châlukyachakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramâditya's successors, *viz.* Sômêśvara III., Jagadêkamalla II. and Taila III. The title *Chaḷukya-chakrin* applied to Vikramâditya VI. in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *biruda* originated with him;

Sabbi-sâyira (l. 34 f.) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vaija's son by **Yâkamabbe** (l. 38 f.) was the *pergade* Bêta, who became the minister of Kâkatî **Prôla** (l. 43). The only act of this Bêta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (*i.e.* temples) in his native village (v. 5). The wife of this minister Bêta—the son of Yâkamâmbikâ (l. 53 f.)—was **Mailama** (vv. 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the **Kadalalâya-basadi** on the top of the hill (v. 9) and that—in the **Châlukya-Vikrama** (l. 76) **year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hêmalambi,** on **the occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Paushya,** while the king Kâkatiya Polalarasa (l. 73), son of the *maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l. 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l. 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *mattar* (l. 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bêtana-*pergaḍe* (l. 81).[1] The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Mailama on the same occasion (l. 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *mattar* (l. 98 f.) of land to the same temple by the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Mêlarasa** of **Ugravâḍi** (ll. 92 to 94), a member of the family of **Mâdha[va]varman** (l. 91) '(who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers.' The land which Mêlarasa granted was situated below the **Kûchikere** tank, which belonged to Oruṁgallu (l. 95). This town was under the control of Mêlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pâga* (*hâga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bôya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kielhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription:—"Ch. V. 42= Ś. 1039 exp.= Hêmalamba. The date regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 24th December A.D. 1117.** On this day the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti took place 14 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha, which commenced 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h. 13 m. before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kâkatiya dynasty have been published so far.[2] The earliest of these belongs to the time of **Rudra**,[3] five to that of Gaṇapati,[4] and one to that of **Pratâparudra.** The first of these and the **Kâñchî** inscription of Gaṇapati[5] supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kâkatîya dynasty, *viz.* Tribhuvanamalla Betma. The **Chêbrôlu** record of Gaṇapati[6] and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Betma, the form Bêta. The former of these two records and the unpublished **Pâkhâl** inscription of about the time of Gaṇapati[7] mention a certain **Durjaya** in the Kâkatîya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bêta and the other as the father of Prôla. The Pâkhâl inscription further states that

chakrin is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief;' above, Vol. IV., p. 96.

[1] This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmâkshi temple is situated.

[2] Nos. 584 to 589 and No. 1066 of Appendix to Vol. VII. above.

[3] This is his Anmakoṇḍa inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka-Saṁvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Gaṇapati being now fixed at Śaka-Saṁvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 43) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anmakoṇḍa inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

[4] These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1172. The earliest inscription of Gaṇapati found at Tripurântakam is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1131 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezvâḍa already in Śaka 1123; see below, p. 262, note 2.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 197 ff.

[6] Above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

[7] No. 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pâkhâl) tank by Jagadâḷa-Mummaḍi, son of Bayyana-Nâyaka, a minister of the Kâkatiya king Gaṇapati. One is tempted to connect Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadâḷa-Mummaḍi. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kâkatiya king Pratâparudra (above, p. 164 f.) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdalpur.

Karikâla-Chôḷa of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kâñchî epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kâkatîyas, as the Chêbrôlu and the Pâkhâl inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvâku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikâla-Chôḷa or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kâkatîya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikâla-Chôḷa as an ancestor of the Kâkatîyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the **Telugu-Chôḍas** who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chôḷa king, became feudatories of the Kâkatîyas in the time of Gaṇapati.[1] With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country.[2] The first historical ancestor of the Kâkatîya family was Tribhuvanamalla-Bêta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Châḷukyas and the governor of the Sabbi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kâñchî and Anmakoṇḍa inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramâditya VI.

Bêta's son and successor was Prôla, Prôlerâja, Prôḍarâja or Poḷalarasa, whose surname **Jagatikêsarin** is known to us from the Kâñchî inscription of his grandson Gaṇapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being **the earliest Kâkatîya record** and the only one of Prôla found so far. Like his father Bêta, Prôla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramâditya VI.[3] The Anmakoṇḍa inscription of his son[4] Rudra and the Gaṇapêśvaram record of his grandson Gaṇapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prôla. These have been fully discussed by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch.[5] One of the opponents of Prôla was **Tailapadêva** called "the crest-jewel of the Châḷukyas" in the Anmakoṇḍa inscription. Dr. Fleet has identified him with the Western Châḷukya king **Taila III.** (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prôla from at least the Châḷukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III., unless we suppose that Prôla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince.[6] That Rudra, son of Prôla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Châḷukya throne after the death of Taila III., by a certain **Bhîma**

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[1] See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chôḍas of the Telugu country, remarks under Ôpilisiddhi II and paragraph 53.

[2] The Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chief Buddharâja and the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Nambaya—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Kṛishṇâ river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family' (above, Vol. VI. p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Châgi was contemporaneous with the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭis. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vishṇu. No. 255 of the same collection, which is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1148 and which belongs to the time of Châgi Gaṇapaya-Mahârâja who was probably a member of this Châgi Durjaya-kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yenamadala inscription describing the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati (above, Vol. III. p. 97 f., text ll. 31 to 36). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged; otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Châgi Durjaya-kula were borrowing from the royal Kâkatîya family of Warangal not only names, but sometimes even the description of the members of its family.

[3] This may be inferred from the use of the Châḷukya-Vikrama era in the date portion of the subjoined record.

[4] The Pâkhâl inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was *born in the family of* Prôla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kâkatîya inscriptions.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 10 and above, Vol. III. p. 83.

[6] The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prôla is actually stated to have captured Taila in battle and to have released him out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakty-ânurâgât*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Châḷukya throne different from Taila. *Châḷukya-chûḍâmaṇi* seems to have been a title of Western Châḷukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.

whose capital was at **Vardhamânanagarî**,[1] shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Châḷukyas. Prôla's other enemies referred to in the Anmakoṇḍa inscription were **Jagaddêva**, **Gôvinda** (or **Gôvindadaṇḍêśa**, as he is called in the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription), **Guṇḍa** and **Udaya** or **Chôḍôdaya**. Jagaddêva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddêva, the **Sântara** chief of **Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura**, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramâditya VI. and then of his grandson **Jagadêkamalla II.** He must have "stood encompassing the city of Anumakoṇḍa" on behalf of the Châḷukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prôla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Châḷukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prôla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III. as stated above. Indeed, Prôla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Guṇḍa, the lord of the city of **Manthena** or **Mantrakûṭa** which is probably identical with the village of Mantena[2] in the Nuzvid Zamîndârî of the Godavari district. Gôvinda or Gôvindadaṇḍêśa, I would identify with the Gôvindarâja of the **Ablûr** inscriptions,[3] who was the nephew of Anantapâla, the general of Vikramâditya VI.—and with the *daṇḍanâyaka* Gôvindarasa, who in the Châḷukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A.D. 1126-27 was ruling the **Koṇḍapaḷḷi** three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurântakam.[4] Here we are told that this *daṇḍanâyaka* Gôvindarasa "burnt **Beṅgipura** (Vêṅgî?)" and conquered Goṅka.[5] This Goṅka is apparently identical with the **Velanâṇḍu** chief **Goṅka II.**, father of **Râjêndra-Chôḍa**.[6] Udaya or Chôḍôdaya, whom Prôla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa-Goṅka**

Vîra Noḷamba Pallava Permânaḍi Jayasiṅghadêva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramâditya VI, had such a biruda. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prôla took place while the former was yet a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadêkamalla II.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 11. Vardhamânanagarî is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Anmakoṇḍa. Dr. Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Anmakoṇḍa. There are two places with either of which Vardhamânanagarî may be identified. One is Vardhannapet, about 20 miles south-west of Anmakoṇḍa and the other is Waddamarri, about 50 miles south-west of Anmakoṇḍa in the direction of Kalyâṇa. A later chief of Vardhamânanagarî is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratâparudra. The record is dated in A.D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratâparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 44). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archæological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

[2] There is a place called Mantani in the Yelgandal district of the Nizam's State which is about 50 miles north of Anmakoṇḍa.

[3] Above, Vol. V. p. 213 ff.

[4] No. 258 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[5] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, paragraph 40.

[6] Above, Vol. IV. p. 35. On p. 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the biruda *Châḷukya-râjya-bhavana-mûlastambha* of Goṅka II. and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Châlukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanâṇḍu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Châlukyas subsequent to the death of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa I. (*ibid.* p. 37), the title borne by Goṅka II. was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Châlukya dynasty. No. 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanâṇṭi-Goṅka in Śaka-Saṁvat 1028 (=A.D. 1106-07). This Goṅka is identical with Goṅka I. in the Genealogical Table of the Velanâṇḍu chiefs. The inscription states that he bore the title *Châlukya-râjya-bhavana-mûlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No. 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Vishṇuvardhana-Mahârâja [Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.] registers a grant by Velanâṇṭi-Goṅkaya (*i.e.* Goṅka I.), the commander of all forces (*samasta-sênâdhipati*) of the king. This shows that the title *Châlukya-râjya-bhavana-mûlastambha* assumed by Goṅka I. when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Châlukya kingdom. We also learn from No. 151 of 1897 that Goṅka I. was the son of Guṇḍâmbikâ. He was a *triśatôttara-sahasrâvani-nâtha* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No. 277 of 1905), while his grandson Goṅka II. was a *triśatôttara-shaṭsahasrâvani-nâtha* 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No. 274 of 1893).

of Velanâṇḍu."[1] Thus Prôla who, in his early career, was a Châlukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla II., preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Anmakoṇḍa inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrîśaila.[2]

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks. Mêḷarasa of Ugravâḍi who belonged to the family of Mâdhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions. A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇarâya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvâḍa and were ruling a portion of the Udayagiri-râjya, traces its origin to a certain Mâdhavavarman of the Solar race and the Vasishṭha-gôtra.[3] It is doubtful if this Mâdhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Mâdhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mêḷarasa of Ugravâḍi.

TEXT.[4]

East Face.

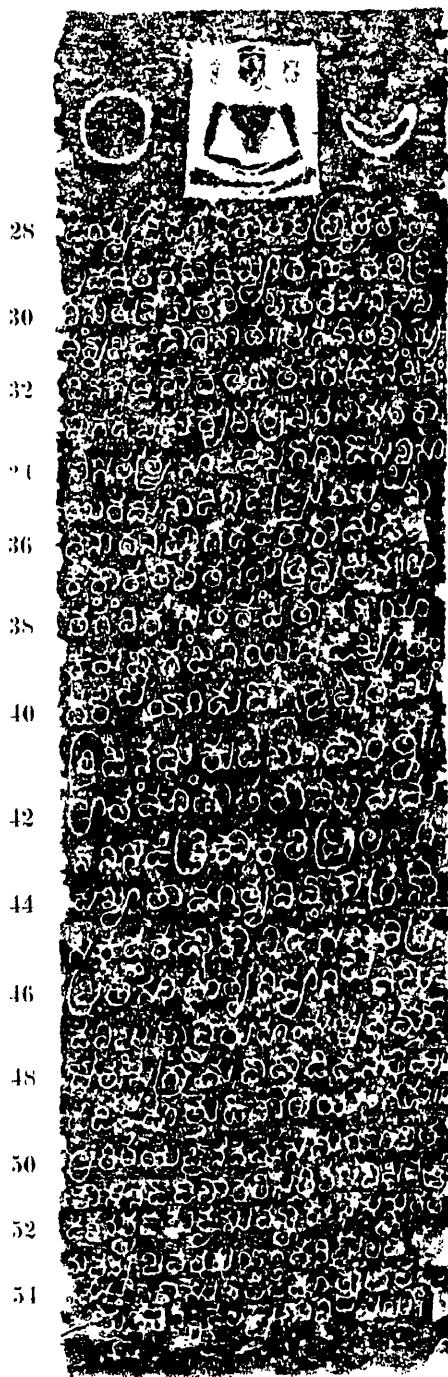
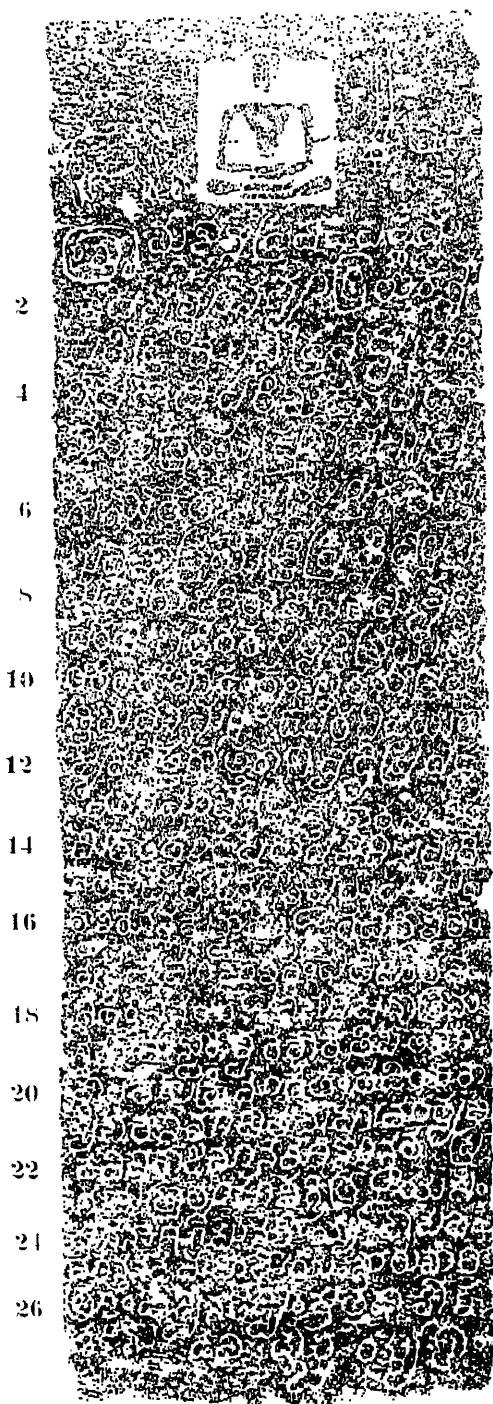
1 Śrîmaj-Jinêṁdra-pada-padmam=a-
2 śêsha-bhavyân=avyât=trilôka-nṛi-
3 patîṁdra-munîṁdra-vaṁdyaṁ | niḥ-
4 śêsha-dôsha-parikhaṁḍana-chaṁḍa-kâ-
5 ṇḍaṁ ratna-traya-prabhavam=udgha-

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 83. If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chôḍôdaya may be identified with the Velanâṇḍu chief Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa-Goṅka III (No. 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanâṇḍu chiefs on p. 35 of above, Vol. IV.) whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1157. And the word *Chôḍôdaya*, which literally means '(one who is) born of Chôḍa' may very aptly be applied to Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa-Goṅka III., whose father Velanâṇṭi-Râjêndra-Chôḍa is called Chôḍa of Velanâṇḍu in one of his inscriptions at Pâlakôl, dated in A.D. 1136 (No. 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chôḍi in an inscription at Niḍubrôlu, dated in A.D. 1132 (No. 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f.), and probably also in the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription as king Chôḍi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nârâyaṇa I. who was the grandfather of Jâyana, the general of Gaṇapati. This identification of Chôḍôdaya with Goṅka III. whose latest date as stated above, is A.D. 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Anmakoṇḍa inscription that Chôḍôdaya died out of fear of Prôla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city.

[2] This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned. The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurântakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrîśaila. Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandûrôdaya-Chôḍa (above, Vol. III. p. 83). Gaṇapati did likewise by taking to wives Nârâmbâ and Pêrâmbâ, the two sisters of his general Jâyana (*ibid.* p. 84). A Tripurântakam inscription (No. 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Gaṇapati's sister Mêlâmbikâ married Vakkaḍimalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha 'lord of Nâtavâṭi-vishaya.' The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvâḍa which is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1123 (above, Vol. VI. p. 159, text line 8) where Nâtavâḍi Rudra (*not* his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *maṛandi* 'brother-in-law' of Gaṇapati. Gaṇapati's daughter Gaṇapâmbâ was given in marriage to the Kôṭa chief Bêta of Amarâvati (above, Vol. III. p. 94). The Kôṭa chief Kêta II., whose mother Sabbamâ was the sister of the Velanâṇḍu chief Goṅka III. (above, Vol. VI. p. 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Kṛishṇâ river. Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarâvati in the Guntur district (Nos. 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viñjamâ of the family of the chiefs of Oṅginimârga (perhaps identical with Oṅgêṛumârga over which Nambaya of the Durjaya family was ruling; see above, Vol. VI. p. 224); Sabbamâ of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," *i.e.* the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭis; Pârvatî of the family of the chiefs of Kôna-Kaṇḍravâḍi; Nâgamâ of the family of the chiefs of Kâkati and Komaramâ, another princess of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi family. It is doubtful if the Kâkati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kâkatîyas of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kâkati in consequence of its relationship with the Kâkatîyas either directly or indirectly.

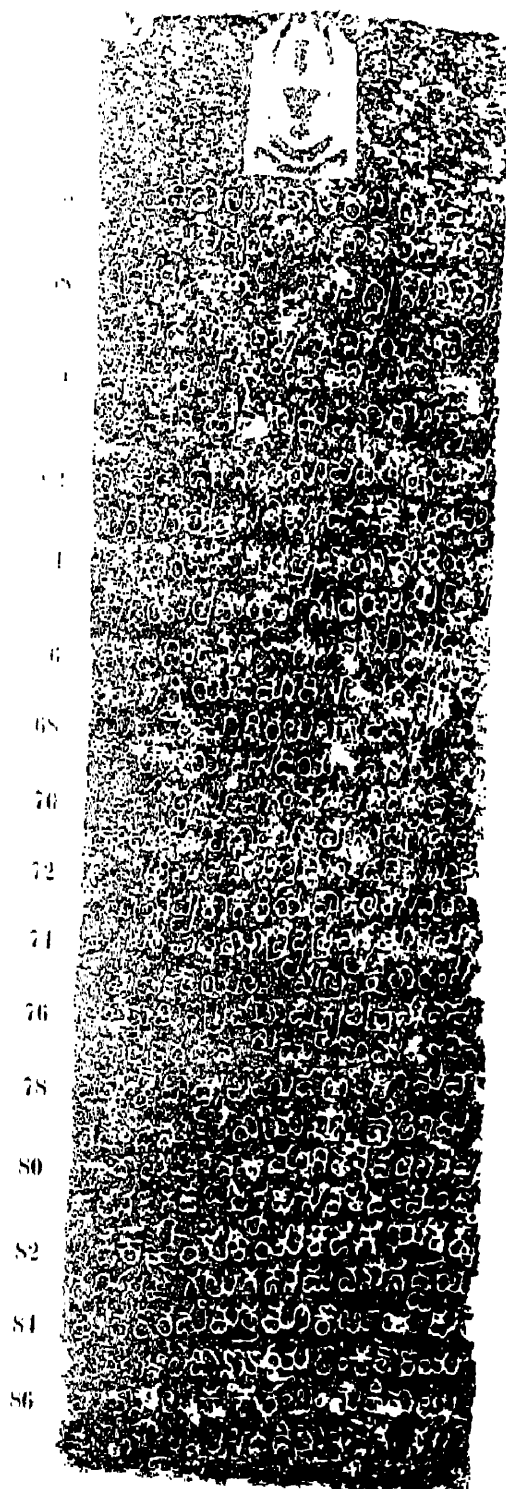
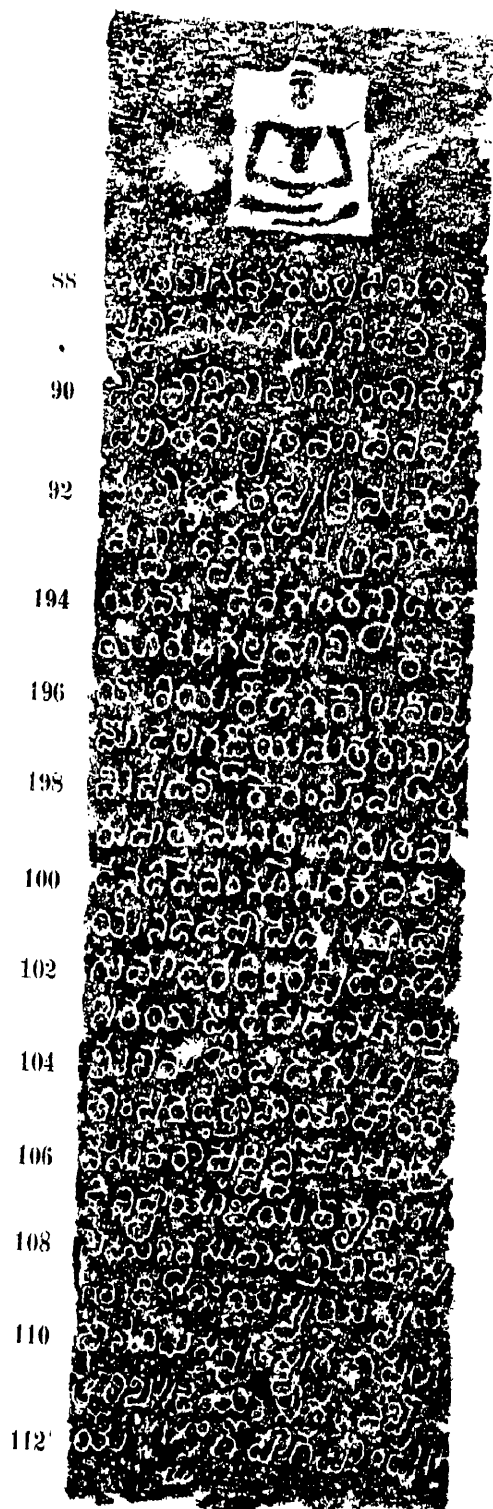
[3] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-07, Part II., paragraph 73.

[4] From two ink-impressions prepared by me in 1902.

Anmakonda inscription of Prola. — Chalukya Vikrama 42.

Sten Konow.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

Scale ·15

West face.
South face.

6 guṇ-aikatânaṁ || [1*] Svasti samasta-
7 bhuvanâśraya śrî-pri(pṛi)thvîvallabha
8 mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara
9 paramabhaṭṭâraka Satyâśraya-ku-
10 la-tilakaṁ Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ śrîma-
11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladêvara vijaya-râ-
12 jyam=uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddha-
13 mânam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ salutta-
14 m=ire [||*] Tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvi samadhi-
15 gatapaṁchamahâśabda mahâmaṁ[ḍa]-
16 ḷêśvaran=Anmakundâ-puravar-êśvaraṁ
17 parama-Mâhêśvaraṁ pati-hita-cha-
18 ritaṁ vina[ya]-vibhûshaṇaṁ śrîma-
19 n-mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara[ṁ] Kâkatî-Bêta-[bhû]-
20 pâla-kula-kri(kra)mâgataṁ tadîya-râ-
21 jya-bhara-nirûpita-mahâmâtya-pa-
22 davî-virâjamâna mân-ônnata pra-
23 bhu-maṁtr-ô[t]sâha-śakti-traya-saṁ-
24 paṁnan-â[gi] || Ghana-śauryy-âṭôpa[di]ṁ
25 mântanada mahimeyiṁ châru-châri-
26 tradiṁ[d=o]ḷpina teḷpiṁ sat-kaḷâ-kauśa-
27 ḷadi[n=o]david=âścharyya-[sau]ṁ-

North Face.

28 daryyadiṁd=a[rtthi]nikâya-prârtthit-ârttha-
29 [pra]da-vitaraṇa-[vi]khyâtan=âdaṁ dharitrî-
30 [vi]nutaṁ śrî-Kâkatî-Bêtarasana sachi-
31 vaṁ Vaija-daṁḍâdhinâtha || [2*] Agaṇita-śauryya-
32 diṁ negaḍda(ḷda) Kâkati-Bêta-narêṁdranaṁ jagaṁ
33 poṁgaḷe[1] Chaḷukya-chakri-charaṇaṁ sale kâ-
34 ṇisi tat-prasâdadiṁ bagegoḷe Sabbi-sâ-
35 yiraman=âḷisi[d=u]dgha-yaśô-
36 dhinâthanaṁ pogaḷadar=âro maṁḍa[ḷi]-
37 ka-Kâkati-Bêtana maṁtri Vaijana || [3*]. Â-
38 taṁgaṁ vikasita-kaṁjât-ânane Yâ-
39 kamabbegaṁ janiyisidaṁ khyâtaṁ
40 dhareyoḷu perggaḍe Bêtaṁ maṁ-
41 tri-jana-makuṭa-chûḍâratna || [4*]
42 Âtaṁ Mâṁ[dh]âta-Râm-ôpama-
43 n=enisida śrî-Kâkatî-Prôla-bhû-
44 pa-khyât-âmâtyaṁ vivêk-âgraṇi[2]
45 sakaḷa-kaḷâ-kôvidaṁ sach-charitra-
46 prîtaṁ sâhitya-vidyâ-ni[dhi] bu-
47 da(dha)-vibudh-ôrvvîruhaṁ satya-dharmm-ô-
48 pêtaṁ sva-grâmadôḷ=mâḍidan=ati-mu-
49 dadiṁ hattu dêvâlayaṁgaḷ*u*[3] || [5*]
50 Atiśaya-Jaina-dharmma-samay-ôchita-
51 Śâsanadêvi Bhâratî-sati śasi(śi)-biṁba-va[ktra]-

[1] Read *pogaḷe*.

[2] In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *vivêky-agraṇi*.

[3] About the *u* here and ll. 55, 68, and 69, which Dr. Fleet thinks to be a form of the *virâma*, see above, Vol. V. p. 237.

52 daśana-chchhade śuddha-suvarṇna(ṇṇa)-kumbha-sannuta-ta-
53 nuvarṇna(rṇṇa)-pîvara-[pa]yôdhari **Maila[ma Yâ]-**
54 [ka]mâṁbikâ-su[ta]-tad-amâtya-[Bê]ta-[hṛi]-
55 day-êśvari niśchaḷa-Lakshmi bhâvisal*u*[||][6*]

West Face.

56 Padadiṁd-â-luḷit-âlakaṁ barega[m=aṁ]g-ô-
57 pâṁgamaṁ paṁcha-ratnadin=aṁg-ôchitam=âge
58 nirmmisi sura-strî-bh[â]gya-saubhâgya-
59 samma[da]-sauṁ[da]ryyaman=âydu tîvi
60 padedaṁ Kaṁjâta-saṁjâtan=î su[datî]-
61 ratnaman=eṁdu Mailamanan=âr=âr=bba[ṇni](ṇṇi)sa-
62 r=llôkadoḷ || [7*] Nuta-rûpavati kaḷâ[va]-
63 ti rati-Rati Śrî-sati Ghaṭântakî-sati Vâ-
64 ṇî-satiy=eṁd=amâtya-Bêtana satiyaṁ
65 kshitiy=ellam=eyde nutiyisut=irkku[ṁ ||] [8*]
66 Mudadiṁd=ene negaḷda [Ra]m-âspade Mai-
67 lama bhaktiyiṁde mâḍisi tanag=abhyuda-
68 yakaram=âgiral*u* beṭṭada [mê]gaṇa
69 **Kadalalâya-basadiyan**=eseyal*u*[||][9*]
70 Adarkke nitya-pûjegaṁ dhûpa-dîpa-[ni]vêdya-
71 kkaṁ pûjârig=âhâ[ra][1]-vastrâdigaḷgaṁ
72 śrîmat-[T]ribhuvanamalla-maṁḍaḷika-bhû[pâ]-
73 ḷa-putran-appa **Kâkatiya-Poḷalarasana** râ-
74 jyam=utta[r]-ôttar-â[bhi]vri(vṛi)ddhi-pravarddhamânam-â-
75 g=Ammakuṁdeyal=â-chaṁdr-ârk[ka]-târaṁ sa-
76 luttum=ire śrîmach- **Châḷukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-**
77 **da nâlvatt-eraḍe(ḍa)neya Hêmaḷambi-[saṁ]-**
78 **vatsara Paushya-bahuḷa 15 Sômavâ-**
79 **rad-aṁdin=Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrâṁti-nimi-**
80 ttaṁ dhârâ-pûrvvakam-âgi tan[na] vallabhan-appa
81 Bêtana-perggaḍe tanna pesariṁdaṁ mâḍi-
82 sida keṟey-êriya keḷagaṇ=eraḍuṁ
83 hâs-aṟe-ga[l*]ngaḷa naḍu(ḍu)vaṇa gardhde(rdde)[ya]
84 mattar=eraḍuṁ mattam=â-keṟeya pa-
85 ḍu(ḍu)vaṇa nela doṇeya teṁkal=ereya
86 mattar=nnâlukuṁ karaṁbaṁ ma[tta]r=âḷu(ṟu)-
87 maṁ koṭṭu nirisidaḷ=î-śâ[sa]na-gaṁbha ||

South Face.

88 Mattam=î dharmmakke tellaṭiy-âge[||*]
89 A[shṭau] danti-sahasrâṇi daśa-kô-
90 ṭî cha vâjinâm=[|*] anantaṁ pâda-saṁ-
91 ghâtam=ity=êtê **Mâdha[va*]varmma-**
92 vaṁś-ôdbhavar-appa śrîman-mahâ-
93 maṇḍaḷêśvaran=**Ugravâ[ḍi]-**
94 **ya Mêḷarasaṁ** tann=â[li]ke-

[1] In the original the syllables *gâhâra* look like *gôhaṁta*.

95 y=Orumgalla **Kûchikere-**
96 y-êriya kelag[e] kâluveya
97 modala garddeya mattar=ond=â sa-
98 mîpadale karambam matta-
99 ru hattuman=itta || Nirutam=i-
100 dan=alidavam sâsira-kavi[le]-
101 yan=ali[da] pâpamam [po]rddu-
102 gum=âdaradim rakshi[si*]dam sâ-
103 sira-ye(ya)jñada palaman=eydi
104 śubha[ma]m padegu[m*] || [10*] Sva-da-
105 ttâm para-dattâm vâ yô harêta
106 vasumdharâm [|*] shashtir=vvarsha-sahasr[â]-
107 ni vishthâyâm jâyatê krimih || [11*]
108 Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sa-
109 gar-âdibhih [|*] yasya yasya ya-
110 dâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || [12*]
111 Alli basadiya kasam ge(ga)leva Bô-
112 ya-[Pa]ddamge pâga vomdu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the lotus-foot of the blessed **Jinêndra**, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being praised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dôsha*[1]), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*[2] (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems[3]) (*and*) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guṇa*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all **Bhavyas** ![4]

(Line 6 f.) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious **Tribhuvanamalladêva,**— the asylum of the whole world, the glorious *Prithvîvallabha*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the front ornament of the **Satyâśraya** family, the jewel of the **Châlukyas,**— was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L. 14 f.) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the chief **Kâkati Bêtarasa** who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the lord of **Anmakundâ**— the best of towns, a great devotee of **Mahêśvara** (**Śiva**), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.[5]

(L. 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahâmâtya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (*i.e.* Bêta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V. 2.) the *daṇḍâdhinâtha* **Vaija,** minister of the glorious king Kâkatî Bêta, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

[1] *Dôsha* is a medical term and means, according to Dr. Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death.' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dôsha*.

[2] See above, Vol. VIII. p. 134, note 3.

[3] These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *tâvare-maṇi* (lotus-gems) in Kanarese.

[4] *I.e.* the Jaina community; see Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II., p. 59, paragraph 6.

[5] The original appears to have *vinayi-* in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved;" but as *vinaya-vibhûshaṇa* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *yi*.

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride[1] (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous.

(V. 3.) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṇḍalika* Kâkatî Bêta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kâkati Bêta to successfully visit the feet of the Chaḷukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world).

(V. 4.) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced **Yâkamabbe** was born *pergaḍe* **Bêta** who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class.

(V. 5.) He (Bêta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kâkatî-Prôla, who was counted as equal to Mândhâta and Râma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (*i.e.* temples) in his own village.

(V. 6.) The wife of the minister Bêta, the son of [Yâ]kamâmbikâ, (was) **Mailama,** whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bimba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhâratî, a Śâsanadêvî (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmî (but) without (the latter's) fickleness.

(V. 7.) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying: "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those tremulous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)."

(V. 8.) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bêta saying: "She possesses praiseworthy beauty; she is full of lustre; (she) is a Rati in dalliance; (she) is the lady Śrî (*i.e.* Lakshmî), (she) is the lady Ghaṭântakî;[2] (she) is the lady Vâṇî (*i.e.* Sarasvatî)."

(V. 9.) The thus-praised abode of Ramâ (*i.e.* Lakshmî)— Mailama— having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent **Kadalalâya-basadi** (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L. 70.) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, *etc.*, of the temple priest,—

(L. 72.) while the reign of Kâkatiya **Poḷalarasa**, son of the glorious king, the *Maṇḍaḷika* **Tribhuvanamalla**, was continuously prosperous and successful, at **Ammakunde**, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars— in the **forty-second year** of the prosperous **Châḷukya-Vikrama years**, corresponding to the **Hêmaḷambi-saṁvatsara**; on account of the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti**

[1] The word *mântana* is not found in Dr. Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*. Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mânatana*.

[2] The Jaina saint Akalaṅka is said in the Mallishêṇa epitaph (above, Vol. III. p. 200) to have overcome, along with the Bauddhas, the Buddhist goddess Târâ who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place. According to the *Râjâvaḷi-kathe* (Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II. p. 45) Akalaṅka was helped in his disputation against the Bauddhas by the Jaina goddess Kûshmâṇḍinî and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kûshmâṇḍinî who helped Akalaṅka to smash the pot in which the goddess Târâ had taken her abode.

(which happened) on **Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Paushya** (of that year)—

(L. 80.) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *mattar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bêtana-*pergaḍe*, and four *mattar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*doṇe*) on the west side of the same tank and six *mattar* of uncultivated land,[1] (and) set up this inscribed pillar.

(L. 88 f.) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Mêḷarasa** of **Ugravâḍi**, who was born in the family of **Mâdha[vav]arma**, (whose army consisted) of "eight thousand elephants, eight crores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) *etc.*," gave one *mattar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of **Kûchikeṟe** (tank) which belonged to **Oruṁgallu** (included) within his rule, (and) ten *mattar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land).

(V. 10.) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows; (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*).

[Ll. 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses.]

(L. 111 f.) One *pâga*[2] (is assigned) to Bôya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple.

No. 36.— BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of **Bâlâghât**, a district in the Nâgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, 'some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle.' They were entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between $6\frac{3}{4}''$ and $6\frac{7}{8}''$ long by between $3\frac{7}{8}''$ and $4''$ high; two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}''$ distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and between $3''$ and $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.[3]

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of **the Vâkâṭaka king Pṛithivishêṇa II.,** but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

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[1] I have taken *karambam* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr. Winslow, means 'hard and sterile ground.'

[2] This small coin, more popularly pronounced *hâga*, is equal to 'one-fourth of a *haṇa*.'

[3] Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravarasêna II. in *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 235 and 243 and above, Vol. III., p. 258.

commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines[1] of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between ¼" and ⅜". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Dudia plates of the Vâkâṭaka Pravarasêna II., published with a facsimile above, Vol. III. p. 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare *jh*, in *Ajjhita*°, l. 31, the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya*, in *sûnâ-Kuntalâ*°, l. 30, and forms of the final *t*, in *samrâṭ*, l. 4, and of the final *t* (which does not show in the facsimile), in *vachanât*, l. 35.[2] The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *ṇṇ* (in *sannivêśita-*, l. 6, *utpannasya*, l. 23, and elsewhere); *visarga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines (*e. g.* in *sûnôḥ*, ll. 11 and 20); the signs for *d* and *ḍ* are well distinguished, *e.g.* in *-vâsakâd=*, l. 1, and *shôḍaśy-*, l. 2; and there are two forms of the letter *r*, *e.g.* in *-vâsakâd=*, l. 1, and *vachanât*, l. 35. — The language is somewhat ungrammatical Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *aksharas* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules of *saṁdhi* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants); the (long) *â* is several times written where the vowel should be short, and (the short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *î*; the vowel *ṛi* is used instead of *ri* in *-pautṛiṇaḥ*, l. 16, and *-śṛiyaḥ*, l. 27, and instead of *rî* in *śṛi-*, ll. 17 and 25. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *kâruṇya-*, l. 12, *maṇô-*, l. 13, and *-ânusâriṇaḥ*, l. 20; the word *aṁsa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vaṁśa* as *vanśa* in lines 8, 24, 27 and 33; *sh* is doubled after *r* in *varshsha-*, l. 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyaksha*, l. 35. With °*patir-abhya*° for °*paty-abhya*° in line 28, where the *r* of °*patir-* looks like a *saṁdhi*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-aiśvaryya-* for *-bbalaiśvaryya-* in line 15 of the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 261, where *m* is used in a similar way.[3]

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasênasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants[4] of the Vâkâṭaka king Pravarasêna II.; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with **Pravarasêna I.**, and enumerating after him his son's son **Rudrasêna I.**, his son **Pṛithivishêṇa I.**, his son **Rudrasêna II.**, and his son (from Prabhâvatiguptâ, the daughter of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Dêvagupta) **Pravarasêna II.** Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vêmbâra-vâsakâd=*, 'from (his) residence Vêmbâra,' in the place of which the Chammak and Dudia plates of Pravarasêna II. have *Pravarapurât*, 'from Pravarapura.' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from **Vêmbâra**, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasêna II. commence with *dṛishṭam*, or *dṛishṭaṁ svasti*, or *dṛishṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vêmbâra-*, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *dṛishṭam*. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 259, I am convinced now that *dṛishṭam* (and the Prâkṛit *diṭhaṁ* of the Mayidavôlu and Hirahaḍagalli plates[5]) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders.[6] Such a remark

[1] In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked; it is really line 18, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18—34 are really lines 19—35.

[2] There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.

[3] Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *saṁdhi*- consonant are *têna manêka-* for *tênânêka-* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 10, and *pravêśayitavyâ manyathâ* for *pravêśayitavyâ anaythâ* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 257, line 18.

[4] See above, p. 267, note 2.

[5] Nos. 617 and 618 of my *Southern List.*

[6] Compare the remarks of the late Prof. Bühler, above Vol. I, pp. 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI, p. 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. I, p. 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohaliza shud*, 'it has been seen.' Like *dṛishṭam*, *jñâtam* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 92, l. 21 (*jñâtam=mahâmantri-śrî-Mâhakêna*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasêna II. our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahârâja* **Narêndrasêna**, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahâdêvî*) **Ajjhita-bhaṭṭârikâ**,[1] a daughter of the lord of **Kuntala** — the *Mahârâja* **Pṛithivishêṇa [II.]**, a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishṇu). Narêndrasêna, 'from confidence[2] in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of **Kôsala, Mêkala** and **Mâlava**, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.' Pṛithivishêṇa II. is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family.' The name *Pṛithivishêṇasya*, in line 35. is followed by *vachanât*, 'at his command'; but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vâkâṭaka stone inscription published in *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 124 ff., the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of **Pravarasêna II.**, are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasêna's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well,' has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was **Dêvasêna**. As has been stated above, according to our grant Pravarasêna's son **Narêndrasêna** took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of **Kuntala**, and was succeeded by his son **Pṛithivishêṇa II.** The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of **Kuntala** by apparently Pṛithivishêṇa I., and in verse 18 speaks of **Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kôsala, Trikûṭa, Lâṭa, Andhra** . . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vâkâṭakas]. According to the present inscription Narêndrasêna had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of **Kôsala, Mêkala** and **Mâlava**. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of **Mêkala** (according to the Topographical List of the Bṛihatsaṁhitâ in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmadâ is called *Mêkala-kanyâ*, 'the daughter of Mêkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarakaṇṭak (in Long. 81° 48′ and Lat. 22° 40′) in the ancient Chêdi country.[3]

Here and in the cognate plates the Vâkâṭaka kings have the title *mahârâja* followed by the word *śrî* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vâkâṭakânâm; e.g. Vâkâṭakânâṁ mahârâja=śrî-Pravarasênasya.* Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vâkâṭakânâm* were governed by the title *mahârâja*: 'the illustrious Pravarasêna, the great king of the Vâkâṭakas,' or 'the *Mahârâja* of the Vâkâṭakas, the illustrious Pravarasêna.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahârâja*, but the whole phrase *mahârâja-śrî-Pravarasêna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasêna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Pravarasêna of the Vâkâṭakas,' *i.e.* 'of the family of the Vâkâṭakas.'[4] I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Maitrakâṇâm* in the Valabhî plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed; *Vishṇukuṇḍinâm* above, Vol. IV. p. 195, l. 2; and

[1] The name *Ajjhitadêvî* we also find in the Kâritalâi plates of the Mahârâja Jayanâtha; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 118.

[2] The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

[3] Compare *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII., Plate I., and the verse cited by Dr. Bhandarkar above, Vol. IV., p. 280.

[4] The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhâraśivânâm* in line 10 of the inscription.

Kadambânâm in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 26, l. 5 and Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and above, Vol. VI. p. 14, l. 4, and p. 18, l. 5.

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A.D.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 . . . [2]Vêmbâra-vâsakâd=agnishṭôm-âptôryyâm-ôkthya-
2 shôḍaśy-atirâtra-vâjapêya-brihaspatisava-sâdya-
3 skra-chaturaśvamêdha-yâjinaḥ[3] Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagôtra-
4 sya samrâṭ[4] Vâkâṭakânâm=mahârâja-śri-[5]Pravarasê-
5 nasya [6]sûnôs=sûnôḥ atyanta-Svâmi-Mahâ-
6 bhairava-bhaktasya[7] ansa-[8]bhâra-sannivêśita-[9]Śiva-
7 liṅg-ôdvahana-Śiva-suparitushṭa-samutpâdita-
8 râjavaṅśânâm[10]=parâkram-âdhigata-Bhâgiratthy-âmala-[11]
9 jala-[12]mûrddhnâbhishiktânân=daśâśvamêdh-âva-

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 bhṛitha-snâtânâm=Bhâraśivânâm=[13]mahârâja-śri-[14]Rudrasê-
11 nasya sûnôḥ atyanta-mâhêśvarasya saty-ârjjava-
12 kârunya(ṇya)-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-mâhâ-
13 tmya-dhimatva-pâtragatabhaktitva-dharmmâvijayitva-[15]man[ô]-[16]
14 nairmmâly-âdir-[17]guṇa-samuditasya varshsha-śata-
15 m=abhivarddhamâna-kôśa-daṇḍa-sâdhana-santâna-putra-
16 pautṛi(tri)ṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vṛittêr=[18]Vvâkâṭakânâm=mahâ-
17 râja-śṛi(śrî)-Pṛithivishêṇasya sûnô[ḥ*] bhagavata-
18 ś=Chakrapâṇê[ḥ*] prasâd-ôpârjjita-śri-[19]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 samudayasya Vâkâṭakânâm=mahârâja-śri-[20]Rudra-
20 sênasya sûnôḥ [21]pûrvvarâj-ânuvṛitta-mâ[r*]gg-âṇu(nu)sâ-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *aksharas.* One would have expected here the word *dṛishṭam,* with which the three grants of Pravarasêna II. begin.

[3] This sign of *visarga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

[4] The plates of Pravarasêna II. have *samrâd-* (?), *sashraṭ,* and *samrâṭaḥ.* Read *samrâjaḥ* (or *samrâjô*).

[5] Read *-śrî-.*

[6] The *akshara sû* is clear in the original.

[7] Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *visarga.*

[8] Read *aṁsa-.*

[9] In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *ṇṇ.*

[10] Read *°vaṁśânâm=.*

[11] Read *-Bhâgîrathy-amala-.*

[12] Read *-mûrddhâbhi°;* compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, l. 6.

[13] Here the words *mahârâja-śrî-Bhavanâga-dauhitrasya Gautamîputrasya putrasya Vâkâṭakânâm* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted.

[14] Read *-śrî-.*

[15] Read *-dhîmattva-pâtrâgatabhaktatva-dharmmavijayitva-.*

[16] Read *-manô-.*

[17] Read *nairmmaly-âdi-.*

[18] Originally *vvi°* was engraved.

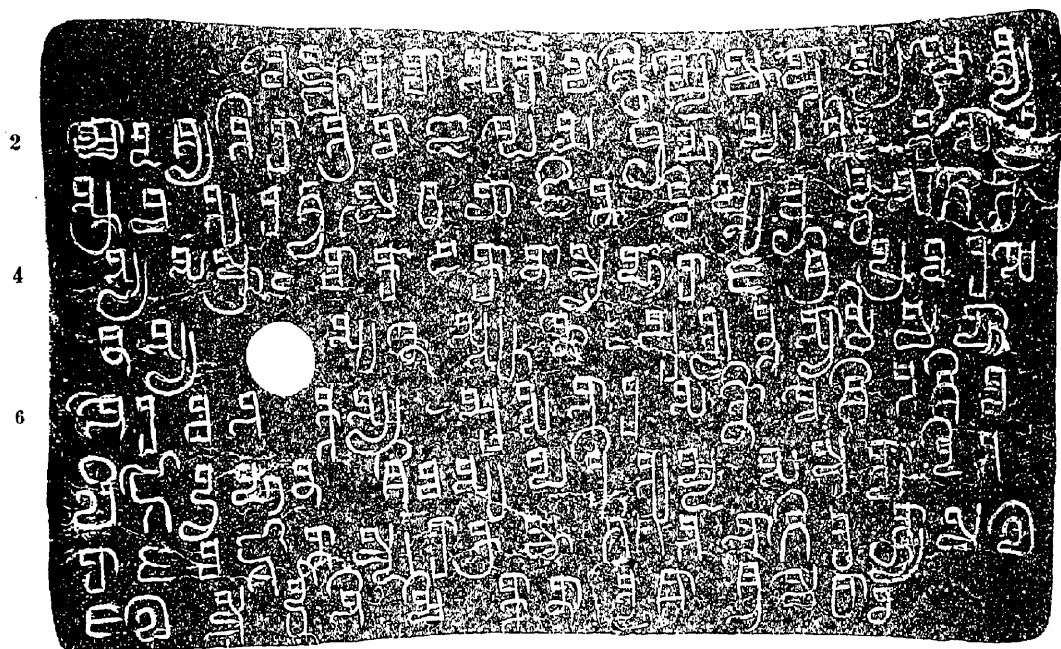
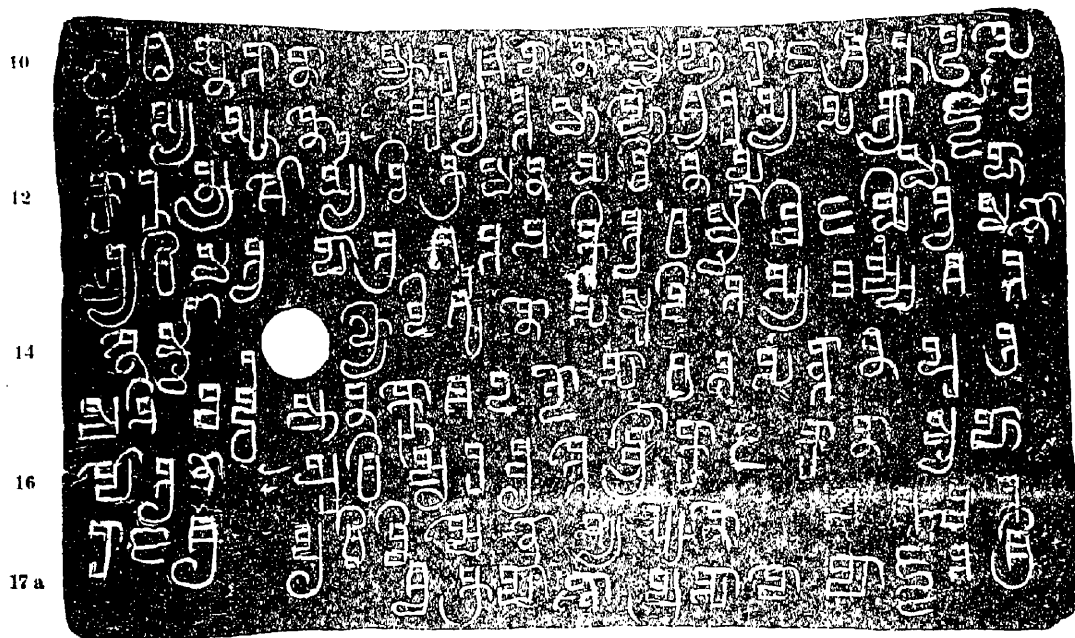
[19] One would have expected *prasâdâd=upâ°.*—Read *-śrî-.*

[20] Read *-śrî-.*

[21] Of the three grants of Pravarasêna II., only the Siwanî grant has the passage from here to *°dvishâḥ ;* see *Gupta Inscr.,* p. 246, lines 14 and 15.

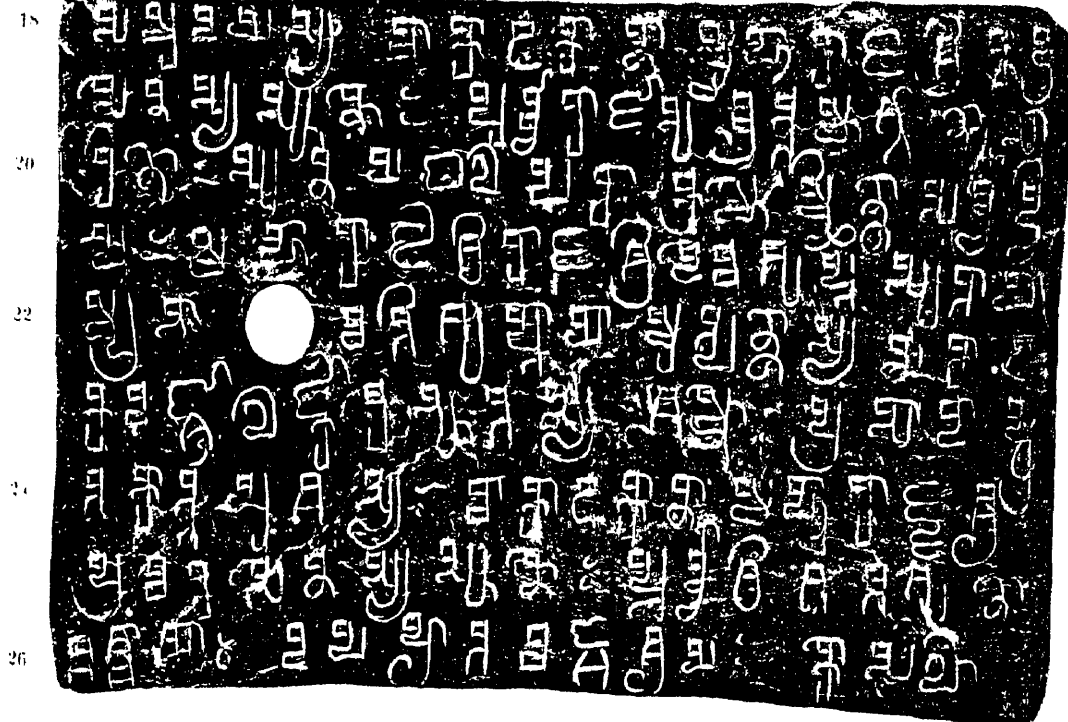
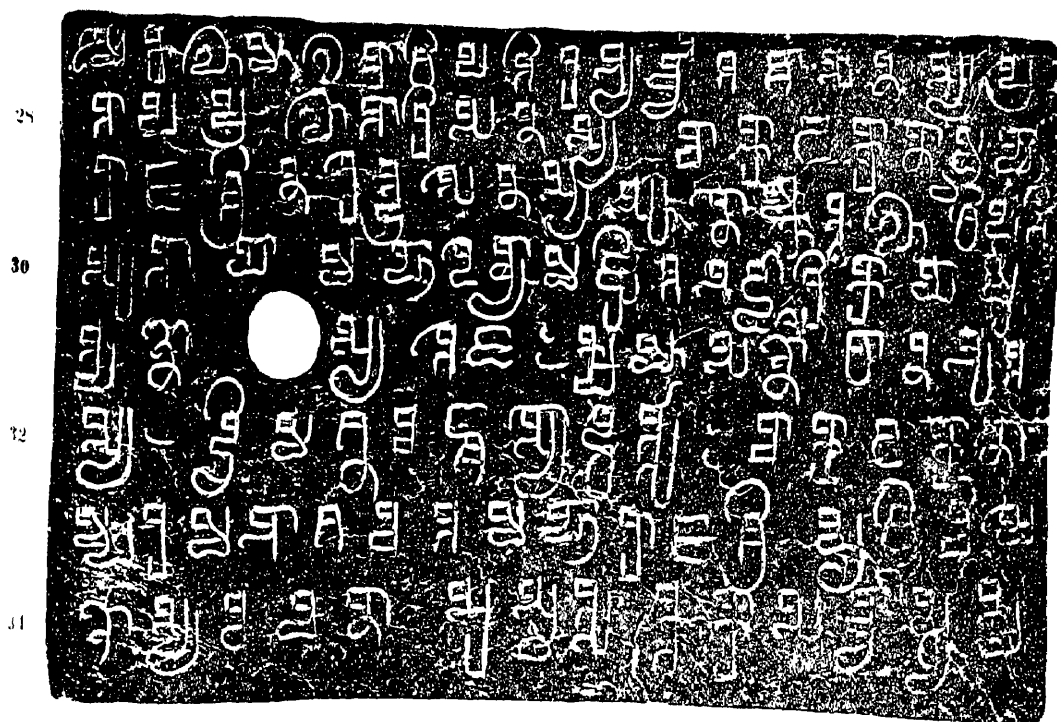
Balaghat plates of Prithivishena II.

i.

ii a.

E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

Scale ·95

ii b.

iii a.

21 riṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parâkram-ômcbhinna-[1]sarvvadvi-
22 shaḥ mahârâjâdhirâja-śri-[2]Dêvagupta-sutâyâ-
23 m=Prabhâvatiguptâyâm=utpannasya Vâkâṭa-
24 [3]kavaṅś-âlaṅkârabhûtasya Śambhôḥ prasâdâd=dhra(dhṛi)-
25 [4]ta-kârttayugasya [5]Vâkâṭakânâ[m*]=mahârâjja(ja)-śṛi(śrî)-
26 Pravarasênasya sûnôḥ pûrvvâdhigata-guṇa-
27 [6]vi]śvâ[sâ ?]d=apahṛita-vaṅśaśṛiyaḥ[7] Kôsalâ-[8]

Third Plate.

28 Mêkalâ[9]-Mâlav-âdhipatir-abhyarchchata-[10]śâsanasya pra-
29 tâpa-pralâtârisanasya[11] Vâkâṭakânâm=mahâ-
30 râja-śri-[12]Narêndrasênasya sûnôḥ=Kuntalâdhipati-
31 sutâyâ[m*]=mahâdêvyâm=Ajjhita-bhaṭṭârikâyâm=u-
32 tpannasya têjaḥ-kshamâ-sannidhânabhuta-[13]
33 sya[14] dvimagna-vaṅśasy[15]=ôddharttuḥ Vâkâṭakânâ-
34 m=paramabhâgavata-mahârâja-śri[16]-Pṛithivishê-
35 ṇasya vachanât[17] asmatsantakâ[18] sarvv-âddhyaksha-

No. 37.—ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEVA.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr. C. L. Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between $6\frac{1}{16}''$ and $6\frac{1}{8}''$ long by between $3\frac{3}{8}''$ and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about $\frac{5}{8}''$ distant from the middle of

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[1] Read *-ôchchhinna-*. [2] Read *-śrî-*. [3] Read *-kavaṁś-*.

[4] Instead of this *ta-* the Chammak and Siwanî grants of Pravarasêna II. have *ti-*, which seems to me preferable.

[5] Here some *akshara* (perhaps the initial *i*) was engraved, but has been erased.

[6] The reading is doubtful. The first *akshara* of the line is *vi*, the superscript *i* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original; and the second appears to be *śvâ*. The third *akshara* looks more like *yâ* than *sâ*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *m*, and has probably been struck out. The *dâ* and what follows is clear.

[7] Read *-vaṁśaśriyaḥ*. [8] Read *Kôśala-*.

[9] Perhaps *Maikalâ-* has actually been engraved; read *Mêkala-*.

[10] Read °*paty-abhyarchchita-*. [11] Read *-praṇatârisâsanasya* (?).

[12] Read *-śrî-*. [13] Read °*bhûta-*.

[14] Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *visarga*.

[15] Read *ni(?)magna-vaṁśasy=*. [16] Read *-śrî-*.

[17] This final *t*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plate. In *Gupta Inscr.* p. [illegible], l. 17, the text has *vachanâ* [*t**].

[18] Read °*santakâs=*, and compare above, Vol. III. p. 261, l. 18.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between $\frac{5}{16}''$ and $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick and about 3″ in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between $1\frac{1}{16}''$ and $1\frac{3}{16}''$ in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

śrî-Vidyâdhara-
bhañjadêvasya

in northern characters which are between $\frac{3}{16}''$ and $\frac{1}{4}''$ high.

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere[1] called the Gañjâm variety of the northern alphabet; and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsûr grant[2] of Nêtribhañja, published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. p. 669 f. and Plate xxxiii., would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are :—

L. 1. Svayam=âdishṭô râjñâ dûtakô=tra [Mâr]taṁḍaḥ || Likhitaṁñ=cha[3] sândhivi-
2. grahika-Arkka[dêvêna][4] || Lâñchhitaṁ [râ]jñî-śrî-Mâṇikya-mahâdê-
3. vyâ || Utkîrṇṇaṁ ch=âksha[śâ]li-Kumâra[dattêna] || [5]samvat . . .
4. di[6] . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing; the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}''$. The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, *e.g.* on the Bugudâ plates of Mâdhavavarman, treated of above, Vol. VII. p. 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h*[7] (*e.g.* in *Harasya Śêshâhêr=*, l. 4), *ṭ* and *ṭṭ* (*e.g.* in *prakaṭa-*, l. 9, and *-vighaṭṭitâ*, l. 6), and *ṇ* (*e.g.* in *-vâṇa-prâṇa-*, l. 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (*e.g.* in *Bhañjâmala°*, l. 14, *=uktañ=cha*, l. 27, and *lâñchhitaṁ*, l. 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *ksh*, *gg*, *gbh*,

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[1] See above, Vol. VII., p. 101.

[2] The published text, which was furnished to Mr. Prinsep by Kamalâkânta Vidyâlaṁkâra, is quite untrustworthy. According to Mr. Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittoe's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam=âdishṭô râjñâ dûtakô=tra bhaṭṭa-śrî-Stambhadêvaḥ likhitañ=cha sândhivigrahiṇâ Kâ[kka]kêna utkîrṇṇa[ṁ] ch=âkshaśâli-Durggadêvêna* || *lâñchitaṁ* . . . . *samvat* (?) *Mâgha-śudi* . . . .

[3] Read *likhitañ=cha.*

[4] Read *grahik-Ârkka°.*

[5] Read *saṁvat*; the three *aksharas* by which this word is followed are illegible.

[6] This *di* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10; and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ôṁ*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter-numerals also in the last line of the Bâmanghâṭî grant of Raṇabhañja, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XL. Part I. p. 165 f., and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gañjâm grants of Daṇḍimahâdêvî, above, Vol. VI. p. 139 and Plate.

[7] The same sign for *h* (which is not given by our palæographic Tables) we find in the Bugudâ plates of Mâdhavavarman, in the Gumsûr plates of Nêtribhañja, and on the second side of the plate of Daṇḍimahâdêvî, above, Vol. VI. p. 138. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *h* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.

dbh and *mbh* (*e.g.* in *-vikshôbha-daksham*, l. 1, *°vargga*, l. 10, *-Digbhañjadêvasya*, l. 12, *=udbhâ-* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhadêva-*, l. 36). There is a special sign for final *t*, in *-ânyat*, l. 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *yâvat*, l. 21, and *°râdhât* for *°rôdhât*, l. 22. Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *â*), *i*, *u* and *ê*, in *achandrâ°*, l. 21, *iva*, ll. 5 and 6, *iti*, l. 33, *Upamany[u]-*, l. 23, *urtkirṇṇa*, l. 38, and *êtad°*, l. 19. As regards medial vowels, *â* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *lâbhañja°* at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjâmala°*, l. 14; and there are two signs[1] of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen *e.g.* in *jayatu*, l. 1, and *bhuvana°*, l. 2, and the other in *-sura°*, l. 7, *-rîpu°*, l. 10, *Vañjulvakâ-*, l. 8, and *=vvahubhir=*, l. 27, *etc.*; the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *û*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial *ê* may be seen *e.g.* in *Śêshâhêr=a(i)va yê*, l. 4, and *pra(prâ)lêyâchala-*, l. 5; and similarly two forms of medial *ô*, *e.g.* in *kîrttayô vilô°*, l. 35. The sign of *anusvâra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padaṁ yathârhaṁ*, l. 17. The signs of *virâma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35; the rest of the text is in prose. As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted; and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusîmâ-* for *chatussîmâ-*, l. 19, *=anurôdhâ cha* for *=anurôdhâch=cha*, l. 26, and five or six times in the words *data* and *dati* for *datta* and *datti*. (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *i* and *î*, where *î* is used instead of *i* no less than nine times (*e.g.* in *nîkasha*, l. 3, *rîpu*, l. 10, *salîla*, l. 21, *etc.*); and *û*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u*. A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *akshara*, as in *Vidyâdhabhañja°* for *Vidyâdharabhañja°*, l. 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal; and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,[2] the *Mahârâja* Vidyâdharabhañjadêva, also called king Dharmakalaśa(?), who was a son of Śilâbhañjadêva,[3] grandson of Digbhañjadêva,[4] and great-grandson of Raṇabhañjadêva; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from Vañjulvaka.[5] Like the Gumsûr grant of Nêtṛibhañjadêva Kalyâṇakalaśa, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgâ. In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sâmantas*, *Bhôgins*[6] and others, the [lords of] *vishayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the Ramalavva, *vishaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of Tuṇḍurâva in that district,

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[1] Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached; thus, *k* and *n* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *s* always the straight or hook-shaped sign. In line 17, where the curve-shaped *u* is attached to *p*, the *akshara* intended to be denoted is *pû* (of *pûjayati*), not *pu*; the same remark applies to the *u* of *nirddhuta°* (for *nirddhûta°*) in line 11. But in the case of *bhu* and *bhû*, *u* and *û* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign.

[2] Compare *e.g.* *Gaṅgâmalakulatilaka*, above, Vol. III. p. 18, l. 12, and *Kadamvâ(mbâ)malakulatilaka*, *ibid.* p. 223, l. 22.

[3] In line 5 of the Gañjâm plates mentioned in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 33, No. 218 (and of which Dr. Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Silâbhañjadêva*. Above, Vol. III. p. 353, l. 33, a place *Śilâbhañjapâṭi*, which was in *Ôḍra-dêśa* (Orissa), is mentioned.

[4] The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bâmanghâṭî plates of Raṇabhañja, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it.

[5] The original has *vijaya-Vañjulvakât.*

[6] Compare *e.g.* above, Vol. VI. p. 298, l. 18: *-sâmanta-bhôgika-vishayapati-*; *ibid.* p. 142, l. 25 (in one of Daṇḍimahâdêvî's grants) we have the term *brihadbhôgin*.

rent-free,[1] to the *bhaṭṭa* Dârukhaṇḍî—a son of Śûridêva(?) and grandson of Gaurichandra—of the Upamanyu *gôtra* and Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ* (of the Ṛigvêda); and he enjoins future kings (*râjaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmaśâstras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lâñchhitam*, *pravêśitam*, *likhitam*, and *utkîrṇam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the *sândhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akshasâlin*[2] (or goldsmith) Kumârachandra. The term *pravêśitam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant; but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *svayam=âdishṭô râjñâ dûtakô=tra* of the Gumsûr grant of Nêtṛibhañja and of the earlier grant on these very plates[3] (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lâñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkîrṇam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dûtaka* and that the words *pravêśitaṁ Kêśavêna* must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kêśava.' The passage commencing with *lâñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 227, *lâñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, *etc.*, and *lâñchhita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayâ mudritam*).[4] We find the word in the Buguḍa plates of Mâdhavavarman, above, Vol. III. p. 46, l. 50, *lâñchhitaṁ Jayasiṅghêna*; in the Gañjâm plates of Pṛithivîvarmadêva, above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 35, *lâṁñchhitaṁñ=cha śrî-mâ(ma)hâdêvyâ*; in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lâñchhitaṁ [râ]jñî-śrî-Mâṇikya-mahâdêvyâ*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Mâṇikya-mahâdêvî;' and it occurs also in the Gumsûr grant of Nêtṛibhañja, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.[5] In the present case our text appears to give us *lâñchhitaṁ śrî-Trikaliṅga-mahâdêvyâ*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikaliṅga-mahâdêvî,'[6] which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates; but these words are followed by *têjaḍikêna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śrîbhaṭṭa-Stambhadêva-mantriṇâ*, 'by the minister, the *bhaṭṭa* Stambhadêva,'[7] which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lâñchhitaṁ* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhañja family during the Middle Ages,[8] and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

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[1] In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambandha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *saliladhârâ-puraḥsarêṇa vidhinâ*, and *akaratvêna* (for which by mistake *karatvêna* has been engraved). Compare *e.g.* above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 38, and Vol. VII. p. 101.

[2] On this word, which in Sanskṛit is generally spelt *akshaśâlin* (*e.g.* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII. p. 145, l. 26), see now Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol. VII. p. 107, note 4.

[3] See above, p. 272 and note 2.

[4] According to Yâjñavalkya I. 319, the *śâsana* of a king should be *svamudrôparichihnitam* (*i.e. sva-mudrayâ Garuḍa-varâhâdi-rûpay=ôpari-bahiś-chihnitam=aṅkitam*). And above, Vol. III. p. 302, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrâ-śuddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' *etc.*

[5] See above, p. 272, note 2.

[6] Similar names are *Chôḷa-mahâdêvî* and *Gaṅga-mahâdêvî*.

[7] In the Gumsûr grant of Nêtṛibhañja the *bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious Stambhadêva, is mentioned as *dûtaka*.

[8] A traditional date in the Śaka year 754 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhañja (Bhunju) chiefs in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 3.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions **Vañjulvaka**, from where both this grant and the Gumsûr grant of Nêtṛibhañja were issued, the **Ramalavva** *vishaya* and in it the village of **Tuṇḍurâva**. I have not found the names of these places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate; Second Side.

1 Ôṁ[2] [||*] [3]Jayatu Kusumavâ(bâ)ṇa-prâṇa-vikshôbha-dakshaṁ svaki-
2 [4]raṇaparivêshôrjjityâ-[5]jîrṇṇênduḷêkhaṁ [|*] tribhuvanabhavan-â-
3 ntar=dyôtabhâsvat-pradipaṁ[6] kanakanî(ni)kasha-gauraṁ vibhru[7] nêtraṁ
4 Harasya [||*] [8]Śêshâhêr=ava[9] yê phaṇâ[ḥ*] pravilasanty=udbhâ-
5 svarêndu-tvisha[ḥ*] pra(prâ)lêyâchala-śṛiṅgakôṭṭa(ṭa)ya iva tva-
6 ṅganti ya(yê)=tyunnatâ[ḥ*] [|*] nṛittâṭôpa-vighaṭṭitâ iva bhujâ râ-
7 janti yê Śâ[ṁ]bhavâs=tê sarvvâgha-vighâtina[ḥ*] surasa-
8 rit[t*]ôy-ôrmmayaḥ pânt[u] vaḥ [||*] Svasti [|*]Vijaya-**Vañjulvakâ**-[10]

Second Plate; First Side.

9 d=asti[11] śri-vijaya-nilayaḥ prakaṭaguṇagaṇa-gra-
10 sta-samastarî(ri)puvargga[ḥ*][12] [13][śrî-**Dharmma ?**]**kalaśa**-nâmâ râ-
11 jâ nirddhuta[14]-kalikalushakalmasha[ḥ*] śrî-**Raṇabhañjadêva**-[15]
12 sya prapautra[ḥ*] śrî-**Digbhañjadêvasya**[16] naptâ śrî-**Śi**-
13 **lâbhañjadêvasya** sutaḥ paramamâhêśvarô mâtâpi-
14 tṛi-pâdânudhyâtô **Bhañjâmalakula**[17]-tilakô mahârâ-
15 ja-śrî-**Vidyâdha[ra*]bhañjadêvasya**[18] kuśalî **Ramalavva**-[19]

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[1] From the original plates. [2] Denoted by a symbol. [3] Metre: Mâlinî.

[4] Originally *raṇapiri* was engraved, but the *i* of *pi* has been struck out.

[5] Read °*shaurjjitya*.—Compare *Raghuvaṁśa* v. 74: *svakiraṇaparivêshôdbhêda-śûnyâḥ pradîpâḥ*.

[6] Read -*pradîpaḥ*.

[7] Read *babhru*; this word is synonymous with *piṅgala*, and Śiva is *piṅgalâksha*. Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 200, l. 1 of the text.—The Gumsûr grant has *chdru*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *vibhru* is correct and should be translated "brow-less."—S. K.]

[8] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [9] Read =*iva*.

[10] These four *aksharas* are quite clear in the original. Dr. Râjêndralâl's text has *Valjalvakâ*. The Gumsûr grant appears to have *Vâñjulvakât*, which by Kamalâkânta was misread *Vâñchalikâstu*.

[11] Read *t* | *Asti śrî*-.

[12] The *visarga* which I have added here and below before *śrî* is not absolutely necessary.

[13] The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four *aksharas* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered; and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first *akshara* is intended to be *śri* (for *śrî*), and that the last contained the conjunct *mm*.—The corresponding passage of the Gumsûr grant is: *Asti jayaśrî-nilayaḥ prakaṭaguṇa-grasta-sarvaripugarvvaḥ śrî-Kalyâṇakalaśa-nâmâ râjâ*.

[14] Read *nirddhûta*.

[15] In the facsimile the first *akshara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *vra* (and was read so by Dr. Râjêndralâl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *v* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate.

[16] This name is clear in the original; and so is the next. Dr. Râjêndralâl read the two names *Divabhañja* and *Śilîbhañja*.

[17] Dr. Râjêndralâl read *Bhañjanala-kula*-. [18] Read °*dêvas=sa*.

[19] The first three *aksharas* of this name are clear in the original; the last might be read *vdha*. Dr. Râjêndralâl read *Vamalabhañja*-, but regarded the letters as doubtful.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

16 vishay-ê yathânivâsi-sâmanta-bhôgi-bhôgyâdi[1]-vi-
17 shaya-janapadaṁ yathârhaṁ mânayati pu(pû)jayati vô(bô)-
18 dhayaty=âdiśati [2]ch=ânyat sarvvataḥ [3]śivam=asmâkam=a-
19 nyat[4] êtad[v]ishaya-samvandha-[5]Tuṇḍ[u]râvagrâma[6] chatusîmâ-
20 paryantaḥ[7] grâmô=yaṁ || mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-â-
21 bhivṛiddhayê [8]achandrârkka-samaṁ kâlaṁ yâvat salî(li)ladhâ-
22 râ-puraḥsarêṇa vidhinâ guṇ-ânurâdhât[9] karatvêna[10][bhôgya ?]
23 Upamanya-[11]gôtrâya datê-pravarâya[12] Ba(ba)hvṛicha-śyâkha-[13]

Third Plate ; First Side.

24 ya Gôrichandraḥ[14] naptâ Śuridêvasya suta bhâṭṭa-Dâru-
25 khaṇḍi || nâmnê pratipâditô=smâbhis=tad=êshâ dati=ddha-[15]
26 rmma-gauravâd=asmâkam=anurôdhâ[16] cha bhavishyad-râjakai[ḥ*]
27 pratipâlanîy=êty=[17]uktañ=cha dharmma-śâstrair=vvahubhir=vva-
28 sudhâ datâ[18] râjabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-âdibhir=yasya yasya yadâ
29 bhu(bhû)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-datâ[19] vâ
30 yô harêta vasundharâṁ [|*] sa vishṭhâyâ[ṁ*] kṛimî[20] bhutvâ pi-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

31 tṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatê [||*] Mâ bhu(bhû)d=aphala-śaṅkâ vaḥ para-dat=ê-[21]
32 ti pârthivâḥ [|*] sva-dânât=phalam=ântyaṁ[22] paradat-ânupâla-

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[1] The akshara *bhô* of *bhôgyâdi* has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word *bhôgi* before *bhôgyâdi* is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake ; and for the following *vishaya-janapadaṁ* I should have expected something like *vishayapatîñ=jânapadâṁś=cha.*

[2] Read *cha | Anyat.*—The Gumsûr grant apparently has :—*âdiśati cha sarvvataḥ śivam=asmâkam=anyat viditam=astu bhavatâm=êtadvishaya-.*

[3] Originally *śivim=* was engraved, but the *i* of *vi* has been struck out.

[4] This second *=anyat* is superfluous.

[5] Read *-sambandha-* (for *-sambaddha-*).

[6] Read °*grâmaś=chatuḥsîmâ-.*

[7] Read *paryantô.* The following *grâmô=yaṁ* and the sign of punctuation are superfluous.

[8] Read °*ddhaya â-chandrârkka-sama-kâlaṁ ;* the following *yâvat* is superfluous.

[9] Read °*rôdhât.*

[10] Instead of *karatvêna,* we require *akaratvêna,* which (like *akarîkṛitya*) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsûr grant (though Kamalâkânta's text gives *âkararatnêna*). The following two *aksharas* are conjectural. In the Gumsûr grant *akaratvêna* is possibly followed by *bhuñjadbhiḥ* (for which the text has *bhaṁjâdri*).

[11] Read *Upamanyu-.*

[12] As the word *datta* below is several times written *data,* this might stand for *dattê-* (or perhaps *datta-*) *pravarâya ;* but I am unable to explain the expression. In *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXI. p. 256, l. 43, we have *Aupamanyava-sagôtrâya | Âślâyana-savrahmachâriṇê bhaṭṭapravara-Vîthîkarâtamiśrâya,* where *bhaṭṭapravara* is equally obscure. The Upamanyavas had three *pravaras* — Vâsishṭha, Âbharadvasu and Indrapramada ; compare M. Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit.,* p. 385.

[13] Read *-śâkhâ-.*

[14] *Gaurichandrasya naptrê Śûri(?)dêvasya sutâya bhaṭṭa-Dârukhaṇḍî-nâmnê.*

[15] Read *dattir=ddha-.*

[16] Read °*dhâch=.*

[17] Read *=êti | Uktañ=cha dharmma-śâstraiḥ | Bahubhir=.*—Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 33 : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[18] Read *dattâ.*

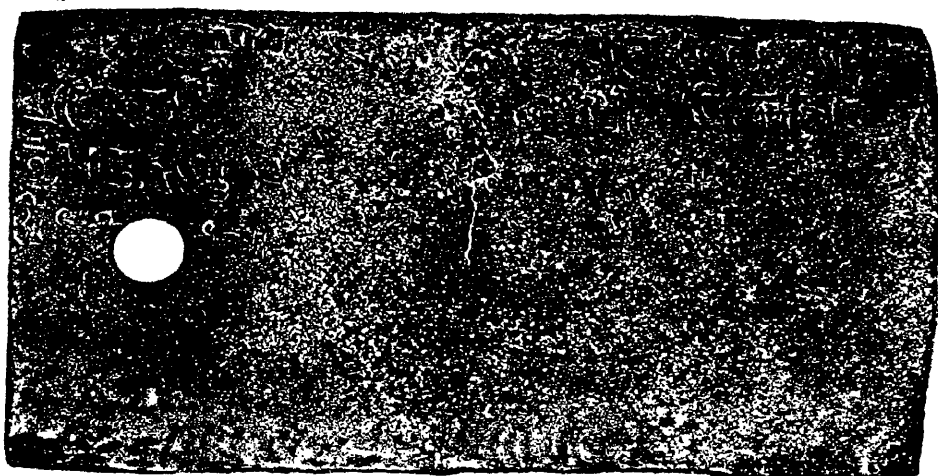
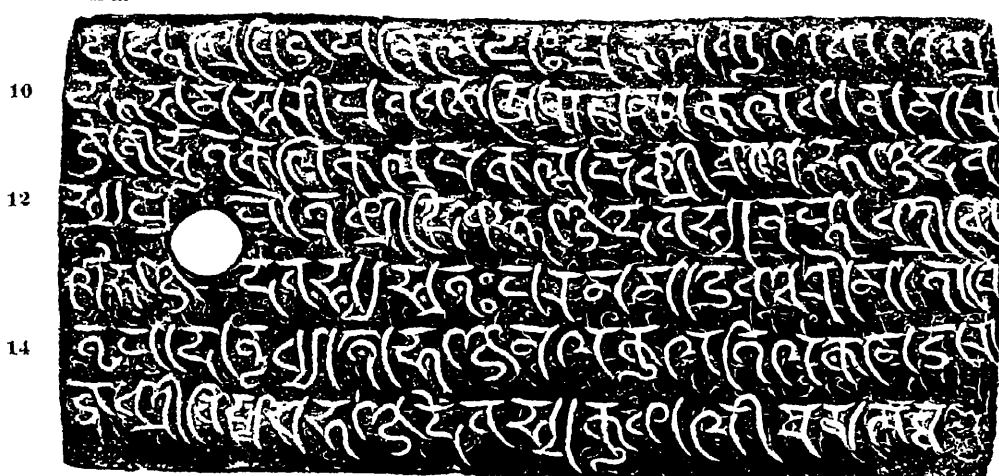
[19] Read *-dattâṁ.*

[20] Read *kṛimir=bhûtvâ.*

[21] Read *-datt=ê-.*

[22] Read *=ânantyaṁ paradatt-,* as *e.g.* above, Vol. III., p. 45, l. 48 ; p. 343, l. 26 ; *etc.* Instead of *ânantyaṁ* other grants have *ânandyaṁ* (above, Vol. III., p. 348, l. 19, p. 353, l. 45), or *anantaṁ* (Vol. III., p. 357, l. 50), or *atyantaṁ* (Vol. VIII., p. 142, l. 25).

Orissa plates of Vidyadharabhanjadeva.

i a.

i b.

2

4

6

8

ii a.

10

12

14

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

E. Hultzsch.

ii b.

16

18

20

22

iii a.

24

26

28

30

iii b.

32

34

36

38

33 na(nê)[||*] Iti[1] kamaladalâmvu(mbu)vindu-lôlâ[ṁ*] śriyam=anuchi-
34 ntya man[u]shya-jîvitaṁṇ=cha[2] [|*] sakalam=î(i)dam=udâhṛitañ=cha vudhvâ[3]
35 na hi [pu]rushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilô[pyâḥ||*]Lâñchhitaṁ śri-Tṛi[ka ?]li-[4]
36 ṅga-mâ(ma)hâdêvy[â] têjaḍikêna[5] śrî-bhaṭṭa-Stambhadêva-mant[r]î(tri)ṇâ[6]
37 pravêsita[ṁ*] Kêśavêna[7] likhitaṁ [8]sânddhivigṛihi-śri-Khambhê-
38 na urtkirṇṇa[9] ch=âkshasâlî(li)-Kumâracharndêna[10]|| tha[11] [||]

No. 38.—GHATIYALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA; SAMVAT 918.

By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.; Poona.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghaṭiyâḷâ, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jôdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No. I is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No. I contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2′ 3½″ high by 1′ 6″ broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l. 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *kuṭumvakaṁ*, l. 8; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *dêvyâs=sutô*, l. 7; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvâra* before *ś* in °*vanśa*°, l. 1; *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhita stambhô*, l. 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinâyaka (Gaṇapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory **Pratîhâra** family which is brought down to **Kakkuka**, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* and the epigraph of Bâuka found in the Jôdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of **Travaṇî**, **Valla** and **Mâḍa**, amongst (the people known as) **Ârya**, in **Gurjjarattrâ**, and in **Parvata** in the **Lâṭa** country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

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[1] Metre: Pushpitâgrâ. [2] Read *-jîvitaṁ cha.* [3] Read *buddhvâ.*

[4] Read *śrî-Trikali-*. A sign of the medial *i*, which was prefixed to the akshara *tṛi*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (?) another letter was originally engraved.

[5] With the exception of the *ḍ* in brackets, the nine *akshara*s at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.

[6] The *vâ* at the end of the line and the *vvâ* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.

[7] The *akshara*s *śavê* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him

[8] Read *sandhivigrahi-śrî-* or *sândhivigrahika-śrî-*.

[9] Read *utkîrṇṇaṁ*. [10] Read °*chandrêṇa*.

[11] For this mark, which is distinctly *tha*, compare *e.g.* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII., p. 140, note 4b.

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. Thus, **Travaṇî** is the same as **Tamaṇî** there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Bâuka. Similarly, **Valla** is mentioned in both these inscriptions. **Mâḍa** is given in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription in conjunction with **Maru** (*Maru-Mâḍa*). Jêsalmêr is still called Mâḍa, and Maru proper can only be the Sheo, Mallâṇî and Pâchpadrâ districts of the Jôdhpur State. **Ârya** and **Gurjaratrâ** are doubtless the Ajja and Gujjarattâ of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. **Ârya** is unidentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-saṁhitâ*, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurjaratrâ, as has been shown by me elsewhere,[1] comprised the districts of Ḍiḍwâṇâ and Parbatsar of the Jôdhpur State. **Lâṭa**, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency.[2] **Parvata**, which is apparently said to be in Lâṭa, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gahiûṇa gôhaṇâiṁ girimmi* in verse 17 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record ? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pârvatîyas* of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitâ*, Cap. XVII, v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at **Rôhiṁsaka** and the other at **Maḍḍôdara**. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record, excepting that for Rohiṁsaka we have there **Rôhiṁsakûpa**. Rôhiṁsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rôhiṁsakûpa or the Rôhiṁsakûpaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghaṭiyâḷâ. **Maḍḍôdara**, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Maṇḍôr, five miles north of Jôdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratîhâra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratîhâra inscription was discovered by me last season.[3] The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Then follows the date **Saṁvat 918 Chaitra-śudi 2 budhê Hasta-nakshatrê**, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahâjana*, *i.e.* big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhâshita*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrî-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1′ 3″ high by 1′ 2¼″ broad. Excepting the opening words *Ôṁ siddhiḥ*, it is in verse up to l. 9, and the rest in prose. The palæography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vinâyaka (Gaṇapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

[1] *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI., pp. 414-415. [2] Ibid., pp. 413-414.

[3] Another ancient name of Maṇḍôr is Mâṇḍavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratîhâra Bâuka. In the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 30, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jôdhpur, it must originally have been at Maṇḍôr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *pâda* of the verse just referred to, which is *Mâṇḍavyapura-durgê=smin*. The word *asmin* shows that the stone originally was at Mâṇḍavyapura, *i.e.* Maṇḍôr. Mâṇḍavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Maṇḍôr remained so till the prince Jôdhâ removed his capital from there to Jôdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Maṇḍôr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratîhâra brother princes erected ramparts round Mâṇḍavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratîhâra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratîhâras. In it the name of Kakka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bâuka — is not certain. The name Mâṇḍavyapura occurs even so late as V. E. 1319 in the Sûndhâ hill inscription of Châchigadêva (above, Vol. IX., p. 78, l. 36).

pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Gaṇapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of **Rôhinsakûpaka** (Ghaṭiyâḷâ) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Âbhîras (Ahirs),[1] and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that **Kakkuka**, the favourite son of **Kakka**, of the **Pratîhâra** race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas (*prakṛiti*)[2] and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahâjana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haṭṭa* and *mahâjana* at Rohiṁsaka or Rohiṁsakûpa. Owing to its being infested by the Âbhîras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahirs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahâjana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date **Saṁvat 918 Chaitra Sudi 2** which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No. I and the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called **Mâtṛiravi**, and was engraved by the goldsmith **Kṛishṇêśvara**, doubtless the same who incised the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratîhâra Bâuka. It is followed up by the name of the *sûtradhâra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mâtṛiravi is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *gâ* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mâtṛiravi being spoken of as a Maga. Maga is another name for the *Śâkadvîpîya* Brâhmaṇas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jodhpur there is a class of Brâhmaṇas known as Sêvaks, most of whom are religious dependants of the Ôsvâḷ Śrâvaks. They call themselves Śâkadvîpa Brâhmaṇas, and know that their story is told in the Nâmagrantha of the *Sûrya-purâṇa* and also in the *Bhavishya-purâṇa*. That the Śâkadvîpîyas were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, *viz.* V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Râjputânâ at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No. I. **Inscription No. IV** consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhâshitas*, and have each one and the same last *pâda*, saying that six things are dear to **Kakkuka**. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

No. I.

TEXT.[3]

1 ओं विनायकाय नमः ॥ आसीत्प्रतीहारवन्शगुरु-[4]

2 सद्विजः[5] श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [।*] पत्नेन राज्ञीचक्षत्रियभद्राया आ-

3 तः श्रीमान्सुतः श्रीरज्जिलः [।*] अस्माच्छ्रीनरभटः [।*] अ-

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[1] For some remarks on Ahirs, see *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI. pp. 430-433; for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

[2] *Prakṛiti*, which is the same as *payaï* in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vipra* (Brâhmaṇa) and *vaṇik* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

[3] From the original stone.

[4] Read °वंश°.

[5] Read °सद्विजः°

4 तः श्रीनागभटः [।*] भतः श्रीतातः [।*] भतोपि श्रीयशोवर्द्धनः [।*]
5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्दुकः [।*] भतश्च श्रीशीलुकः [।*] भस्माच्छ्री[झो]टः [।*] भतः
6 श्रीभिल्लादित्यः [।*] भतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्कः [।*] भनेन
7 राज्ञीश्रीदुर्ल्लभदेव्यास्सुतो जातः श्रीकक्कुकः ॥
8 सन्तः कुटुम्वकं[1] यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।
9 विपुला चपलं[2] बुद्धिराशश्री गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [१*]
10 न्यायभंगे भवेत्कोपो रागोपि जनपाल[ने] ।
11 गुरुभ्यश्च भयं यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षणं ॥ [२*] येन
12 प्राप्ता मह्राख्यातिस्त्रवण्यां वल्लमाडयोः । भार्ये-
13 षु गुर्ज्जरत्रायां लाटदेशे च पर्व्वते ॥ [३*] तेन मह्रोदरे स्त-
14 म्भस्तथा रोहिन्सके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीतौ स्वपक्षा-
15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [४*] श्रीमत्कक्कुकवीरेण कुलदीपेन
16 धीमता । भयमुस्तम्भित[3] स्तम्भो यशःस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥[५*] संव-
17 त् ९१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । भत्र हट्टो महाजनश्च
18 स्थापितः ॥ भों [।*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्म्मध्यमं च वयः
19 श्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्म्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [६*]
20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्कुकेन स्वयकृंतः[4] ॥

No. II.

TEXT.[5]

1 भों सिद्धिः [।*] दिवा रात्रौ च संध्यायां — — — —
2 — संकुलं । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्व्वस्य स्तम्भधामा वि[ना]-
3 यकः ॥ [१*] रोहिन्सकूपकग्रामः पूर्व्वमासीद्भना-
4 श्रयः । असेव्यः [6]साधुलोकानां भाभीरजनदारुणः ॥ [२*]
5 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं हट्टं कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रव-
6 णिग्प्रकृतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च ॥ [३१] श्रीमत्कक्कस्य पुत्रेण
7 सत्प्रतीहारजातिना । कक्कुकेन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोत्र महा-
8 जनः ॥ [४*] महाजनस्य सद्बुद्धिः लाभः[7] पूजा सुखं भूतिः । श्री-
9 कक्कुकस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्त्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ [५*] संवत् शते ९१८ चै-

[1] Read कुटुम्वकं

[2] I do not understand the position of चपलं here.

[3] Read °मुत्तम्भित.

[4] Read स्वयं कृतः; the *anusvâra* of °*yam*° must have been inadvertently placed over °*kṛi*°.

[5] From the original stone.

[6] Read °लोकानामाभीर°.

[7] Read सद्बुद्धिर्लाभः.

10 वसुदि २ [।*] लिखितं मगे[न] मातृरविणा [।*] उत्कीर्णं ईभकारेण [क]र्णो-
11 श्वरेण ॥ सूत्रधारोत्र नि.......... विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

1 श्री[मल्ल]कुमारेण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । च-
2 यमुत्तम्भित स्तम्भो यश[:*]स्त[म्भ] इवोन्नत: ॥

No. IV.

TEXT.[1]

1 श्री[।*] वत्सको कावलीगीतं ग्रराचन्द्रस्य मालती ॥
2 विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी कञ्चुकस्य [2]पृयाणि षट् [॥१*]
3 न्यायमार्गो [3]गुरोर्भक्ति[:*] पुत्रे स्नेह: कृतज्ञता ॥
4 प्रिया वाग्मागरो वेष: कञ्चुकस्य पृयाणि[4] षट् ॥ [२]

No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sârangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattîsgaṛh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Râj-Gôṇḍs. The plates in question are in the possession of the Râj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sârangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Âlam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Paṇḍit Âlam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshî Akbar Khân, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Paṇḍâ Baijnath, B.A., Dîwân of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1908. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Râja Jawâhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.[5] Dr. Râjêndra Lâl Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

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[1] From the original stone.   [2] Read प्रियाणि.   [3] Read गुरौर्भक्ति:.

[4] Read प्रियाणि.

[5] See *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV., p. 195 ff.

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume.[1]

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Sârangarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal.

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr. Râjêndra Lâl's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ drs. About 1" from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about $\frac{7}{16}''$. These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines [2] which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahâ-Jayarâja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The **language** is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyâsa. As regards **orthography**, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr. Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.[3] As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhmânîya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradaḥ-parama-*. The same sign, *viz.* 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mâtrâs* for *u*, *ṛi* and *ḷi* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ô* in *anumôditaḥ* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ô's* being represented by the top strokes for *â* and *ê*; compare *vikkramôpanata-* of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of **Śarabhapura** and records the grant of a village named **Chullaṇḍaraka** situated in the *bhukti* or subdivision of **Tuṇḍaraka**, by the Queen and the royal family of Râja **Mahâ-Sudêva** and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, *viz.* Bhâskarasvâmi, Prabhâkarasvâmi, Barbbarisvâmi, Bôṭasvâmi, Dattasvâmi, Vishṇusvâmi, Phalgusvâmi, Svâmikîrttisvâmi and Śaṁkarasvâmi, all of the Kauśika *gôtra*. One of these, Vishṇusvâmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kauśika *gôtra* and received a village in the Khariar zamîndârî from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

[1] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 193, footnote 2.

[2] Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 23 lines, the Ârang plates of Jayarâja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudêva 28, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.

[3] See above, pp. 170 and ff.

Sarangarh plates of Maha-Sudeva.

2   2

4   4

6   6

ii a

8   8

10   10

12   12

ii b

14   14

16   16

18   18

his date. Dr. Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Râshṭrakûṭas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr. Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription **Śarabhapura**, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahâ-Sudêva, and in the Ârang plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja, has not yet been identified. I identify **Tuṇḍaraka** with the present Ṭûnḍrâ, about 6 miles south of Seorî Nârâyan on the Mahânadî and about 35 miles west of Sârangarh. It is now included in the Balôdâ Bazâr tahṣîl of the Raipur district. The village **Chullaṇḍaraka** must have been somewhere close to Ṭûnḍrâ, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulândur, a characteristic Chattîsgaṛhî name, some similar ones which I remember being Machândur, Palândur, Kachândur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahâ-Sudêva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Ṭûnḍrâ. It is called **Śrîsâhikâ**,[1] which I take to be the present Sirsâhî, also included in the Balôdâ Bazâr tahṣîl, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Ṭûnḍrâ. Mahâ-Jayarâja of the Ârang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, *viz.* Paṁvâ,[2] which I identify with Pâmgarh,[3] about 21 miles north of Ṭûnḍrâ and included in the Jânjgir tahṣîl of the Bilâspur district. Paṁvâ and Śrîsâhikâ are stated to be included in the *Pûrvarâshṭra* or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahâ-Sudêva included a large portion of Mahâ-Kôsala, or roughly speaking Chattîsgaṛh division.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[5] svasti [|*] **Śarabhapurâd**-vikkram-ôpanata-sâmanta-makuṭa-chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-pra-

2 sêkâmbu-dhôta[6]-pâdayugalô ripu-vilâsinî-sîmant-ôddharaṇa-hêtur=vvasu-

3 vasudhâ-gô-pradaḥ=paramabhâgavatô mâtâ-pitri[7]-pâd-ânuddhyâtaś=śrî-**Mahâ-Sudê**-

4 va-râjaḥ Tuṇḍaraka-bhuktîya-Chullaṇḍarakê prativâsi-kuṭumbinas=sa-

5 mâjñâpayati [||*] Viditam=astu vô yath=âyaṁ grâmaḥ tridaśapati-sadana-sukha-

6 pratishṭhâkarô yâvad=ravi-śaśi-târâ-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghôrândhakâraṁ ja-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 gad=avatishṭhatê tâvad=upabhôgyas=sanidhis=sôpanidhir=achâṭabhaṭaprâvêśya-

8 sarvva-kara-visarjjitaḥ râjya-mahâdêvî-[8]rôjakulaiḥ mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaṁś[9]=cha pu-

9 ṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê udakapûrvvaṁ [10]Kôśika-sagôtra-trisahasravidya-Bhâskarasvâmi-

10 Prabhâkarasvâmi-Barbbarisvâmi-Bôṭasvâmi-Dattasvâmi-Vishṇusvâmi-

11 Phalgusvâmi-Svâmikîrttisvâmi-Śaṅkarasvâminâ[m*] tâmbraśâsanên=âtisṛi-

12 shṭô bhûtv=âsmâbhir=anumôditaḥ [||*] Tê yûyam=êvam=upalabhy=aishâm=âjñâśrava-

[1] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 197.

[2] The adjunct *garh* seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.

[3] Ibid, p. 192.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read *-dhauta-*. [It is possible that the sign read as *ô* here and in *kôśika*, l. 9, should be read as *au*. The two *mâtrâs* are separated by an interval, which is not the case where *ô* is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]

[7] Read *-pitṛi-*.

[8] Read *-râjakulaiḥ*.

[9] Read *=âtmanaś=*.

[10] Read *Kauśika-*.

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 ṇa-vidhêyâ bhûtvâ yathôchitaṁ bhôga-bhâgam=upanayantas=sukha[ṁ*] prativatsyatha [||*]
14 Bhavishyataś=cha bhûmipân=anudarśayati || [1] Dânâd=viśishṭam=anupâlanaja[ṁ*] pu-
15 râṇâṁḥ[2] dharmmêshu niśchitadhiyaḥ=pravadanti dharmmaṁ || (|) tasmâ[d*] dvijâya suvi-
16 śuddha-kula-śrutâya dattâṁ bhuvaṁ bhavatu vô matir=êva gôptuṁ || Tad=bhavadbhi-
17 r=apy=êshâ dattir=anupâlayitavyâ [|*] Vyâsa-gîtâṁś=ch=âtra ślôkân=udâhara-
18 nti || [3]Agnêr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ (||) bhûr=vvaishṇavî sûryyasutâ[4]

TRANSLATION.[5]

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura. The illustrious **Mahâ-Sudêva Râja**, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras of the chiefs who have been subjugated by (his) prowess; who is the cause for the doing away with the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in **Chullaṇḍaraka** in the territorial sub-division (*bhukti*)[6] of **Tuṇḍaraka**:—

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) ensuring the happiness of the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort[7] and the Royal Family to Bhâskarasvâmi, who knows the three thousand[8] (verses?) Prabhâkarasvâmi, Barbbarisvâmi, Bôṭasvâmi, Dattasvâmi, Vishṇusvâmi, Phalgusvâmi, Svâmikîrttisvâmi,[9] (and) Ṣaṅkarasvâmi (all) of the Kauśika *gôtra*, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer[10] and soldiers; (and), free

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[1] Metre Vasantatilaka. [2] Read *purâṇâ*. [3] Metre Indravajrâ.

[4] The remaining portion of the verse is: *-ś=cha gâvaḥ | dattâs=trayas=têna bhavanti lôkâ yaḥ kâñchanaṁ gâṁ cha mahîṁ cha dadyât* ||.

[5] I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet.

[6] *Bhukti* was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218, note 5) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jêjabhukti, the ancient name of Bundelkhand, which was corrupted into Jajhauti in Al Beruni's times (see above Vol. I., p. 218, and Sachau's *Al Beruni's India*, Vol. I., p. 202).

[7] Mr. Venkayya suggests to take Râjyamahâdêvî as the name of the queen.

[8] The original is *trisahasra-vidya*, which Dr. Râjêndralâl has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhâskarasvâmi, but I think it is an adjectival phrase eulogising his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand *ślôkas* of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.

[9] [The proper form of the name is certainly *Kîrttisvâmin*, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake.—S. K.]

[10] The word is *châṭa*, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Betul and Ragholi plates. Dr. Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me:—

"'On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chamba (Panjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of *châr*, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit *châṭa*. The *châr* collects the villagers who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State; he arranges for load carriers and supplies in case the Râja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the *châṭa* of the copper plates is the same as the *châr* of the Chamba State. In the Chamba copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a

from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment.

And he enjoins upon future kings.—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brâhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to the God Vishṇu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun: (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land).[1]

No. 40.—PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA [GUPTA] SAMVAT 283.

By R. D. Banerji.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the zamîndârî of Paṭiâkellâ in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of an Ôṛiyâ Brâhmaṇ, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Râja of Paṭiâkellâ made it over to Bâbu Nagêndra Nâtha Vasu, the Honorary Archæological Surveyor to the Mayûrbhañja Estate. Nagêndra Bâbu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring 7¼" by 2¾". To the left there is an oval projection, 1½" long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well-executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line *tryadhikâśîttyuttara* . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line *Samvat 200* . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Konow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Muṇḍêśvarî inscription of Udayasêna, from the Shâhâbâd district. The Muṇḍêśvarî inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.).[2] The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:—

(a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the *â* mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter *ṇa*. Cf.

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privilege of importance that the head of the district was not allowed to interfere with the granted land; in other words, he was not allowed to collect labourers or to demand supplies, etc., on behalf of the State."

[1] These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.

[2] The Muṇḍêśvarî inscription has been found in two pieces. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the *débris* around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Muṇḍêśvarî temple, see *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (1895), p. 370. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902-03, p. 20, and *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-03, pp. 42-43. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.

puṇyâbhivṛiddhayê in l. 8 with *vṛihadbhôgikâdhikaraṇâny=êva*, l. 7. The *ê* mark is unusual in *-pûrvvakôṇ=â-* in l. 9.

(*b*) It is interesting to note that this Cuttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Muṇḍêśvarî inscription than does the Gañjâm grant of Śaśâṅka,[1] while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bôdh Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman of the Gupta year 269.[2] Thus the *ya* in the Bôdh Gayâ inscription and the Gañjâm plate is bipartite, while in the Muṇḍêśvarî inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, *i.e.* tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Muṇḍêśvarî inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bôdh Gayâ and Gañjâm inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.[3]

(*c*) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Muṇḍêśvarî inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases; *cf.* the *dha* in *-hârâdhigama-* (l. 5) with that in *-dîdhiti-* in l. 3, and *vṛihadbhôgikâdhikaraṇâny=* in l. 7.

(*d*) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Muṇḍêśvarî inscription in so far as the lingual *ṇa* in the latter is exactly similar to the *ṇa* of the early Gupta type, while the *ṇa* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.

(*e*) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gôlmâḍhiṭôl inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gôlmâḍhiṭôl inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman.[4] The Patan inscription of the year 34[5] exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjâm grant of Śaśâṅka than our grant or the Gôlmâḍhiṭôl inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39[6] and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bôdh Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman and the Madhuban and Banskhêra grants of Harshavardhana.

(*f*) The letters *da* and *ṭa* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vṛihadbhôgikâdhikaraṇâny=*, l. 7, looks like *vṛihaṭbhôgikâdhikaraṇâny=*.

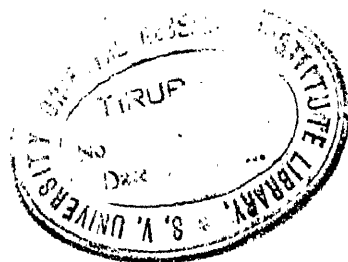
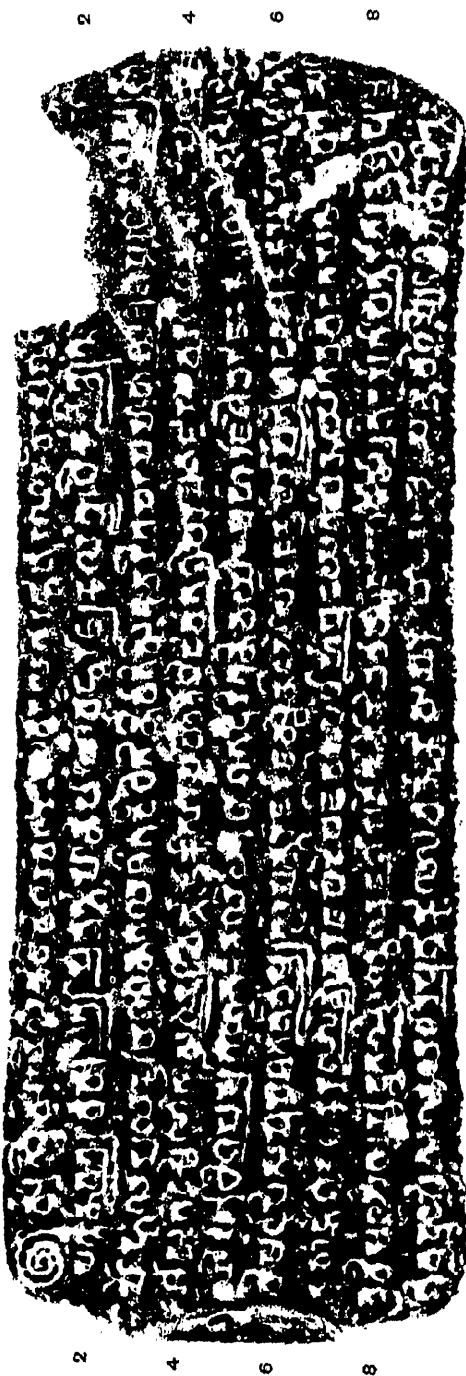
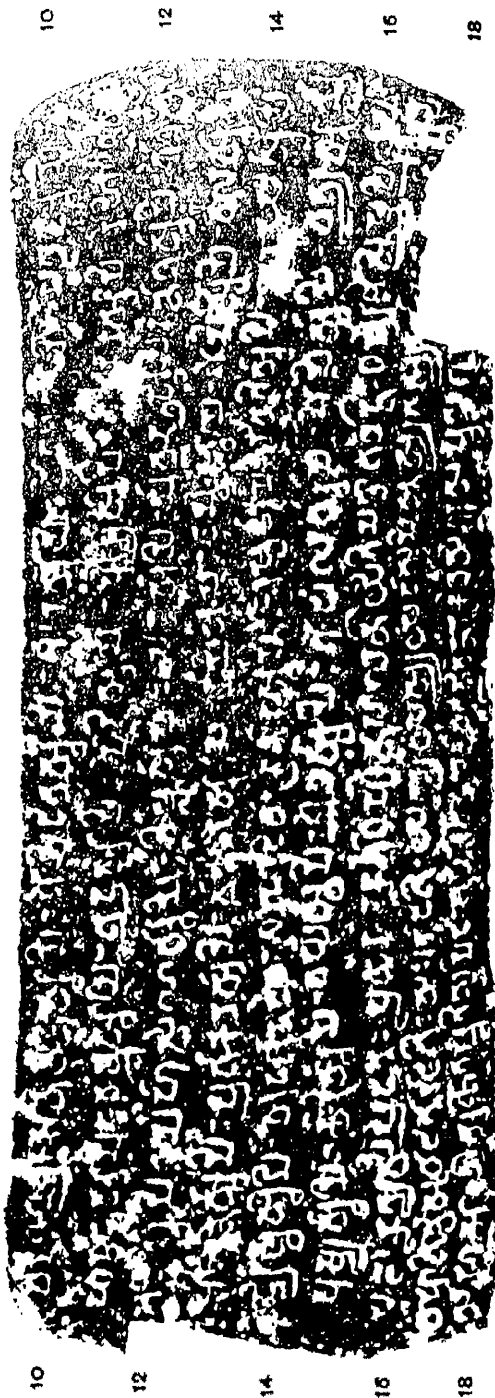
(*g*) There is little difference between *va* and *cha*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, l. 1, looks like *-vala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivarâjaḥ*, l. 5, looks like *Śicharâjaḥ*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-maṁgura-*, l. 1, *-vaṁśa-* and *-âśitty-*, l. 2, *gêhattô*, l. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivarâja to a number of Brâhmaṇs during the reign of his suzerain Śagguyayyana of southern Tôsalî. Śagguyayyana is styled *Paramamâhêśvara-Paramabhaṭṭâraka-Paramadêvatâdhidaivata*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

[1] Above, Vol. VI., p. 143.
[2] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLIA.
[3] Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VIII.
[4] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 150, pl. XXII.
[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.
[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.

Patiakella Plate of Sivaraja.—[Gupta] Samvat [283].

Patiakella Plate of Sivaraja.—[Gupta] Samvat [283].

STEN KONOW

donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Vishṇusvâmi, Rêvatisvâmi, Gôpâlasvâmi, *etc.*, show a Vaishṇava taint. The document was issued from **Vôrttanôka**, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village **Taṇḍralvalu**. It was given to several Brâhmaṇs belonging to separate *gôtras* and *charaṇas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bôdh Gayâ inscription and before the Gañjâm grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Muṇḍêśvarî inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the **Mâna** race, *Mâṇavaṁśa-râjyakâlê*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, *viz.* the Nawâdâ inscription of the Śaka year 1059,[1] which has been recently purchased by the Archæological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Dudhpani rock inscription.[2]

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Paṭiâkellâ grant. Neither the *vishaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *maṇḍala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asminn=êva vishayê*, which probably indicates that the name of the *vishaya* was also Vôrttanôka.[3] I now edit the inscription from the original plate :—[4]

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Ôṁ[5] svasti [|*] salila-nidhi-vêlâ-vala[yita-cha]la-taraṅg-âbharaṇa-ruchira-maṁgura . . . .

2 pattanavatyâ[ṁ] vasumatyâ[ṁ] pravarttamâna-**Mâṇa**-vaṅśa-râjya-kâlê tryadhik-âśîtty-utta[ra] . . .

3 **Maudgal-âmala-kulê** gagana-tala-śîtadîḍhiti-nivâtê sita-charitê Paramamâhêśvara-śrî-**Śagguyayyanê**[6]

4 śâsati dakshiṇa-**Tôsalyâ[ṁ] Vôrttanôkât**=paramadêvat-âdhidaivata-śrî-paramabhaṭṭâ-raka-charaṇa-kamal-âmala-kshau-

5 ṇi[7]-hâr-âdhigama-pratihata(ḥ)-kaliyug-âgata-durita-nichayaḥ(yô) mahârâja-**Śivarâjaḥ** kuśalî asminn=êva

6 vishayê samupagat-âbhavishyat-sâmanta-râja-râjasthânîy-ôparika-kumârâmâtya-tadâyuktaka-mahâmahattara-

7 vṛihadbhôgikâdhikaraṇâny=êva râjapâdôpajîvî yathârha[ṁ] śrâvayati mânayati cha viditam=a[stu] bhavatâṁ ya[th=â]-

8 ttra vishayê sambaddha-**Taṇḍralvalu**[8]-grâma(mô) **Vôrttanôk**-[9][âvavâsa-gê(?)]hattô=smâbhiḥ mâtâpittrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-â-

9 bhivṛiddhayê salila-dhârâ-pûrvvakêṇ=âchandr-ârka-sama-kâliy-âkshayanivi(nîvî)-dharmmêṇa[10] nânâ-gôttra-

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[1] Above, Vol. II., p. 333.

[2] Above, Vol. II., p. 346.

[3] [The locality cannot be far from Tôsalî, which we know from Aśôka's Dhauli edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhauli. It seems more likely to explain *asminn=eva vishayê* as *Tôsalî-vishayê* than as *Vôrttanôkavishayê*.—S. K.]

[4] [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] [I am unable to see *Śagguyayyanê*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see *Śambhûya-yyê=nu-*.—S. K.]

[7] [I read *-âmala-śrêṇi-*.—S. K.]

[8] [I see *Tuṇḍilvalujâ-grâma*.—S. K.]

[9] [I read *Vôrttanôkê ch=âvâsa* . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S. K.]

[10] Read *-kâlam=akshaya-*. Compare above, Vol. VI., p. 139; Vol. VII., p. 101, note 1.

Second Side.

10 charaṇêbhya Anuruddhasvâmi-Gômidêvasvâmi-Śûrasvâmi-Vôppasvâmi-Pitṛisvâmi-
11 Haruṅgasvâmi-Chandrasvâmi-Bhadrasvâmi-Chhêdisvâmi-Pushyasvâmi-. .karasvâmi-Rôhiṇî-svami-
12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvâmi-Mahâsêṇasvâmi-Vishṇusvâmi-Yadusvâmi-Mâtraḍasvâmi-Nâgasvâmi-Bhôgasvâmi-
13 Ana[nta ?]svâmi-Prabhâkarasvâmi-Nâva. .rasvâmi-Dîpisvâmi-Jam[vu]svâmi-Gômisvâmi-Valasvâmi-
14 Jyêshṭhasvâmi-Adarśanadêva-Dhanadêva-Kumârasvâmi-Jyêshṭhasvâmi-R ê v a t i s v â m i-Prâya(?)svâmi-
15 Pushyasvâmi-Chhêḍisvâmi-Vappasvâmi-Śravasvâmi-Gôpâlasvâmi-Gômisvâmi - ê b h y a s-tâmra-
16 -paṭṭî-kṛitya sampradattaḥ [|*] Pûrvvarâjakṛitô dharmm[ô]=nupâlanîyaiti(ya iti) matvâ bhavadbhiḥ[|*] Dharmmaśâstrêshv=api śruyatê [|*]
17 Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhiḥ Sagarâdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya [tadâ phalam] [||*] [Shashṭim] varsha-
18 sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmidaḥ [|*] âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*] Samvat[1] 200 . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the **Mâṇa** family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *maṅgura* fishes as its . . . In the spotless family of **Mudgala**, when the great worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the illustrious **Sagguyayyana**, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern **Tôsali**, *Mahârâja* **Śivarâja**, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhaṭṭâraka, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from **Vôrttanôka** honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, *Râjasthânîyas*, *Uparikas*, officers of the heir-apparent, *Taddyuktakas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *vishaya* in due form and proclaims:—"Be it known to you that the village **Taṇḍṛalvalu**, belonging to this *vishaya*, from (the residential house at ?) Vôrttanôka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvâmi, Gômidêvasvâmi, Śûrasvâmi, Vôppasvâmi, Pitṛisvâmi, Haruṅgasvâmi, Chandrasvâmi, Bhadrasvâmi, Chhêdisvâmi, Pushyasvâmi, . .karasvâmi, Rôhiṇîsvâmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvâmi, Mahasêṇasvâmi, Vishṇusvâmi, Yadusvâmi, Mâtraḍasvâmi, Nâgasvâmi, Bhôgasvâmi, Ana(nta)-svâmi, Prabhâkarasvâmi, Nâvarasvâmi, Dîpisvâmi, Jam(vu)svâmi, Gômisvâmi, Valasvâmi, Jyêshṭhasvâmi, Adarśanadêva, Dhaṇadêva, Kumârasvâmi, Jyêshṭhasvâmi, Rêvatisvâmi, Prâyasvâmi, Pushyasvâmi, Chhêḍisvâmi, Vappasvâmi, Śravasvâmi, Gôpâlasvâmi, Gômisvâmi, belonging to various *gôtras* and *charaṇas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (your should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). **Samvat 200.**

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[1] Read *Samvat*.

Mundesvari inscription of the time of Udayasena. — [Harsha] Samvat 30.

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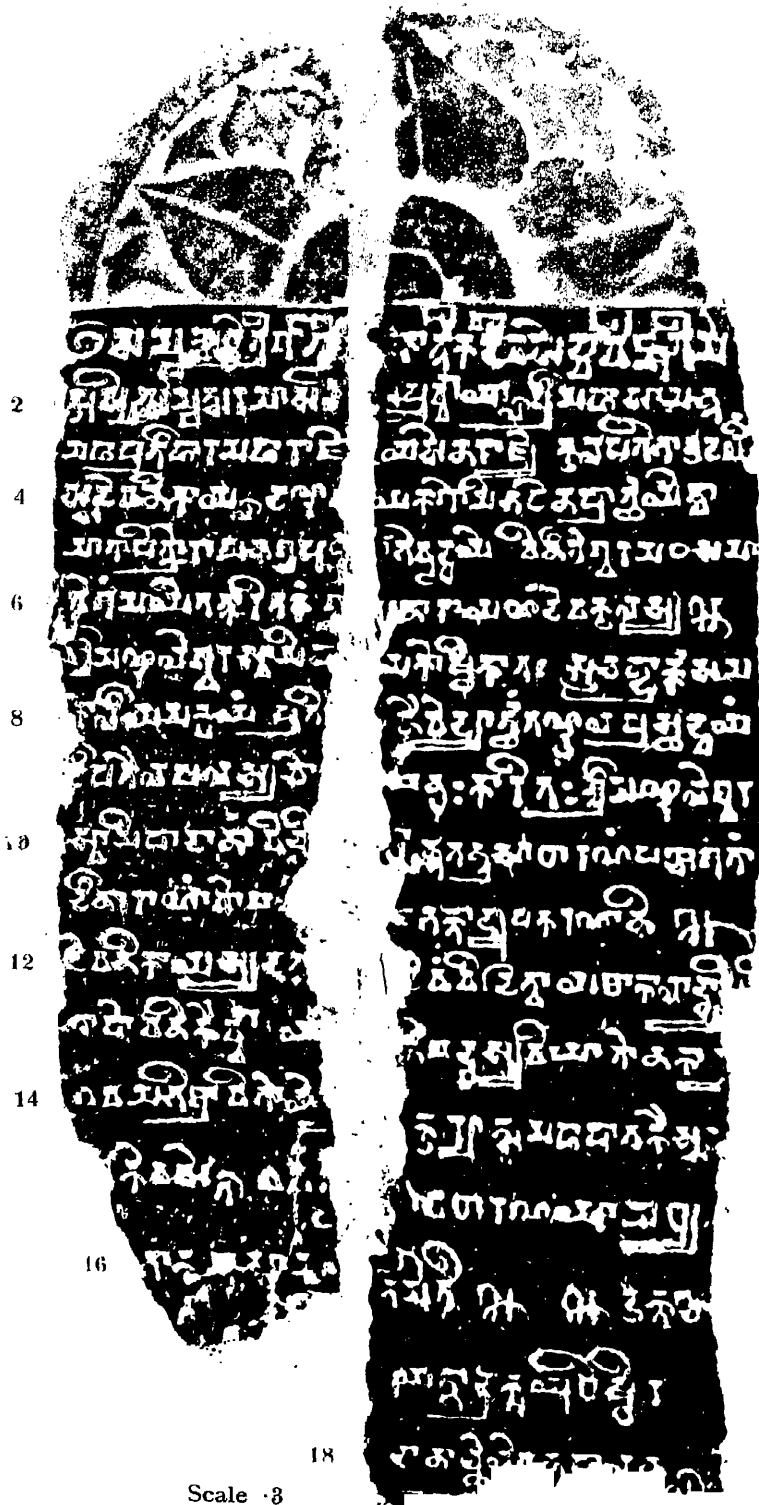
No. 41.—MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA. THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30.

By R. D. Banerji.

This inscription was discovered among the débris which had accumulated around the temple of Muṇḍêśvarî in the Bhâbuâ subdivision of the Shâhâbâd district.[1] It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates. The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhârji so far back as 1891-92. The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902.[2] Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr. Bloch. The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904. The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum.

The stone measures 2′ 8″ by 1′ 1″ and contains eighteen lines of well-executed writing. In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether. With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription.[3] The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *ṅ* instead of *ṁ* before *ś*. Letters with a superscribed *rêpha* have been doubled. Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll. 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in l. 15. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll. 14 and 18. Note also the form *kâritakaṁ* in l. 6.

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Maṇḍaléśvara* by a *kulapati*[4] named **Bhâgudalana**. It is dated in the **year 30** in the reign of the *Mahâsâmanta, Mahâpratîhâra, Mahârâja* **Udayasêna**, who is not known from other sources. Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,[5] the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana. The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps. Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

1 **Ôṁ**[6] **Samba(ṁva)tsarê triṅśati[tamê] Kârttika-divasê dvâviṅśatimê**
2 **asmin=samba(ṁva)tsara-mâsa-[diva]sa-pûrvvâyâm śrî-Mahâsâmanta-**
3 **Mahâpratîhâra-Mahârâj-[Ûda]yasêna-râjyê kulapati-Bhâgudalana-**[7]
4 **s=sa dêvanikâyam daṇḍa[nâ]yaka-Gômibhaṭêna prârtthayitvâ**
5 **mâtâpittrôr=âtmanaś=cha pu[ṇyâ]bhivṛiddhayê Vinîtêśvara-maṭhasamâ-**
6 **vêśaṁ maṭham=êtat=kâritakaṁ [śrî-]Nârâyaṇa-dêvakulasya**

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[1] *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp. 370—371 *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* (1902-03), pp. 42-43.

[2] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902, p. 20.

[3] See above, p. 285 f.

[4] A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*. See *Vâchaspatyâbhidhânam*.

[5] Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp. 72-73.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] The final *na* of this word has been added above the line.

7 śrî-Maṇḍalêśvara-svâmi-[pâdâ]ya kôshṭhikâtaḥ â-chandr-ârkka-sama-
8 kâlîyam=akshayaṁ prati[dinaṁ] naivêdyârtthaṁ taṇḍula-prastha-dvayaṁ
9 dîpa-taila-palasya ch=ô[pani]bandhaḥ kâritaḥ śrî-Maṇḍalêśvara-
10 svâmi-pâdânâṁ vichchhi[tti-vi]śrânta-tantra-sâdhâraṇaṁ pañchâśatâṁ
11 dînârâṇâṁ gôba . . . ja-bhaktâdy-upakaraṇâni[1]
12 dêvanikâyasya datta[m[2]=êtad=ê]vaṁ viditvâ yathâkâl-âdhyâ[sibhi]-
13 r=âpôvanikair[3]=vvâ ya[thâni]baddhasya vighâtô na kâ[rya]
14 êvam=abhiśrâvitô yô[=nyathâ]kuryât=sa mahâpâtakais=sa[ha]
15 [nara]kê vasêt êvam . . . vadhâraṇayâ madhya . . .
16 . . . . . . bhâka . . . tam=iti || Ukta[ñ= cha]
17 . . . . yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira
18 . . . . dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam.

TRANSLATION.

Hail. In the year 30, on the twenty-second day of Kârttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the *Mahâpratîhâra*, the *Mahârâja* [Uda]yasêna, the *kulapati* Bhâgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (?Brâhmaṇas) through the *daṇḍanâyaka* Gômibhaṭa built this *maṭha* of the *dêvakula* of Nârâyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vinîtêśvara. For the lord Maṇḍalêśvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two *prasthas* of rice for the votive offering and a *pala* of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty *dînâras* current up to the frontiers . . . . . . of the Lord Maṇḍalêśvara- . . . . . . with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time[4] should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins . . . . O! Yudhishṭhira, preserve with care . . . . preservation is preferable to gifts.

No. 42.—INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

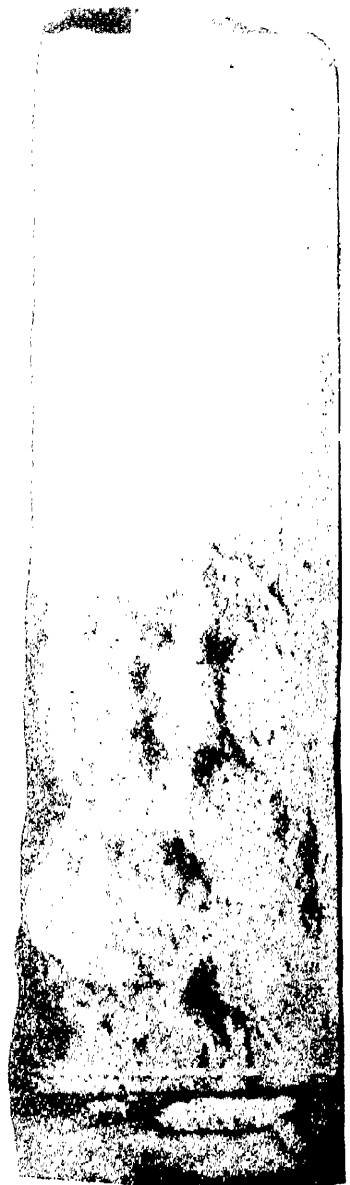
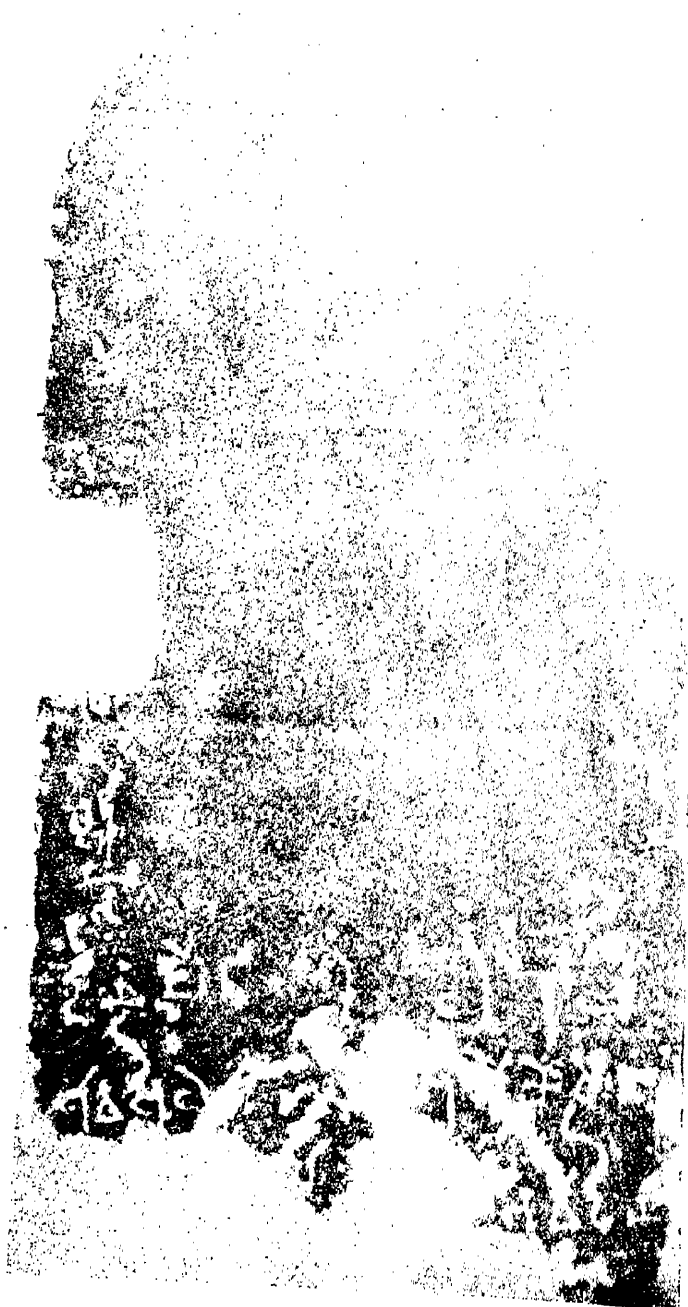
BY T. BLOCH, PH.D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Râkhal Dâs Banerjî in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr. Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3′ 1″ high, 11½″ wide, and 4¾″ thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurâ style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bôdhisattva from Sahêt

[1] The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.
[2] [I would read *dattâny=êtad.*—S. K.]
[3] [I read *tâpôvanikair=.*—S. K.]
[4] [I would translate: those who come and worship from time to time or the ascetics of the *tapôvana.*—S. K.]

Buddhist inscription from Set Mahet.

Scale ·35

Mahêt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol. VIII. pp. 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dâṇḍaś=cha* in line 2 of the Sahêt Mahêt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bôdhisattva" (*l. c.* p. 180). Secondly,— and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,— we now know for certain that the **Sahêt Mahêt statue was found by Cunningham** *in situ*, or, in other words, that **no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrâvastî.**[1] For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr. Hoey during his excavations at Sahêt Mahêt in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahêt Mahêt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrâvastî, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bôdhisattva image at Sahêt Mahêt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *primâ facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bôdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dêvaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trêpiṭaka* Bala, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurâ inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.[2]

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

TEXT.

1. ....[dê]
2. vapu[trasya] ....
3. .... [v]ihâr[i]-
4. [sya] .... [bhikshu]-
5. sya [Balasya trêpiṭa]kasya
6. dânaṁ Bôdhi[sa]tvô chh[a]traṁ[3] daṇḍaś=cha
7. Śâvastiyê [Bhagavatô chaṁ]ka[m]ê Kôsaṁba-
8. [kuṭiyê âchâ]r[yy]â[naṁ Sarvvâ]s[t]ivâdina[ṁ]
9. [pa]r[i]gra[hê].

No. 43.— TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

By Sten Konow.

During the excavations in Sârnâth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stûpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

[1] Dr. Vogel informs me that Paṇḍit Dayâ Râm Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gôvindachandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1908, pp. 971 and ff.

[2] See above, Vol. VIII., p. 182.

[3] It is doubtful, if the word was written *chhatraṁ*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *daṇḍaś=cha*, and not *dâṇḍaś=cha*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.

vated by Mr. Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brâhmî inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been broken when it was engraved.

The fragment is 17¾" long and 5½" broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from ½ to ¾ inches.

The characters are Brâhmî of the second or third century A.D. The forms of *ma* and *sa* are ancient, and the same is the case with *ya*. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the *na* of *imâni*, l. 1, differs from the *na* in *gâmini*, l. 4; the *du* in *dukkha* in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes; the *dha* of *nirôdhô*, l. 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l. 4, etc. The form of the compound *kkha* is of some interest, the *kha* being open at the bottom. In *bhikkhavê*, l. 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following *vê*. The two *kkhas* in l. 2 differ from each other and on the whole, the form of this ligature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pâli of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l. 2, we find *dikkhavê* instead of *bhikkhavê*, and *arâyasachcham*, l. 3 *ariyayachcham*, and in l. 4 *arisachcham*, all instead of *ariyasachcham*. Those slips, taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the orginal. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit *saṁdhi* in *-samudaya ariyaya(sa)chcham*, l. 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four *ariyasachchas*, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sârnâth represent the Buddha in the *Dharmachakramudrâ*, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pâli literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription, therefore, furnishes a valuable *epigraphical* proof for the existence of a Pâli Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pâli inscription found in North India. I here take the word Pâli to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

TEXT.[1]

1 Chatt[â]r=imâni bhikkhavô ar[i*]yasachchâni
2 katamâni chhattâri dukkha[ṁ] di(bhi)kkhavâ arâ(ri)yasachcha[ṁ]
3 dukkhasamudaya[2] ariyaya(sa)chchaṁ dukkhanirôdhô[3] ariyasachchaṁ
4 dukkhanirôdha-gâminî cha[4] paṭipadâ ari[ya*]sachchaṁ

TRANSLATION.

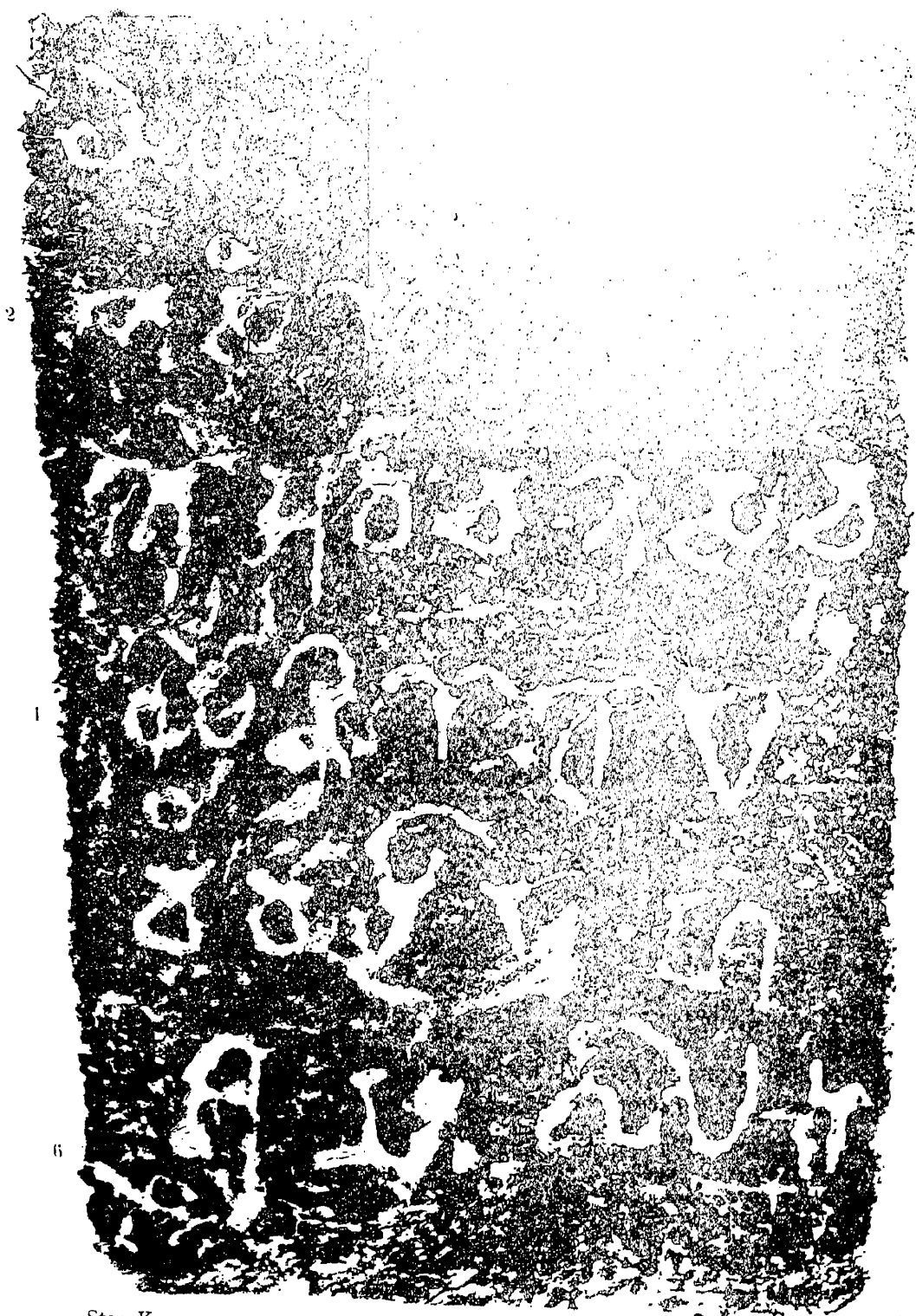
Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks; the axiom (about) the cause of suffering; the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering, and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

[1] From the original stone.
[2] Re[illegible]
[3] The stone perhaps has *nirôdha*.
[4] The actual reading seems to be *chcha*.

Sarnath stone umbrella inscription.

Scale ·5

ype by Gebr. Plettner.

Sten Konow

Another inscription written in Pâli was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of 12" × 9", and the height of the individual letters is ½"-1".

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A.D. The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahâbâd *praśasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pâli, the forms *-prabhavâ* in line 1, and *-śramaṇô*, l. 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yê dhammâ*, etc.

TEXT.

1 Yê dhammâ hêtu-prabhavâ
2 têsaṁ hêtuṁ tathâga-
3 tô avôcha têsaṁ cha
4 yô nirôdhô ê-
5 vaṁ vâdî mahâ-
6 śramaṇô.

No. 44.—SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA. SAMVAT 806.

By Hira Lal, B.A., Nagpur.

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamîndârî Settlement Officer, Bilâspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamîndâr at Lâphâ, named Dahirâj Siṅgh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Rânî's palace. He used to live in the Bhôḍimûḍâpârâ, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mâ'âfî*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lâphâ Fort. The present Zamîndârî contains only 75 villages and the Zamîndâr informed me that before Mr. Chisholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring 9¼" × 4⅝", having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers 7½" × 3½", leaving out the *Śrî* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *śrî* at the top together with *śrî 5* at the commencement and *śubham=astu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushṭubh ślôkas* which are numbered, except the ast. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Ôṛiyâ, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mâtrâs* or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ôṛiyâ writing. The letters *ja*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ôṛiyâ form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 2 we find *sûraśâmanta-* instead of *śûrasâmanta-*.

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lamphâ (Lâphâ) fort to a noble named Luṅgâ, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvidêva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Mâgha in Saṁvat 806. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the *Kauravîya*" [1] which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kawar tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ôṛiyâ letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamîndâr that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamîndâr thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindî and Ôṛiyâ alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattîsgaṛh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *śa*, but in all instances where those letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrî* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrî Krishṇachandra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrî-Râma*, *śrî-Gaṇêśa*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya*, *i.e.* I bow down to Śiva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrî-Krishṇa being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Krishṇa was so well pleased with Mayûradhvaja, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *vijaya-lêkha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ôṛiyâ type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *vijaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Râja* does not go, he conquers *vijaya karuchhanti*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *vijaya-lêkha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, *viz.* *śrî 5*. This reminds one of a Hindî letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śrîs* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Pattrahitaishiṇî* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattîsgaṛh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jâjalladêva[2] I., who was fifth in descent from Kaliṅgarâja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakshiṇakôsala. Taking then the date of Kaliṅgarâja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattîsgaṛh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., *i.e.* almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvîrâja was fourth in descent from Kaliṅgarâja and was the father of Jâjalladêva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

[1] [Perhaps *Kauravîya* is intended.—S. K.]

[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 34.

Lapha spurious plate of Prithvideva.—Samvat 806.

STEN KONOW. SCALE ·9 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns. This is again improbable. These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratanpur.

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Luṅgâ is a *luṅgâ*[1] affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning. I suppose 'chill penury' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done. The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamîndârî contained before Mr. Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Râja. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the donee or his descendants from Kawar to Tawar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase *Kauravîya-prasannadhîḥ* in verse 3. There is a family genealogy of the Lâphâ Zamîndâr, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A.D., which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tawar.

TEXT.[2]

Śrî.

Śrî Kṛishṇachandra vijayalêkhâ

śrî-lêkhaka-mudrâ chaturasrâ.

1 Śrî 5 || Svasti śrîman-mahârâjâdhirâjaḥ kshiti-nvêkarâṭ[3] || (|) **Pṛithvidêvô** ma-
2 hôddarśi-maulyudbhâsi-padâmvu(bu)jaḥ || 1 || Haihayâmnarâja[4]-savitâ sûra-śâmanta-[5]
3 sêvitaḥ ||(|) mahôdbhaṭa-bhaṭâkîrṇa-sainyô vairigaṇaprahâ || 2 || **Dily-âgata-**
4 **susûrâya**[6] **Luṅg-âkhyâya** mahâtmanê ||(|) dadê vṛitim[7] vaṁśaparâṁ
Kauravîya-prasanna-
5 dhîḥ || 3 || **Laṁphâ**-durgam=ayi(pi) grâma-viṁśôttaraśatônmitâm ||(|) samvatsarê
6 **ras-âbhr-ashṭ-âtitê Mâgh-âsit-âdikê** || 4 || yê bhavishyaṁti bhûpâlâḥ pâ-
7 lanîyâ sad=êti taiḥ ||(|) maddattâ likhitâ tâmra-patrê Mâdhavasûri-
8 ṇâ || Śubham=aśtu[8] || **Mâghê** vadi || 1 || Saṁmansarê[9] **806.**

TRANSLATION.

Śrî.

The illustrious Kṛishṇachandra. The Victorious writ.

The illustrious writer's regular seal.

Śrî 5. Hail.

(Verse 1.) The illustrious *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Pṛithvidêva**, the king of many countries (is) very intelligent. (His) lotus feet are shining with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V. 2.) (He is as it were) the sun amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers. He is the destroyer of his enemies.

---

[1] The word in Hindî means "mischievous."
[2] From the original plate.
[3] Read *kshity-anêkarâṭ*.
[4] Read *Haihayâmbhôja-*.
[5] Read *śûra-sâmanta-*.
[6] Read *suśûrâya*.
[7] Read *vṛittiṁ*.
[8] Read *-astu*.
[9] Read *Saṁvatsarê*.

(V. 3-4.) His mind being pleased with the Kauravîyas[1] (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Luṅgâ, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphâ fort, for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Mâgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (6) sky (0) and eight (8).

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mâdhava Sûri. Let good fortune attend. The first day of the dark fortnight of Magha in the year 806.

No. 45.— ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA. KALACHURI SAMVAT 347.

BY K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Âbhôṇa, a village in the Kalavana tâluka of the Nâsik district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr. N. C. Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure 9¼"×7". The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavṇî plates of Buddharâja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and benedictive verses in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kṛishṇarâja, of the family of the Kaṭachchûris. It records an order of Śaṅkaragaṇa, issued from his camp at Ujjayinî, to the effect that he granted a hundred *nivarttanas* of land in the village of Vallisikâ situated in the district of Bhôgavarddhana to a Brâhmaṇa named Âhmaṇasvâmin, of the Gautama *gôtra*, belonging to the Taittirîya *śâkhâ*, who was a resident of Kallâvana, at the request of Gôggâ. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa of the year 347,[2] which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Kaṭachchûri Śaṅkaragaṇa is identical with the father of Buddharâja, who issued the Sarsavṇî grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavṇî plates, which refer to Buddharâja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallâvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nâsik district. Vallisikâ and Bhôgavardhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śaṅkarâchârya uses it,[3]—

tasmât târkika-châṭa-bhaṭa-râj-âpravêśyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabuddhy-agamyaṁ śâstra-guru-prasâda-rahitaiś cha. Ânandajñâna gives the following explanation,—

advaitê virôdh-ântar-âbhâvê=pi târkika-samaya-virôdhô=st=ity=âśaṅky=âha tasmâd iti | *pramâṇa-virôdh-âbhâvas tach-chhabd-ârthaḥ* | *âryamaryâdâṁ bhindâ-*

---

[1] Or, if we read *Kauravâya*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Luṅgâ."

[2] [In the photo-lithograph 247 has been wrongly printed instead of 347.—S. K.]

[3] *Bṛihadâraṇyakôpanishadbhâshyaṭîkâ*, Anandasrama edition, pp. 811 and ff.

Âbhôṇî Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa.—[Kalachuri] Samvat 247.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE 0·8

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

STEN KONOW

nâś chûṭâ vivakshyantê | bhaṭâs tu sêvakâ mithyâ-bhâshiṇas têshâṁ sarvêshâṁ râjânas târkikâs tair apravêśyam anâkramaṇîyam idaṁ brahmaikatvam iti yâvat.

TEXT.

First Plate; Second Side.

1 ओं[1] स्वस्ति[॥*] विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमल-
विपुले

2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्वापाश्रयदुर्ल्लङ्घे गाम्भीर्य्यवति
स्थित्य-

3 नुपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटच्चूरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रि-
कयेव कीर्त्या

4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरकलङ्कदोषरहितकुलकुमुद-

5 वनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलै-
राभिगामिकै-

6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदाम्नयाहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्ध्यान च
रुचिरवं-

7 प्र[illegible]भिना नियतमस्खलितदान[illegible] प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-

8 भङ्गं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्रा-
णाय विग्रह×परा-

9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभ[illegible]र्ज्जितं [illegible]प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्म्माय
धर्म्मः श्रेयोवा-

10 मये तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रा-
न्तक-

11 समप्रतापः स्वभावानुरागोपनतोर्ज्जितराजश्री×प्रतावा(पा)तिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्त-

12 मण्डलः परस्परापीडितधर्म्मार्त्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत-

13 हृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधर्म्मकीर्त्तिश्चिरोत्सन्ना-

14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध-
कृपणसमभिल-

15 षितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्व्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ-

16 पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय-

17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

Second Plate; First Side.

18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्ग्गतवल्लिसिकाग्रामे उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना(नेन)
19 भूमेर्न्निवर्त्तनशतम् सर्व्वादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि-
20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
भोग्यं
21 कल्लावनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारी ब्राह्मणस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्व-
देवा-
22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्प्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोगा-
विज्ञापनया
23 उदकातिसर्ग्गेणातिसृष्टं यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस-
25 श्च गुणानाकलय्य [1]भोगसामान्यभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय
यशश्चिचीषुभि-
26 रयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-
राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-
27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता
वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*]
28 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[ः ।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ विन्ध्याट-
29 वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व्व-
30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलम् ॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां
31 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन-
मपिच ॥ यानीह
32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
मानि तानि को नाम साधुः
33 पुनराददीत ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके श्रावणशुक्लपञ्चदश्यां
महापिलु-
34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवात्सलि-
नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ श्रावण शु १० ५

[1] The Sarsavṇī plates read *sâmânya-bhôga-bhû-*.

TRANSLATION.[1]

Line 1. Ôm ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ûjjayinî. In the lineage of the **Kaṭachchûris**, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious **Krishṇarâja**, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men; who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva; who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses; who was resorted to by all virtues which attract[2] men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode; who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests; whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty; who acquired wealth to make gifts; who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss.

(L. 10.) His son, the glorious **Śaṅkaragaṇa**, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents; who had no rival in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubêra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama; who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm; to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed; who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission; who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud; who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, *bhôgikas*, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others :—

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gôggâ,[3] with pouring out of water, a hundred *nivarttanas* of land,—by a *nivarttana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of **Vallisikâ** situated in the province of **Bhôgavarddhana**, together with all receipts, free from all *ditya*, forced labour, and *prâtibhêdikâ*, according to the maxim of *bhûmichhidra*, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,[4] to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Âhmaṇasvâmin, a resident of **Kallâvana** belonging to the Gautama *gôtra*, and a student of the Taittirîya *śâkhâ*, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

[1] [Compare the translation of the Sarsavṇî plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI. pp. 299 and ff.—S. K.]

[2] *Kâmandakîya nîtisâra*, chap. IV. verses 6-8.

[3] Gôggâ was probably the name of the queen of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

[4] See the introductory remarks.

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas :—[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, this edict, the *dûtaka* of which is the *Mahâpilupati* Pâśupata, was written by the *Mahâsandhivigrahâdhikaraṇâdhikṛita* Vâṭohalin. Sam 300 40 7 Śrâvaṇa śu 10 5.

No. 46.—ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION.

LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73.

BY STEN KONOW.

Âr'gôm is a village in the Nâgâm pargana, 74° 45′ long., 33° 56′ lat., about 15 miles south-west of Śrînagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* I. 340, identifies Âr'gôm with Hâḍigrâma, where Gôpâditya is said to have established an *agrahâra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kâśî Râm in 1891. Hâḍigrâma is further mentioned by Kalhaṇa (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Ḍâmara Pṛithvîhara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasiṁha in A.D. 1128, "Hâḍigrâma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sujji, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lôṭhana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1908, Paṇḍit Mukund Râm, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brâhmaṇ in Âr'gôm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masjid Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brâhmaṇ for some corn. The Brâhmaṇ kept the stone for some time and did *pûjâ* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahârâja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gôśâlâ* and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Râm further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20″ each way, and being 4¾″ high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śâradâ letters.

The writing covers a space of 17¼″ × 3″, and the height of the letters averages ⅜″. They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śâradâ, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the Baijnâth *praśasti*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ê* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatê*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tê*, l. 2. Similarly *ô* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *â*. Compare

Arigom Sarada inscription of Ramadeva.—Laukika Samvat 73.

Âryâvalôkitêśvarâya, l. 1, and *lôkanâthâya*, l. 2. A third method occurs in *lôkâ* ...... at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *la*. Of initial vowels only *â* occurs in *âryâ-*, l. 1. Among ligatures I may note *kya*, l. 1, *kkra*, l. 3, *kva*, l. 4; *ṅga*, l. 2; *dya*, l. 3; *rya*, l. 1; and perhaps *lhṇa*, l. 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5.

The **language** of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of **Avalôkitêśvara** in l. 1, and the date in l. 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a *ślôka*. The second *pâda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *aksharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pâda* 1. The second verse is a *śârdûlavikrîḍita*. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihâra* built of *pakka* bricks, by **Râmadêva,** the son of **Kulladêva,** in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vaidya*, whose name I read **Ulhṇa,** and which had been burnt down by king **Siṁha.** This Siṁha must be identical with Jayasiṁha (from A.D. 1128), in whose reign Hâḍigrâma was burnt down by Sujji.[1] It then becomes highly probable that the *vaidya* Ulhṇa is identical with Ulhaṇa, the son of Sahadêva, who was a supporter of Sujji.[2] Sahadêva is described as a *Râjaputra*,[3] which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son Ulhaṇa's being a *vaidya*. The constructor of the brick *vihâra* was Râmadêva, whom I cannot identify. His father Kulladêva was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihâra*, if I am right in interpreting *tad-rata* (l. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, *viz.*, Avalôkitêśvara."

The word *vihâra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of Lôkanâtha." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of Lôkanâtha here alluded to. Lôkanâtha is, of course, identical with Avalôkitêśvara, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks.

The old *vihâra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of Gaṅgêśvara. This is now called Gaṇêśvara, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago. This is proved by a *janmapattra*, which Paṇḍit Mukund Râm found in Âr'gôm, and which was written by Paṇḍit Gaṇêśa Khusrao in Laukika Saṁvat 4939, *i.e.* A.D. 1862-63. It speaks of a person as *Gaṅgêśvara-pâdamûlê Ârigrâmê vâstavya* residing in Âr'gôm at the feet of Gaṅgêśvara. Gaṅgêśvara was originally probably a Śiva temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated **Saṁvat 73, Mârga śuti 5.** This date must be subsequent to the burning of Âr'gôm during the reign of Jayasiṁha. Now Jayasiṁha's father was murdered in the Laukika year 4203, and the burning of Âr'gôm took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as **4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Mârgaśîrsha,** corresponding to **Sunday, the 16th November 1197.**

TEXT.

1 ...[4] नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ [5][त्रै]लोक्यालोकभूताय लोका-[लो]-

[1] *Râjataraṅginî*, VIII. 1586. [2] Ibidem. vv. 2066, 2092, 2097. [3] Ibidem. v. 198.

[4] I cannot restore the beginning. The *akshara* preceding नमो looks like वैं. Paṇḍit Mukund Râm suggests to read ओं.

[5] Metre: Ślôka. There is something wrong in the second *pâda*.

2 [स]..[स]भवच्छिदे [।*] जमदानन्दचन्द्राय ***लोकनाथाय ते नमः ॥[१*] [1]प्रागङ्गेश्वरसं[न]-

3 धौ [सुम]तिमान्वैद्योल्हुदेवाभिधश्चक्रे दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोकनाथास्प-
दम् [।*] तस्मिं[स्तं]-

4 च्चनृपेण कालवशतो दग्धेथ पक्वेष्टिकाभिश्चं तद्गतकुल्लदेवतनयोमुं रामदेवो
[व्यधात् ॥] [२*]

5 सं ७३ मार्ग शुदि ५

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Salutation to the exalted noble Avalôkitêśvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, ... who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2). Formerly the *vaidya* Ulhṇadêva[2] by name made a spotless *vihâra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaṅgêśvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Siṁha, Râmadêva, the son of Kulladêva, who was devoted to him (Avalôkitêśvara), made yonder (*vihâra*) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5. Saṁvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mârga(śîrsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA. SAMVAT 1148.

BY STEN KONOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandrâvatî, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archæology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures 15⅝" × 11¼". The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about ½" thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, 2⅜" from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and 2¼" in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrîvadach-(śrîmach)-Chaṁdradêvaḥ*, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *ba*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, *-asita-*

[1] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[2] It is possible that the name should be read Allhṇadêva.

for *aśita*-, l. 1, -*vaṁsa*- for -*vaṁśa*-, l. 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrî* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that **Yaśôvigraha** had the son **Mahîchandra**, whose son again was **Chandradêva**, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king **Chandradêva** issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the **Vaḍagavâ**-village in the **Vâvana**-*pattalâ*, and also to the *Râjas*, *Râjñîs*, *Yuvarâjas*, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthânas* and *gôkulas*:

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *madhûka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the . . . **day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika, Saṁvat 1148**, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gôkarṇa*[1] and *kuśa*-grass, to the Brâhmaṇ Varuṇêsvayasarman (-śvaraśarman), the son of Varâhasvâmi, the grandson of Aṇarudha, of the Vasishṭha *gôtra*, and whose only *pravara* is Vasishṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of **Sauri (Śauri)-Nârâyaṇa**, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,[2] after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vâsudêva, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandradêva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Saṁvat 1154.[3] It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr. Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody *in his endeavour to make a correction in the date.* It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *saṅkrânti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Śauri-Nârâyaṇa was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion *presumably* was the ordinary *Kârttika-snâna*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *paṁchadaśyâṁ gurau*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *êkâdaśyâṁ ravau*. The *ê* of the latter just overlaps the *paṁ* of the former; the *kâ* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *cha* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *śyâṁ* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *paṁchadaśyâṁ*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ê*, *kâ* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *śyâṁ*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

[1] Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV. p. 10, Note 57.

[2] See *ibidem*, note 55.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. pp. 9 and ff.

ravau overlaps the *gu* of *gurau* and *rau* of the latter has been deformed into something like *vau* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *pañchadaśî*, on the occasion of a *lunar eclipse* which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradêva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prabôdhinî Ekâdaśî* (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Vishṇu — the deity worshipped by Chandradêva — rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahârâja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brâhmaṇ to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brâhmaṇs, *e.g.* Sarjuparis and Kanaujiyas, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brâhmaṇ who received the munificent gift from Chandradêva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Chhote Lal further identifies Vaḍagavâ with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandrâvatî, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradêva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *ṭhakkura* Mahaṇanda.

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôṁ[2] svasti || [3]akuṁṭh-ôtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṁṭha-kaṇṭha-pîṭha-luṭhat- karaḥ | saṁrambhaḥ suratârambhê sa Śriyaḥ śrêyasê=stu vaḥ || [4]âsîd=asî(śî)tadyu-

2 ti-vaṁsa(śa)-jâta-[kshmâ]pâla-mâlâsu divaṁ gatâsu | sâkshâd=Vivasvân=iva bhûridhâmnâ nâmnâ Yaśôvigraha ity=udâraḥ || [5]tat-sutô=bhût(n)= Mahîchaṁdra-

3 ś= cha[ṁ*]dradhâma-nibhaṁ nijaṁ | yên= âpâram=akûpâra-pârê vyâpâritaṁ yaśaḥ || [6]tasy= âbhût=tanayô nay-aikarasikaḥ krâṁta-dvishan-maṁḍalâ(maṁḍalô) [7]viddhast-ôddhata-

4 dhîra-yôdha-timiraḥ śrî-Chaṁdradêvô nṛipaḥ | yên= ôdâratara-pratâpa- sa(śa)mit-âśêsha-prajôpadravaṁ śrîmad-Gâdhipur-âdhirâjyam=asamaṁ dôrvikra-

5 mêṇ=ârjitaṁ || [8]tîrthâni Kâśi-Kusik(-śik)-Ôttarakôśal(sal)-Êndra(ḥ)sthânîyakâni paripâlayat=âbhigamyaḥ(ya) | hêm=âtmatulyam=anisaṁ(śaṁ) dadatâ dvijêbhyô

6 yên=âṁkitâ vasumatî śatasa(śa)s=tulâbhiḥ || sa cha paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâ-dhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-paramamâhêsva(śva)ra-nijabhujôpâ[r*]jita-śrî-Ka-

7 nyakuvj(bj)-âdhipatya-śrî-Chaṁdradêvô vijayî ||[9] Vâvana-paṭṭalâyâṁ Vaḍagavâ-grâmê nivâ[sinô nikhila]-jana-padân=upagatân=api cha râja-râjñî- yuvarâ-

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[1] From the original plate.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Metre: Anushṭubh.
[4] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[5] Metre: Anushṭubh.
[6] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[7] Read *vidhvast-*.
[8] Metre: Vasantatilaka.
[9] This sign of interpunction is superfluous.

Chandravati plate of Chandradeva.—Samvat 1148.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE ·55

STEN KONOW.

8 ja-maṁtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâṁḍâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishaka(shag)-naimi-[ttik-âṁtaḥpu]rika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthânagô[ku]-

9 lâdhikâripurushân=âjñâpayâ(ya)ty=âdiśati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâṁ yathôpa[rilikhi]ta-grâma[ḥ*] sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-ma-

10 [t*]sy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâṭikâ-triṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryaṁtaḥ s-ôrddh[v*]-âdhaś=chatur-âghâṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantaḥ [saṁvat]

11 1148 Kârttika su di . . . . ady=êha Sau(Śau)ri-nârâyaṇa- samîpê snâtvâ vidhivan=maṁtra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manuja-bhûta-pitṛigaṇâṁs=tarppayitvâ ti-

12 mira-paṭala- pâṭana-pa[ṭu-ma]hasaṁs(sam=)[ushṇa-rôchi]shaṁ samabhyarchya tribhu-vana-[1]trâtur=Vâsudêvasya pûjâṁ vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ havirbhujaṁ [hu]tvâ

13 mâtâpitrôr=âtmana[ś=cha] puṇya-pra(ya)[śô-bhivṛiddhayê] |[2] Vasishṭhagôtrâya |[2] Vasishṭh-aika-pravarâya |[2] Aṇarudha-pautrâya Var[â*]hasvâmi-putrâya |[2] Varuṇêsvaya(śvara)-

14 sa(śa)rmmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya gôkarsa(rṇa)-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdakên=âsmâbhiḥ âchaṁdrârkkaṁ yâvavv(ch=chh)âsanîkṛitya pradattaḥ | matvâ yathâdîyamâna-bhâgabhô-

15 gakara-pravaṇikara-turushkadaṁḍa-kumaragadiâṇaka-prabhṛiti-samastâ[n*]=niyatâs niyat-âdâyân= âjñâ(ṁ)-vidhêyî-bhûya dâsyatha

16 iti || bhavaṁti ch=âtra paurâṇikâ[ḥ*] ślôkâḥ || || [3]bhûmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇâti yaś=cha bhûmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇyakarmmâṇau ni-

17 yatau svargna(rgga)- gâminau || sa(śa)ṁkhaṁ bhadrâsanaṁ chchhatraṁ[4] varâsvâ (śvâ) varavâraṇâḥ | bhûmi- dânasya chihnâni phalam=[5] a(ê)tat=Puraṁdara || shashṭ(h)iṁ varsha-sahasrâ-

18 ṇi svarggê vasati bhûmidaḥ [|*] âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tân[y=*]êva narakaṁ(kê) vasêt || svadattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ yô harêd(ta)=vasuṁdharâṁ | sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ

19 pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || vârihînêshv=araṇyêshu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-sarppâś=ra(cha) jâyaṁtê dêva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hâriṇah || na vishaṁ vi[sha]m=ity=â-

20 hu[r*] vra(bra)hma-svaṁ visham=uchyata(tê) | visham=êkâkinaṁ haṁti(r=) vra(bra)hmasvaṁ puvrapautriâkaṁ(putrapautrikaṁ) || [6]rgâm=akâm svarsêm=êkaṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṁgulaṁ | haraṁ(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad=â-

21 bhûta-sa[ṁ*]plavaṁ || taḍâgânâṁ sahasrâṇi [7]asvam[ê]dhasatâni cha | gavâṁ kâ(kô)ṭi-pradânana(nêna) bhûmi-harttâ na suyati(śudhyati) || va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Cha(Sa)ga-

22 râdibhi[ḥ] || (|) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || [8]yân=îha dattâni purâ narê[n*]drai[r*] dânâni [9]varmmâpiyasaskarâṇi [|*] ni-[rmâlyavâṁta-prati]-

23 mâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadhîta || || [10]Likhitamm=idaṁ tâṁmrapaṭaka[ṁ*] ṭhakkura-śrî- Mahaṇaṁda ||

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[1] The engraver originally wrote *tribhuvama-*, but corrected it.

[2] These signs of interpunctuation are superfluous.

[3] Metre of this and the following verses: Anushṭubh.

[4] Read *chhattram*.

[5] The *î*-stroke has been put over the *pu* of *Puraṁdara*.

[6] Read *gâm=êkâṁ svarṇam=êkaṁ cha*.

[7] Read *aśvamêdhaśatâni*.

[8] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[9] Read *dharmârthayaśas-*.

[10] Read *likhitam=*.

No. 48.—BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH. SAMVAT 1646.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Burhânpûr in the Nimâr district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site.[1] It was the chief seat of the Fârûqî kings. They ruled over Khândêsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khân. Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Mughals. One of these Fârûqî kings built the Jum'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque. This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Śrî srishṭikartrê namaḥ* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nâgarî and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *avagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-khâna-* (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdid* or double consonant.

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virôdhi. The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausha, the exact moment in *ghaṭis* and the *nakshatra*, *lagna*, *yôga*, *karaṇa*, etc., being added most precisely.[2] The date in the Hijra era is given as 997 in Arabic above the inscription. Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fârûqî kings. In Burhânpûr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islâm) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pîrsâdas*, who are Musalmâns and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nishkalaṅkî*.[3] The Fârûqîs undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahâdur Khân, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asîrgaṛh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort. A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khândêsh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever. This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minâr.

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[1] It was here that the famous Mumtâz Maḥall (Arjumand Bânû Bêgam) breathed her last.

[2] For details see translation at the end.

[3] I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhânpûr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fires of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 *lakhs* besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fârûqîs given in it. According to it the first king was **Râja Malik**, whose son was **Ghaznî** (Khân). His son was **Kaisar Khân**, whose son was **Hasan**, from whom was born **Âdil Shâh**, whose son was **Mubârakh**. **Âdil Shâh**, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubârakh. This genealogy differs from those given by Firishta and Abul Fazl. According to the former Âdil Shâh was the 6th descendant from Malik Râja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand :—

Sanskrit inscription.	Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV., p. 280.	Jarrett's *Aîn-i-Akbarî*, Vol. II., p. 226.
Râja Malik.	Malik Râja.	Malik Râji.
Gaznî (Khân).	Nasîr Khân.	Ghiznî Khân, title Nasîr Khân.
Kaisar Khân.		Mîran Shâh *alias* Âdil Shâh.
		Mubârik Shâh Chaukhandi.
Hasan (Khân).	Hasan Khân.	Âdil Shah Aynâ *alias* Ahsan Khân.
Âdil Shâh.	Âdil Khân.	Âdil Shâh.
Mubârakh.	Mubârik.	Mubârik Shâh.
Âdil Shâh.	Râja Alî Khân.	Râja Alî Khân, title Âdil Shâh.

The *Âin-i-Akbarî* states that "Bahâdur Khân (who was the son of Râja Alî Khân) was 9th in descent from Malik Râji." This has led Colonel Jarrett,[1] as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khân, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khân, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khân belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Âin-i-Akbarî* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Mîran Shâh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Râja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Âdil Shâh or Râja Alî Khân. The crown first went in Mîran Shâh's line up to Âdil Shâh Aynâ, who was succeeded by his brother Dâwûd Khân, and the latter by his son Ghaznî Khân, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghaznî Khân at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghaznî Khân left no son,[2] and hence the crown went to Râja Alî Khân's grandfather Âdil Shâh or Âdil Khân. The three kings Mîran Shâh, Mubârak Shâh and Âdil Shâh Aynâ were not thus direct ascendants of Râja Alî Khân. The *Âin-i-Akbarî* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firishta's list. Briggs[3] takes Hasan to be the son of Nasîr Khân, relying on Firishta's assertion that "Âdil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasîr Khân." If Hasan were the son of Nasîr Khân, he would be the brother of Mîran Shâh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Mîran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

[1] See his *Âin-i-Akbarî*, Vol. II., p. 226, footnote.
[2] Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV., p. 303.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Âdil Khân (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived.[1] It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasîr Khân and Hasan Khân, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaisar Khân, son of Nasîr and father of Hasan Khân. In the inscription Kaisar Khân is merely called a *vîra* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kshitîśa* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firishta records[2] that when he visited Burhânpûr in A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), he asked Mirzâ Alî Isfahânî if any history existed of the Fârûqî family. The Mirzâ replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy[3] of the family down to Malik Râja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Râja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record, in one of the greatest works the king built. It is, therefore, more reliable than Firishta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity.[4] A revised genealogy of the Fârûqî kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT.[5]

1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे [6]नृमः । अव्यक्तं(क्तं) व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं चिदात्मकं [।*] व्यक्तस्य(व्यक्तस्य) कारणं वंदे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमीश्वरं[7] ॥१॥ यावच्चन्द्रार्कतारा-

2 दि क्षितिः स्यादंबरांगणे(णे) [।*] तावत्फारुकिवंशोसौ चिरं नंदतु भूतले ॥२॥ वंशेथ तस्मिन्किल फारुकींद्रो बभूव राजा मलिकाभिधानः [।*] तस्याभवत्सूनु-

3 रुदारचेताः कुलावतंसो गजनीनरेशः[8] ॥३॥ तस्मादभूत्कैसरखानवीरः पुत्रस्तदीयो हसनक्षितीशः [।*] तस्मादभूदेदलशाहभूपः पुत्रोभवत्तस्य मुबारखेंद्रः ॥४॥

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[1] The average for a generation in the line of which Ghaznî Khân was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Râja Alî Khân it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Mîran Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Husain Khân, Râja Âli Khân would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

[2] It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

[3] Firishta gives this as follows:—

Malik Râja, the son of Khân Jahân, the son of Alî Khân, the son of Uthmân Khân, the son of Simion Shâh, the son of Ashab Shâh, the son of Armian Shâh, the son of Ibrâhîm Shâh of Balkh, the son of Âdam Shâh, the son of Ahmad Shâh, the son of Mahmûd Shâh, the son of Muhammad Shâh, the son of Âzim Shâh, the son of Ashghar, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imâm Nasîr Abdulla, the son of Omar-ul-Faruq entitled Khalîfâ or representative of the last of the prophets.

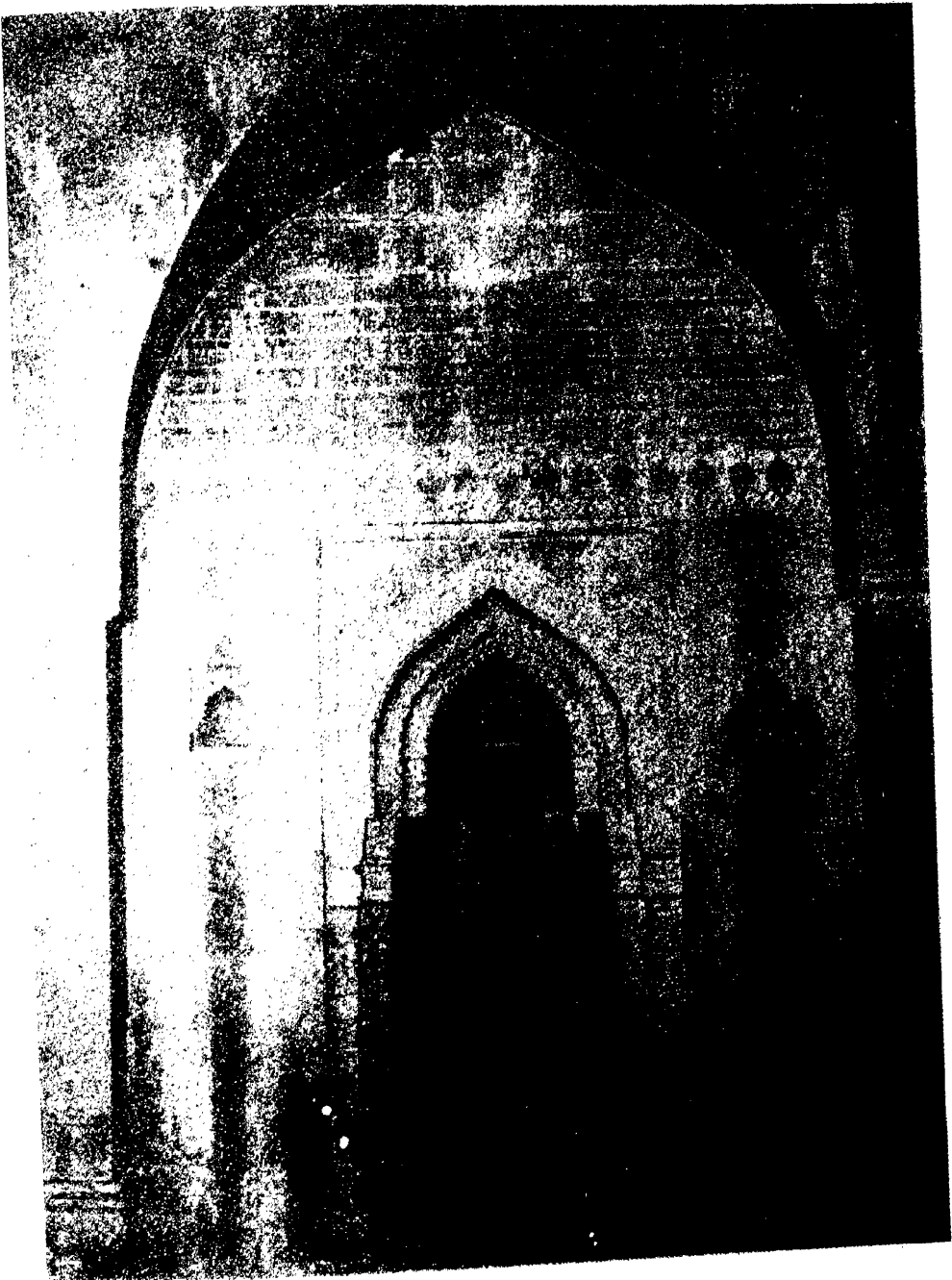
[4] If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Munshi Inâmullah Khân, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows:—*'Âdil Shâh bin Mubârak Shâh bin 'Âdil Shâh bin Hasan Khân bin Qaisar Khân bin Ghaznî Khân bin Malik Khân al-Fârûqî al 'Adlî.*

[5] From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Balkrishna Bhâte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhânpur, and a photograph.

[6] Read °कर्त्रे नमः.

[7] This and the next verse are in the Anushṭubh metre.

[8] This and the next are in the Upajâti metre.

Burhanpur inscription of Adil Shah.—Samvat 1646.

STEN KONOW. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SUPPLIED BY DR. TH. BLOCH. W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

4 तत्सूनुः क्षितिपालमौलिमुकुटव्याघृष्टपादांबुजः सत्कीर्त्तिर्विलसत्प्रतापवशगा-
मित्रः क्षितीशेश्वरः]।[*] यस्त्वाह्नर्निशमानतिर्गुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-

5 र्विजयंते[1] भूपालचूडामणिः[2] ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शाके[3]
१५११ विरोधिसंवत्सरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सहैका-
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [कृ]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह[4] रोहि-

6 ण्यां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे वणिजकरणेस्मिन् दिने रात्रिगतघटी
११ समये कन्यालग्न श्रीमुबारखशाहसुतश्री[5] ७ एदलशाहराज्ञी
मसीतिरियं निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थं ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2). As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this **Fâruki** family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of Fârukis by name **Râjâ Malik,** whose son was king **Ghazni**[6] (Khân) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V. 4). From him was (born) the hero **Kaisar Khân** whose son was **Hasan** (Khân), the lord of the earth. From him was born king **Âdil Shâh,** whose son was lord **Mubârakh.**

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king **Âdil,** the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities.

(Ll. 5—6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king *Śrî* 7[6] Âdil Shâh, son of the illustrious Mubârakh Shâh, for fostering his own religion, in the **Saṁvat year 1646, Śaka 1511, in the Virôdhi** *saṁvatsara,* **in the month of Pausha, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th** *tithi* (lasting for) **23** *ghaṭis,* **followed by the eleventh** *tithi,* **on Monday, in the Kṛittikâ** (*nakshatra* lasting for) **33** *ghaṭis* with (*i.e.* followed by) **Rôhiṇî in the Śubha** *yôga* **lasting up to** *ghaṭî* **42, in the Vaṇija** *karaṇa,* **at the time when 11** *ghaṭis* **of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyâ** *lagna.*

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[1] Read °र्विजयते.

[2] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[3] Read शके.

[4] Read सह.

[5] This king is well-known by the name of Nasîr Khân, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took *Ghaznî narêśaḥ* to mean King of Ghaznî (see his *Reports,* Vol. IX., p. 117), not being aware that Ghaznî was a personal name. Firishta omitted this name, but Abul Fazl has mentioned it (see Jarrett's *Aîn-i-Akbarî,* Vol. II., p. 226).

[6] The number of *śrîs* written for Râjas is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son.

Genealogy of the Fârûqî Kings of Khândêsh.

N.B.—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the periods of their rule.

* This date is doubtful, Firishta being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV., p. 142, which gives the date of his death as A.H. 943, whereas on p. 312 [illegible] As Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât died on 14th Feb. 1537 (*ibid* p. 141) Mîran Muhammad Shâh, who succeeded him also in Gujarât, was evidently [illegible] Mubârak could not have become king before that date.

No. 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI. THE SAKA YEAR 1033.

By Hira Lal, B.A., M.R.A.S., Nagpur.

Nârâyanpâl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattîsgaṛh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the " splendidly picturesque " Indrâvatî, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.[1] It " traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gôṇḍ races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct; a people who still erect rudé stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nâgavaṁśî kings of that little known state. Nârâyanpâl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which " people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nârâyaṇa, " the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrâvatî was to Bastar what the Narmadâ has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrâvatî written in Nâgarî characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nâgavaṁśî kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrâvatî, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nârâyanpâl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahâdur Pandâ Baijnâth, B.A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr. Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archæological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nârâyaṇa, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nârâyaṇa, 2′ high. Above the ground the slab measures 7′ 4″ × 2′ 3″, and the writing covers a space 5′ 9″ × 2′ 2″, including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrî mahâ*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Svasti sahaśra-phaṇâmaṇi* and ending with *maṁgala mahâ-śrî*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva liṅga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere[2] explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

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[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I. (New Edition, 1907), page 44.

[2] Above, pp. 164 and 175.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nâgarî. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Srî-mahi*, they are as big as 2½", the average size in the first four lines is 1⅝". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of 1¼" throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is 1½" and in (b) and (c) midway between these two.

As regards **orthography,** *b* is not distinguished from *v* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*; for instance, we have on the one hand *Kâsyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *saraṇâgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *sâsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d), *Saka-* (l. 19), *-satana* (l. 34), *asvamêdha-* (l. 34), *sudhyati* (l. 35); on the other hand we have *śvarggatê* (l.17) and *sahaśra* (ll. 1 and 34). The *anusvâra* is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *rêpha* have been invariably doubled. The letters *ksha*, *dha*, *ra*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mâtrâ* for *ê*, *ô* and *au* is sometimes placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-dhauta-* (l. 8), *pavitra-kritôttamâṁgi* . . . *pârthivêṁdra-* (ll. 8-9), *-saujanya-* (l. 10), *-saurinêy-â-* (l. 11), etc. In *Sômêśvaradêva* (l. 17) *mê* has the top stroke, while *dê* has the vertical stroke preceding *da*. In line 23 in *-sthityudadhi-* the *mâtrâ* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village **Nârâyaṇapura** to the god Nârâyaṇa and some land near the **Kharjuri** tank to the god Lôkêśvara, and it is dated in the **Saka year** 1033 on **Wednesday, the full moon day of the Kârttika** month in the **Khara saṁvatsara,** corresponding to the **18th October 1111 A.D.** The donor was **Guṇḍa Mahâdêvî,** the chief queen of the Mahârâja **Dhârâvarsha,** the mother of **Sômêśvaradêva** and the grandmother of **Kanharadêva,** who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be **Nâgavaṁśî** of the **Kâśyapa** *gôtra* and to have a **tiger** with a **calf** as their crest and to be the lords of **Bhôgâvatî,** the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the Sinda family of Yelburga. The *birudas* of the two are strikingly similar. The Sindas also claim to be *Nâgavaṁśôdbhava*, born of the race of the Nâga (cobra), and the lords of Bhôgâvatî, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, *viz.* south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at leas a replica of it somewhere in the Nizâm's dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The Râmâyaṇa seems to confirm this, for Râma's route to Laṅkâ lay between the two and passed through Bhôgâvatî.

As Dr. Fleet[1] says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the Sinda family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lâñchhanas*) and banners (*dhvajas*, *patâkas* or *kêtanas*). The *vyâghra-lâñchha-na* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.[2] The **Bâgalkôṭ** branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phaṇi-kêtana*, or banner of hooded serpents. The **Bastar** branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *savatsa-vyâghra-lâñchhana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In Bastar there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of Bhramarakôṭya-maṇ-

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 572.

[2] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol. III., p. 231.

dala,[1] whose *lâñchhana* was *dhanur-vyâghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *kamala-kadali*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavur[2] branch of the Banvâsi tract had the *vyâghra-mṛiga-lâñchhana*, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *nîladhvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramêśvara Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grâma-nilaya-nâḍa-sarva-vâdhâ-parihârêṇa*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nâḍa*, Mr. Baden-Powell[3] says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nâḍu*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, we find first a number of *kuṭṭam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief; each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nâḍu* and each *nâḍu* contained a number of villages (called *nattam*, *i.e.* the village site). The chief of the *nâḍu* was called *nâthan*.[4] In Malabâr we have evidence of how these *nâḍu* divisions were governed by the *nâḍa-kuṭṭam* or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *tara*, of the ruling class, in each *nâḍu*." It appears from our inscription that this *nâḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nilaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate[5] of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artizans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grâma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Nârâyaṇapura is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll. 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number[6] for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nâḍa-kuṭṭam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *pregaḍâ* or minister, the *karaṇa-kuṭṭiam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *bhaṇḍârî* or treasurer, the *sâdhu* or priest, and four *nâyakas*, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nâḍas*. One of these *nâyakas* is styled *bhaṭṭanâyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nâyakas*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, *viz.* the **Nârâyaṇapura** village, which is certainly the present Nârâyanpâl, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nârâyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank **Kharjuribandha**, which was apparently named after the *kharjûrî* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years[7] only.

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[1] See above, pp. 174 and ff.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 577.

[3] *The Indian Village Community*, p. 231.

[4] Also *nâyaka*; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

[5] Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III., p. 148.

[6] See above, p. 168 [10].

[7] Dr. Watt in his *Economic Dictionary*, Vol. VI., Part I., p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be at once counted by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

TEXT.

Śrî mahâ.

1 Ôm[1] Svasti sahaśra(sra)-phaṇâmaṇi-kiraṇa-nikar-âvabhâ[su]-
2 ra-**Nâgavaṁś-ôdbhava Bhôgâvatî**-puravar-êśvara-sa-
3 vatsa-vyâghra-lâṁchhana-Kâsya(śya)pa-gôtra-prakaṭî-kṛita-
4 vijaya-ghôshaṇa-lavdha(bdha)-viśva-viśvaṁbhara-paramêśvara-para-
5 mabhaṭṭâraka-Mahêśvara-charaṇa-kaṁja-kiṁjalka-puṁja-piṁjarita-bhramarâyamâṇa-satya-Hariśchaṁ-
6 dra-sa(śa)raṇ-âgata-vajra-paṁjara-śrîmad-râjabhûshaṇa-mahârâja-**Dhârâvarshadêva**-pâd[â]-
7 nâṁ paṭṭamahâdêvî jagad-êka-mâtâ sâ(śâ)sana-paṭṭa-dhârâ nâma nâmatâ(tô) Gaṁ-
8 gâ-jala-[dhau]ta-parama-pavitra-kṛit-ôttamâṁgi-**Dhârâvarsha**-mahêśvar-ârddhâṅgi-pâ-
9 [rthi]vêṁdra-kul-âṁganâ Pârvvatî-bhâsurâ chârn-Bhâ[gîra]thî parama-pativratâ
10 châra(ru)-Araṁdhuti(Aruṁdhatî) saujanya-Sarasva(sva)ti-sa(śa)raṇâgata-rakshâ-maṇi va(ba)ṁdhu-chintâmaṇi
11 sauvinêy-âbhina[v]a-Sâvitri kshamâ-dhâra-dharitri śrîmad-**G[u]ṇḍa-mahâdêvî** â-
12 sâṁ putra-nâmnâ sahasra-phaṇ[â]-maṇi-kiraṇa-nikar-âva[bhâ]sura-**Nâgavaṁś-ô**[2]-
13 dbhava-**Bhôgâvatî**-pura[var-êśva]ra-savatsa-vyâghra-lâṁ[chha]na-Kâ[sya](śya)pa-gôtra-praka-
14 ṭî-kṛita-[vija]ya-ghôshaṇa-[lavdha](bdha)-viśva-v[i]śvaṁbhara-paramêśvara parama-bhaṭṭâ-
15 raka-Mahêśvara-charaṇa-kaṁja-kiṁjalka-puṁja-piṁjarita-bhramarâyamâṇa-sa-
16 tyâ-Hariśchaṁdra-sa(śa)raṇ-âgata-vajra-pa[ṁ*]jara-prati[gaṇḍa]-bhairava-śrîmad-râya-
17 bhûshaṇa-mahârâja-**Sômêśvaradeva(vô)** sva(sva)r-ggatê têshâṁ putrasya âsâṁ nap[tuḥ]
18 samasta-râjâvalî-vi[râjyamâ]ṇa-[śr]îmad-vîra-**Kanharadêvasya** kalyâṇa-vijaya-râ-
19 jyê **Saka-nṛipa-kal-atîte dasa-sata-trayat[ṛi]ṁś-âdhike**[3] **Khara-saṁvatsarê Kârtti-**
20 **ka-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ vuddha(budha)-vâ[rê]** saṁsâra-samudr-ô[t*]târaṇa-taraṁḍâya jñ[â*]na-ratna-karaṁḍâ-
21 ya svargg-ârggal-ôdghâṭana-karâya śrîma[n-N]ârâyaṇa-dêvâya śrîmad-Guṇḍa-**mahâd[ê]vyâ**
22 sakalam=a[n]ityam=adhruvam=asâ(śâ)śvataṁ drishṭvâ svargg-ârggal-ôdghâṭan ârthê **Nârâyaṇapurô**
23 nâma grâmô nânâ-dêśiya-jan-[â]kîrṇṇaś-chaṁdr-ârkka-sthity-udadhi-kâlaṁ yâva
24 pradattaḥ | tathâ śrî-Lôkêśvaradêvâya **Kharjuriva(ba)mdha**-samîpasthâ bhûmi pradattâ
25 Śrîmat-pregaḍâ Âdityamaṃpenna[4] bhaṭṭanâyaka Prôṇṭiyô[5] karaṇa [6][Ku]driyama-
26 Virama nâyaka Sômana nâyaka Râmanâkâsana nâyaka M[â]raya bhaṁḍâri
27 Aitana sâdhu Vakômaraya || Êtêshâṁ bhû[mi] akarinâ pradattâ || [Sa]-mara-śrêshṭhi[7]

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[1] Expressed by a symbol.
[2] Perhaps *-daṇḍa-*.
[3] Read *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîtê daśa-śatê trayastri*.
[4] Perhaps *Adityamayenna*. [5] Perhaps *Pranṇiyô*.
[6] Perhaps *Kuṭṭiyamavirama*.
[7] Perhaps *Rdgarameṭṭi*.

Sten Konow.

28 Chhâ[drû] vâmaṇa[1] śrêshṭhi Ghughi Śrîdhara sâdhu Nânû kôsa[jâ] Pâlâ[su] Pâdmâsi-

29 **nivirâ** mâlî Gôi[ṁ]dapratra[2] tail[i]ka [Ja]sadhavala vâvû(bâbû) Mîlâpi nâvêjâṇaṁ[du]

30 pâlâ[ghi]kâ sa[mri]dâraṇa Dhavala m[â]ṇiyâ[sthi] śrî-V[â]sadêva êtair=[gṛiha-ve]-

31 ṭaka-r[û]pêṇa śrîmân-Nârayaṇa-dêva-pâdêshu sadâ sth[â]tavyaṁ karaṁ cha dâtavyaṁ

32 śri(î)mat-paṁḍita-**Purushôttamâya** grâma-nilaya-nâḍa-sarvva-vâ(bâ)dhâ-parihârêṇa chaṁdr-â-

33 rka-kâlaṁ pradatta || Svadattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ yô harêd(rêta)=vasuṁdharâ[ṁ] [|*] sa vishṭhâyaṁ kṛi-

34 mî(mir) [bhû]tvâ kulajai[ḥ] saha sîdati | Taḍâgânâṁ sahaśrê(srê)ṇa as(aś)-vamêdha-sata(śatê)-

35 na cha [|*] gô(ga)vâṁ kôṭi-pradânêna bhûmi-harttâ na su(śu)dhyati || Maṅgala mahâ śrî

36 (*a*) Sûtradhâra Raṇavîrâya bhûmi pradattâ

37 (*a*) akarêṇa.

36 (*b*) Adhikâri Chhâdrûkasya bhûmi akarêṇa

37 (*b*) dattâ || Brahmau[jhâ]kasya bhûmi dattâ sâsa(śâsa)-

38 (*b*) naṁ akarêṇa Ma[ha]ṇḍaka-

39 (*b*) sya tathâ [Kanharasâi]

40 (*b*) Nâgak[u]la[ṁdhva]ra ê-

41 (*b*) têshâṁ bhûmi aka-

42 (*b*) rêṇa dattâ pri(pṛi)thunâ

39 (*c*) Bhaṭṭâra-

40 (*c*) ka Bhâva-

41 (*c*) [dê]vâya

42 (*c*) bhûmi akarêṇa datâ

43 (*d*) **Svasti** śrî-**Dhâraṇa**-mahâdêvi-[varyyâ] sarvva-vâ(bâ)[dhâ]-parihârêṇa aka[rê]-

44 (*d*) ṇa bhûmi dattâ dêva-śrî-Nârâyaṇasy=ârthê Mahaṇaka Dêvadâsa

45 (*d*) [Jaggatî] || Sâdhu Himasutta dê[dunaṇitâ ?] Lakhmaṇa Chaüdharî

46 (*d*) [śrî]-**Dhâraṇa-mahâdê** bhûmi [dataru ara srî dê sâsana dattâ[3]] bhûmi dattâ | akarêṇa

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—6). Hail. The *paṭṭa-mahâdêvî* of the *Mahârâja* **Dhârâvarshadêva,** who was born of the Nâgavaṁśa, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels; who was the lord of **Bhôgâvatî,** the best of towns; whose crest was a tiger with a calf; who was of the Kâśyapa *gôtra;* who had made his shout of victory (universally) known; who had acquired the whole earth; the *Paramêśvara, Paramabhaṭṭâraka;* who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahêśvara; who was a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings;

(Ll. 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort); whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges; who was (as it were) half the body of **Dhârâvarsha** (just as Pârvatî is half the body

[1] Perhaps *Chhâḍâ brâhmaṇa.*

[2] Probably *Gôvindapûtra* [or *Gôvindaputra.*—S. K.]

[3] This perhaps stands for *dattâ akarêṇa śrî-śâsana-dêvyâ dattâ.*

of) Mahêśvara; a noble lady of royal birth; resplendent (like) Pârvatî; beautiful (like) the Ganges; who was exceedingly devoted to her husband; a lovely Arundhatî, a Sarasvatî of goodness; an amulet for those who sought her protection; a magical gem to her relatives; a new Sâvitrî of good breeding; capable of liberal support like the earth (was) **Gunda-mahâdêvi**.

(Ll. 12—17). After the *Mahârâja* **Sômêśvaradêva**, who was known as her son; who was born of the Nâgavaṁśa, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels; who was the lord of Bhôgâvatî, the best of towns; whose crest was a tiger with a calf; who was of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*; who had made his shout of victory universally known; who had acquired the whole earth; the *Paramêśvara, Paramabhaṭṭâraka*: who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahêśvara; who was a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection; who was terrible to the refractory (*or*, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll. 17—24) had gone to heaven; in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero **Kanharadêva**, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) **ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the Śaka king had expired,** in the **Khara** *saṁvatsara*, **on the day of full moon of Kârttika, on a Wednesday,** the village of **Nârâyaṇapura,** full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious **Gunda-mahâdêvi** for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god Nârâyaṇa, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door). Likewise the land near the **Kharjuribandha-tank** was given to the glorious god Lôkêśvara.

(Ll. 25—33). The illustrious minister Âdityama Penna, the *bhaṭṭanâyaka* Prôṇṭiyô, the *karaṇa* Kudriyama Virama[1], the *nâyaka* Sômana, the *nâyaka* Râmanâkâsana, the *nâyaka* Mârayâ, the *bhaṇḍâri* Aitana, the *sâdhu* Vakômarya. The land of these was given revenue free. The *śrêshṭhin* Samara, the *brâhmaṇa* Chhâdrû, the *śrêshṭhin* Ghughi, the *sâdhu* Śrîdhara, the *kôsajû* (cocoon producer) Nânû, the *mâli* Pâlâsu Padmâsinivirâ, the oilman Gôvindapâtra, the *bâbû* Jasadhavala, Millâpi . . . . the glorious Vâsudêva: these should always remain at the feet of the glorious Nârâyaṇa as *gṛihaveṭakas*, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious *paṇḍit* Purushôttama. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the *nilaya*, and the *nâḍa*, for so long a time as moon and sun endure. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(L. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(Ll. 36ᵃ—37ᵃ). Land is given to the *sûtradhâra* Raṇavîra, free from taxes.

(Ll. 36ᵇ—42ᵇ). The land of the *adhikârin* Chhâdrûka is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of Brahmâujhâka as a grant, free from taxes. The land of Mahaṇḍaka, Kanharasâi, and Nâgakulaṁdhvara is given, free from taxes.

(Ll. 39ᶜ—42ᶜ). To *bhaṭṭâraka* Bhâvadêva land is given free from taxes.

(Ll. 43ᵈ—46ᵈ). Hail. The illustrious **Dhâraṇa-Mahâdêvi** gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious Nârâyaṇa free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) Mahaṇaka, Dêvadâsa, Jaggati, the *sâdhu* Himasutta . . . , Lakhmaṇa, Chaüdhari. The land was given by the illustrious **Dhâraṇa-Mahâdêvi** free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

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[1] We should perhaps read *karaṇa-kuṭṭiyama Virama*, Virama, the writer of the *kuṭṭam*. Compare Baden-Powell, *Indian Village Community*, p. 167.

No. 50.—TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I. VISHAMASIDDHI.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This short inscription is on **three copper-plates** which were "discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramasvami while digging a hole in his vacant house-site in the village of **Timmapuram** in the Sarvasiddhi tâluka" and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatam district to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who describes them as follows:—

"The plates measure 2⅛ by 7⅞ inches and are strung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are 2⅞ and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular **seal** which measures between 1⅜ and 1½ inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [श्रीविष]मसिद्धि in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate."

The **alphabet** and **orthography** do not call for any special remarks. The final *t* occurs in line 1,[1] the *upadhmânîya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *ḷa* in l. 11. The **language** is Sanskrit prose. The panegyrical portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prâkṛit word: *chattâlîsa* (l. 12) = Sanskrit *chatvâriṁśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by **Vishṇuvardhana-Mahârâja** surnamed **Vishamasiddhi**,[2] who was the younger brother of **Satyâśraya-Vallabha-Mahârâja**, the son of **Kîrtivarman**, the grandson of **Raṇavikrama**, and the great-grandson of **Raṇarâga** of the **Cha[lu]kya** family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with **Vishṇuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi**, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of Satyâśraya, *i.e.* the Western Chalukya king **Pulakêśin II.**, and the son of **Kîrtivarman (I.)**, is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions; and his grandfather Raṇavikrama, *i.e.* **Pulakêśin I.**, is mentioned also in his Sâtârâ plates.[3] The reference to his great-grandfather **Raṇarâga** is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both Vishṇuvardhana I. and his elder brother receive the title *Mahârâja*; but the second is stated to have 'subdued the circle of the whole earth' (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have 'humbled the circle of all the vassals' (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, Vishṇuvardhana I. was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulakêśin II. He professed to be a worshipper of Bhagavat (l. 10), *i.e.* Vishṇu, and resided at **Pishṭapura** (l. 1.), the modern **Piṭhâpuram** in the Gôdâvarî district. In the Aihoḷe inscription[4] the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign Pulakêśin II.

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty Brâhmaṇas of the Chhandôga school. The object of the grant was some land at **Kumûlûra**—a village which I am unable to identify[5]—in the **Paḷaki-vishaya**.

[1] See note 6 on p. 318.

[2] This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatam district; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 322 f.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309.

[4] Above, Vol. VI. p. 11, verse 27.

The same district seems to be referred to in the Chîpurupalle plates of Vishṇuvardhana I., where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Pûki-vishaya;'[1] but, if the facsimile[2] can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality *Plaki-vishayê*, which may be meant for *Paḷaki-vishayê*.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

स्वस्ति[4] ॥

1 [5]श्रीमत्पिंष्टपुरवासकात्[6] स्वभुजविजितदनुतनयम(ा)हासेनेन म(ा)हा-

2 सेनेनाभिवर्द्धितानान्त्रिभुवनमातृभिर्म्मातृभिरभिरक्षितानां[7] मानव्यस[गो]-

3 त्राणां [हा]रितिपुत्राणां [8]चक्यानामन्वयसुसमयितुमसक्तदनु[भू]-

4 [9]तरणरागस्य रणरागस्य [10]नमासक्तविक्रमस्य रणविक्रमस्य पौ[त्रो]

5 विपुलकीर्त्तेः कीर्त्तिवर्म्मण×प्रियसुतः भक्तिनयवशिकृतसकलमहीम-[11]

6 ण्डलस्य सत्य[ा*]श्रयवल्लभमहाराजस्य प्रियानुजः स्वासिधार[ा]नामित[स]-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 मस्तसामन्तमण्डलः स्वरूपगुणयौवनश्रीया[12] दूरमतिश[यित]-

8 मकरध्वजः स्थलजलादिदुर्गविषमेष्वपि लब्धसिद्धित्वाद्विषमसिद्धिर[र्त्थि]-

9 जन(:)[नि]त्यप्रस्नुतकामधेनुः लोकातिशयविक्रमतया नरलोक[वि]-

10 [क्र]म[:][13] परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुध्य[ा*]तः श्रीविष्णु-
वर्द्ध[न]-

11 म(ा)हाराजः (॥) पळकिविषये (।[14]) कुम्मूलुरनामग्रामे पूर्वदिशे[15] क्षेत्रे च-

12 [त्वा]रि सहस्रनिव[र्त्त]नानि[16] क्षेत्रं कृत्वा (।) [पोट्टुवूरु]व[ा*]स्तव्याय(ा)[17]
चत्त[ा]लीस

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 16, text line 13.

[2] Dr. Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, 2nd ed., Plate xxvii.

[3] From two sets of ink-impressions received from Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[4] This word is entered on the left margin of plate i. opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following *akshara* त; it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil *Piḷḷaiyâr-šuḻi*.

[5] The *š* of श्री° is obliterated.

[6] The final *t* of °वासकात् is entered at the top of the next *akshara* स्व. Another final *t* is entered at the top of the र of the preceding word °पुर°; perhaps the writer wanted us to read °पुरात्.

[7] The three *aksharas* र्म्मातृभि are engraved over रभिर, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.

[8] Read चलुक्या°.

[9] See note 4 above.

[10] The न is engraved over सा; compare note 7 above.

[11] Read °वशी°.

[12] Read °श्रिया.

[13] The क्र seems to be engraved over a म; compare notes 7 and 10 above. Instead of °विक्रमः I suspect °त्रिविक्रमः to be intended by the scribe.

[14] This mark of punctuation runs into the next *akshara* कु.

[15] Read °दिशि.

[16] Read निवर्त्तनसहस्राणि.

[17] Read °वास्तव्यैभ्यश्चत्वारिंशते ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यश्छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिभ्यो यमनियमपरेभ्यः षट्कर्म्मनिरतेभ्यो वेदपारगेभ्यो दत्तवान् ॥

Timmapuram plates of Vishnuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi.

i. iia.

Full-Size.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

E. Hultzsch.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 ब्राह्मणः नानागत्र छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिणे यमनियमपारगाय षट्क[र्म्म]-
14 निरताय(।) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! (Line 1.) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous **Pishṭapura**,—the great-grandson[1] of **Raṇarâga**, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the **Cha[lu]kyas**, who were **Hâritiputras**, who belonged to the *gôtra* of the **Mânavyas**, who were protected by the **Mâtṛis**, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by Mahâsêna,[2] who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Danu;[3]

(L. 4.)—the grandson of **Raṇavikrama**, whose valour was insuperable; the dear son of **Kîrtivarman**, whose renown was extensive; (*and*) the dear younger brother of **Saty[â]śraya-Vallabha-Mahârâja**, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regal*) powers;

(L. 6.)—the devout worshipper of **Bhagavat**, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—**Śrî-Vishṇuvardhana-Mahârâja**, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid,[4] who (*was surnamed*) **Vishamasiddhi** because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc.*, who was a cow of plenty (*kâmadhênu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the **[Tri]vikrama** (Vishṇu) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind;

(L. 11.)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*[5] in the fields on the eastern side of the village named **Kumûlûra** in the **Paḷaki** district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty Brâhmaṇas of various *gôtras*, residing in **[Poṭunûṅka]**, belonging to the school of the Chhandôgas observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the Vêda.

No. 51.— SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI.

BY STEN KONOW.

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sârnâth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the Dhamêkh *stûpa*, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, *viz.* 21″ × 15½″, and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ½″.

The characters are Nâgarî, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ṭa* in *-bhaṭaḥ* and *kâṇḍapaṭikaḥ* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *V* is used for *b* throughout, and *ṅa* is used instead of the *anusvâra* in *sudhâṅśôś-*, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as *harmmâ-* for *dharmmâ-*, l. 6; *prakshâtô* for *prakhyâtô*, l. 8; *vishmayakarô* for *vismaya-* and *=ashmâdṛiśaiḥ* for *=asmâdṛiśaiḥ*, l. 13; *=nênrâbhirâma-* for *-nêtr-*, l. 15; *nri-* for *tri-*, l. 22; *mahîbhûjaḥ* for *mahîbhujaḥ*, l. 19, etc. The forms *Kumaradêvi*,

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[1] For other instances in which *naptṛi* has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV, p. 329 and note 2.
[2] *I.e.* the god of war.
[3] *I.e.* the Dânavas or demons.
[4] Literally, 'the bearer of the *makara*-banner.'
[5] This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees.

ll. 11 and 22, and *vihârô* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre *Kumara* instead of *kumâra* is common in Mâhârâshṭri Prâkrit, and a form *Kumaravâla* for the usual *Kumârapâla* occurs in Hêmachandra's *Dêśinâmamâlâ*, I. 104, 88.[1] And *vihâra* instead of *vihâra* is justified by Pâṇini VI, 3. 122.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to *Vasudhârâ* in l. 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty-six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the Śârdûlavikrîḍita, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the Mâlinî, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the Vasantatilakâ; three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the Anushṭubh, and one (No. 2) in the Sragdharâ metre.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihâra* by **Kumaradêvî**, one of the queens of **Gôvindachandra** of Kanauj. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihâra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess Vasudhârâ. The following verses are not quite clear. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. Jambuki drew up a copper-plate, in which she represented to Kumaradêvî that the Dharmachakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmâśôka required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the Dharmachakra-Jina and further details about its maintenance and repairs. Kumaradêvî, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *paṭṭalikâs*."[2] Moreover, she restored the Jina or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihâra* built for Vasudhârâ, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrîdharmachakra-Jina*, which is said to have existed in Dharmâśoka's time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihâra* built by the orders of Queen Kumaradêvî for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakuṭî*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, *i.e.* the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of Vasudhârâ (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of **Pîṭhî** or **Pîṭhikâ**. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called **Vallabharâja**, the lord of broad Pîṭhikâ (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of Pîṭhî **Dêvarakshita**, without saying anything about his relationship to Vallabharâja. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the **Chhikkôra**-*vaṁśa*, and we are told that he even surpassed **Gajapati** in splendour. Dêvarakshita is again referred to as the lord of Pîṭhî in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmâd-âsa*, etc.) as an explanation of his relationship to Vallabharâja, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that Dêvarakshita was defeated by **Mahaṇa**, the maternal uncle of the **Gauḍa king**, who thus firmly established the throne of **Râmapâla**, and subsequently bestowed his daughter **Śaṅkaradêvî** on the Pîṭhî lord. Their daughter was **Kumaradêvî**, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the **Gahaḍavâla** family, to which Kumaradêvî's husband **Gôvindachandra** belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to **Chandra**, the Chandradêva of Gôvindachandra's inscriptions. His son

[1] See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81.

[2] *Paṭṭalikâ* is the feminine form of *paṭṭalaka*, which occurs in the Buguda plates of Mâdhavavarman, above, Vol. III, p. 44, l. 38, in connexion with *vaiśvâsika*.

was **Madanachandra**, elsewhere known as Madanapâla, who again was the father of Gôvindachandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka-soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradêvî, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *praśasti*, was composed by the poet *Śrî*-**Kunda**, and engraved by **Vâmana**.

Gôvindachandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas, *i.e.* the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gôvindachandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nîâltigîn arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,[1] and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Mussalman settlers remained in the country about the Jamna from the days of Mahmud and down to the end of the 12th century.[2] It seems probable that Gôvindachandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadaṇḍa*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadaṇḍa* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."[3] The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gôvindachandra, Kumaradêvî, the granddaughter of Mahaṇa. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, *viz.* Nayanakêlidêvî,[4] Gôsaladêvî[5] and Dâlhaṇadêvî.[6] While Gôvindachandra was himself an orthodox Hindû, his fourth wife Kumaradêvî was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Hara Prasâd Śâstrî, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vâsantadêvî, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Ashṭasâhasrikâ* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No. 381 of the third collection). The colophon runs:—*śrî-śrî-Kânyakubj-âdhipaty-aśvapati gajapati-narapati-râjya-trayâdhipati-śrîmad-Gôvindachandradêvasya pratâpavaśataḥ râjnî-śrî-pravara-Mahâyâna-yâyinyâḥ paramôpâsikâ-râjñî-Vâsantadêvyâ dêyadharmmô=yaṁ* . . . .
It is possible that Vâsantadêvî and Kumaradêvî are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vâsanta* being "youth" =*kumâra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahaṇa, the father of Kumaradêvî's mother, and about the lord of Pîṭhî, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyâkara Nandî's *Râmacharita*, which work has been brought to light by Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Hara Prasâd Śâstrî.[7] We are there told that Mahaṇa was the maternal uncle of the Gauḍa king Râmapâla. Vigrahapâla, the father of Râmapâla, made a successful war against the Chêdi king Karṇa of Ḍâhâla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Saṁvat 493=A.D. 1042.[8] Karṇa's reign probably extended over a long period.[9] We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vigrahapâla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vigrahapâla's grandfather Mahîpâla, dated A.D. 1026,[10] and Mahîpâla's son Nayapâla reigned at least 15 years.[11] Vigrahapâla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Râmapâla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahîpâla II. and Śûrapâla, was a contemporary of

[1] See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II. 1869, pp. 112 and ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and ff.
[3] See Führer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI. Pt. I. p. 113.
[4] Above, Vol. IV. p. 108.
[5] Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.
[6] See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, l. 19.
[7] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.
[8] Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 407.
[9] See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II. pp. 302 and ff.
[10] Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 59.
[11] *Ibid*, No. 642.

Śaṅkaradêvî, the mother of Gôvindachandra's queen Kumaradêvî. It therefore seems probable that Vigrahapâla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Râmapâla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahaṇa, Śaṅkaradêvî's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Râmacharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Râshṭrakûṭa, and the maternal uncle of Râmapâla. It therefore becomes probable that Vigrahapâla married a Râshṭrakûṭa princess in addition to the daughter of the Chêdi king Karṇa who was, according to the *Râmacharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahaṇa was Ramâpala's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhîma. Among the feudatories of the Pâla king in that war, the *Râmacharita* mentions Vîraguṇa, the *râja* of Pîṭhî who is described as the lord of the south. Dêvarakshita of Pîṭhî is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dêvarakshita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pîṭhî ruler Vîraguṇa had originally stood on Râmapâla's side, while Dêvarakshita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pîṭhî or Pîṭhikâ, which according to the *Râmacharita* was situated in the south. Now *pîṭhî* or *pîṭhikâ* is synonymous with *pîṭha*, and it is therefore possible that Pîṭhî is identical with Piṭhâpuram.[1] We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Piṭhâpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikêśin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Piṭhâpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayâditya III., whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.[2] It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Piṭhâpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bêta, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayâditya III., who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Piṭhâpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vêṅgî province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulôttuṅga Chôḍadêva, who first was ruler in Vêṅgî but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chôḍa kingdom. Vêṅgî was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayâditya VII. then by his sons Râjarâja (1077-78) and Vîra Chôḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Vîraguṇa of the *Râmapâlacharita*. Dêvarakshita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vêṅgî. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gaṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅga. The *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi*[3] describes an expedition undertaken by Kulôttuṅga I. against this king, and Dêvarakshita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhikkôra family, to which Dêvarakshita belonged.

The marriage of Dêvarakshita's daughter to king Gôvindachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chôḷas and the Gâhaḍavâlas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gâhaḍavâla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulôttuṅgadêva of A.D. 1110-11, in Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-chôḷapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gôvindachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gâhaḍavâlas with the Chôḷa kings farther back to the expedition of Râjêndra Chôḷa towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Râjêndra Chôḷa was Dharmapâla of Daṇḍabhukti, and the lord of Daṇḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Râmapâlacharita*, assisted Râmapâla in his war against Bhîma.

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[1] Compare the forms Piṭhapura and Piṭhâpuri, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, 357. Note 4.
[2] See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.
[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows:—

Vallabharâja of Pîṭhî	Mahaṇa, of the Râshṭrakûṭa family.	Chandra, of the Gahaḍavâla family.
|	|	|
Dêvarakshita, married	Śaṅkaradêvî.	Madanachandra.
	|	|
	Kumaradêvî, married	Gôvindachandra.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by **Kunda**, who describes himself as a lion to the *tîrthika*-elephants, a Rôhaṇa mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhâshâs,* and an intimate friend of the king of Vaṅga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita,*[1] nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpin* **Vâmana.**

TEXT.

1 ओं[2] नमो भगवत्यै आर्य्यवसुधारायै ॥ [3]समवतु वसुधारा धर्म्मपीयूषधारा-प्रशमितवहुविश्वोद्दामदुःखोरुधारा । धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः श्वः[4] किरन्ती सद-

2 खिलजनदैन्यान्धाजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥ [१*] [5]नेत्रैरुत्कण्ठितानां चरणमुपनयंश्चा-रुचन्द्रोपलानाम्मानग्रन्थिम्भिन्दन् सह कुमुदवनीमुद्रया मानिनीनाम् । दग्धन्द्रग्धेश्वरेणा[स्र]-

3 तनिकरकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं कान्तोयं कौमुदीनां स जयति जगदालोकदीप्र-प्रदीपः ॥ [२*] [6]वंशे तस्य नमस्यपौरुषजुषि प्रस्फारकीर्त्तित्विषि द्राक् शौचेन सु[राप]-

4 गामदसुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स भूमीभुजां जेतासीत्पृथुपीठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३*] [7]छिक्कोरवंशकु-सुदोदयपूर्ण-

5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरक्षित इति प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् । पीठीपतिर्गजपतेरपि राज्य-लक्ष्मीं लघम्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोहरश्रीः ॥ [४*] [8]तस्मादास पयोनि-धेरिव विधु-

6 र्लावण्यलक्ष्मीविधुर्नेत्रानन्दसमुद्रवर्द्धनविधुः कीर्त्तिद्युतिश्रीविधुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गाम्भीर्य्यवारान्निधिर्द्धर्म्माद्वैतनिधिः[9] स च[ण्ड]म-

7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५*] [10]दीनानामभिवाञ्छितैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-कल्पद्रुमो दृप्यद्वैरिगिरीन्द्रभेदनविधौ दुर्वारवज्रश्च यः । कान्तान[ा*]ञ्मद-

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[1] Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts,* Vol. III. pp. 134 and ff.
[2] Expressed by a symbol
[3] Metre: Mâlinî.
[4] Read स्वः.
[5] Metre: Sragdharâ.
[6] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[7] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[8] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[9] Read धर्म्माद्वैत°.
[10] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

8 नज्वरोपशमने सिद्धौषधोपक्रमो बाहुर्यस्य बभूव भूतलभुजामत्यन्तचमत्कारिण: ॥ [६*] [1]गौडेद्वैतभट: सकाम्पटिक: धर्म्मैकचूडामणि: [2]प्रख्यातो

9 महणाङ्कप: क्षितिभुजामान्योभवन्मातुल: । त(तं) जित्वा युधि देवरक्षि-तमधात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-दयाम् ॥ [७*] [3]कन्या महण-

10 देवस्य तस्य कन्येव भूभृत: । सा पीठीपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)वा ॥ [८*] [4]ख्याता शङ्करदेवीति तारेव करुणाशया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पवृक्षाग्र-लता दानोद्यमेन या ॥ [९*] [5]अ-

11 जनि कुमरदेवी इन्त देवीव ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधांशोश्चारुलेखेव रम्या । दुरितजलधिमध्यान्मोकमुद्धर्त्तुकामा स्वयमिह करुणार्त्ता तारिणीवावतीर्णा ॥ [१०*]

12 [6]याम्रेधा: प्रविधाय शिल्परचनाचातुर्य्यदर्प्पं व्याधाद्यत्नेन जितस्तुषारकिरणो क्षीण: स खस्थोभवत् । रात्रावुत्तममातनोति मलिनो जात: कलङ्को ततस्त-

13 स्या: सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स [7]विषयकरो वाच्य: [8]किमस्मादृशै: ॥ [११*] [9]चित्र-स्वच्छदृकूररङ्गमवधूवन्धस्फुरद्वागुराम् बिभ्राणा तनुसम्पदम्पृविलसल्लावण्याभिकान्त-श्रिया ।[10]

14 खेलत्क्षीरसमुद्रसान्द्रलहरीलावण्यलक्ष्मीमुषं मोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-गर्वेण सा ॥ [१२*] [11]धर्माद्वैतमतिर्गुणाश्रितरति: प्रारब्धपुण्याचिति-

15 र्दानोदारधृतिर्मतङ्गजगतिर्मेघा(वा)भिरामाकृति: । शास्त्रेन्वयस्तमतिर्जनोदितनुति: [12]कारुण्यकेलिस्थितिर्नित्यश्रीवसति: कलावविकृति: स्फायद्गुणाकृ-

16 ति: ॥ [१३*] [13]जगति गहडवाले वन्शव(वं)शे प्रसिद्धेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रश्चन्द्र(मा)-नामा नरेन्द्र: । यदसदृशनृपाणामामिनीवाष्पवाहै:(है:) शिशिततरमिदमासीद्धा-मुन(मं) तू(नू)नमम्भ: ॥ [१४*] [14]नृ-

17 पतिमदनचन्द्रश्चक्रभूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्मादिन्दुदेवातपत्र[म्*] । धरणि-तलमनल्पप्रौढतेडो(जो)मलश्री: श्रियमपि च मघोन: स्वश्रियाधो दधान: ॥ [१५*] [15]वाराण-

18 सीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको [16]दुष्टात्तुरुष्कसुभटादवितुं हरेण । उक्तो हरिस्स पुनरत्र बभूव तस्माद्गोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रथिताभिधान: ॥ [१६*] [17]वस्या: कामदुघां कणा-

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[1] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[2] Read प्रख्याती.
[3] Metre: Anushṭubh.
[4] Metre: Anushṭubh.
[5] Metre: Mâlinî.
[6] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[7] Read विस्मय°.
[8] Read °मस्मादृशै:.
[9] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[10] The sign of interpunctuation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.
[11] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[12] Read °नतिर्म°. °स्थितिर्नि°.
[13] Metre: Mâlinî.
[14] Metre: Mâlinî.
[15] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[16] Read दुष्टात्तु°.
[17] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

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19 नपि पयःपूरस्य [1]पातु न ते चिरं प्रागलभन्त याचकमनःसन्तोषनित्यव्ययात् ।
त्यागैर्यस्य [2]मह्हीभूजः प्रमुदिते तद्याचकानाम्वये स्वच्छन्दाहितनित्यनिर्भरपयः-

20 पानीत्सवैरासते ॥ [१७*] [3]यद्विद्वेषिमहीभुजां पुरवरे प्रभ्रष्टहारावलीर्व्याधास्तन्मृग-
पाशवन्धमनसा गृह्णन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः स्रस्तसुवर्णकुण्डलमहि-
भ्रान्त्या

21 तदुत्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोत्कम्पिहस्तस्रजः ॥ [१८*] [4]यस्योत्सन्नवि-
रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशष्पकवलव्यालोलवाजि-

22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्त्वभवत्स मन्यररथश्चन्द्रोपि मन्दोभवत् घासग्रासविरूढलोभहरिण[5]
रक्षन् पतन्तन्ततः ॥ [१९*] [6]अहह कुमरदेवी तेन र[ा*]ज्ञा प्रसिद्धा नि-
(त्रि)जगति

23 परिगीता श्रीरिवेहाच्युतेन । प्रविलसदवरोधे तस्य राज्ञोङ्गनानां नियतममृत-
रश्मेर्लेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०*] [7]वीहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-
न्तया

24 तारिण्या वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विभ्राणयालंकृतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिल्परच-
नाचातुर्य्यसीमाश्रयं गीर्वाणैः सुदृश[श्च] विस्मयमगाद्वाग्विश्वकर्मापि सः ।(॥)
[२१*] [8]श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-

25 नशासनसन्निवद्धं सा जम्बुकी [9]सकलपत्तलिकाग्रभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)
प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२*]
[10]धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-

26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिनो यादृक् तन्नयरक्षितः पुनरयञ्चक्रे ततोप्यद्भुतम् । वीहारः
स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यत्नादयङ्कारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्प्पितश्च वसतादा-
चन्द्रचण्डद्युति ॥ [२३*] [11]तत्कीर्त्तिम्प-

27 रिपालयिष्यति जनो यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याङ्घ्रियुगप्रणामपरमा यूयं जिनाः
साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालोपकारी खलः तं
पापीयसमा-

28 श्रु शासति पुनस्ते लोकपालाः क्रुधा ॥ [२४*] [12]एकस्तीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-
सङ्घट्टकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज्*]ज्वलरत्नरोहणगिरिर्यो ह्यष्टभाषाकविः । ख्यातो
वङ्गमहीभजः [13]

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[1] Read पातुं.
[2] Read °भुजः.
[3] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[4] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[5] Read °भवद्घास°. °रूढलोभहरिणं.
[6] Metre: Mâlinî.
[7] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[8] Metre: Vasantatilaka.
[9] Read °पत्तलिका°.
[10] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[11] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[12] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[13] Read °भुजः; the final *visarga* has been engraved in the beginning of line 29.

29 प्रणयभूः श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्णगुम्फरचनारम्यां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात् ॥ [२५*] [1] एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्णा वामनेन तु शिल्पिना । राजावतंस-सापत्न्यम्दधाने प्रस्तरोत्तमे ॥ [२६*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail. Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhârâ.

(V. 1.) May Vasudhârâ protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *dharma;* who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.[2]

(V. 2.) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by Îśvara, (who had been) smitten (by him).

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame; which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of **Vallabharâja**, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad **Pîṭhikâ**, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the **Chhikkôra** family, known on earth as *śrî*-**Dêvarakshita**, the lord of Pîṭhî (who) surpassed even the splendour of **Gajapati** by his splendour; whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (Vallabharâja), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) Vishṇu (Vidhu), to the Lakshmî of beauty; a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, *viz.* ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second Vishṇu with Śrî in the shape of the lustre of his fame); an incomparable treasure of goodness; a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion; a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms;—

(V. 6.) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants; who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, *viz.* his haughty foes; a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7.) In the Gauḍa country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,[3] this incomparable diadem of *kshatriyas*, the Aṅga king **Mahaṇa**, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Dêvarakshita in war and maintained the glory of **Râmapâla**, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8.) The daughter of this Mahaṇadêva was like the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pârvatî); she was married to the lord of Pîṭhî as (Pârvatî) to Svayambhu;

(V. 9.) She was known as **Śaṅkaradêvî**, full of mercy like Târâ, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts.

(V. 10.) To them, forsooth, was born **Kumaradêvî**, like a *dêvî*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if Târiṇî herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

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[1] Metre: Anushṭubh. [2] Mr. Venkayya suggests to read *dainyâdi-ṭyâjayanti.*

[3] The meaning of *kâṇḍapaṭika* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning does not suit the context.

(V. 11.) After having created her, Brahmâ was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art; excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night, becomes impure and subsequently full of spots; how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us?

(V. 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, *viz.* the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the dense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pârvatî) by her proud grace.

(V. 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone; her desire was bent on virtues; she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit; she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts; her gait was like that of an elephant; her appearance charming to the eye; she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise; she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue.

(V. 14.) In the royal Gahaḍavâla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, **Chandra** by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunâ forsooth became darker.

(V. 15.) The king **Madanachandra**, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory.

(V. 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vârâṇasî from the wicked Turushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as **Gôvindachandra.**

(V. 17.) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants; but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V. 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V. 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes; and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass.

(V. 20.) Kumaradêvî, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrî with Vishṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V. 21.) This *vihâra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhârâ herself in the shape of Târiṇî, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V. 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to śrî-Dharmachakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambuki was made (?) the foremost of all *pattalikâs* by her (Kumaradêvî).

(V. 23.) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmâśôka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *vihâra* for that *sthavira* was elaborately erected by her, and might he, placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

(V. 24.) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jinas shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lôkapâlas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V. 25.) The poet in eight *bhâshâs* known as the trusted friend of the Banga-king, **Śrî-Kunda** by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rôhaṇa mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V. 26.) This *praśasti* has been engraved by the *śilpin* **Vamana** on this excellent stone which rivals the *râjâvarta* (*i.e.* Lapis Lazuli).

No. 52.—KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA. SAKA SAMVAT 1489.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS, AND RAO SAHIB T. RAGHAVIAH, B.A., REVENUE OFFICER, MADRAS CORPORATION.

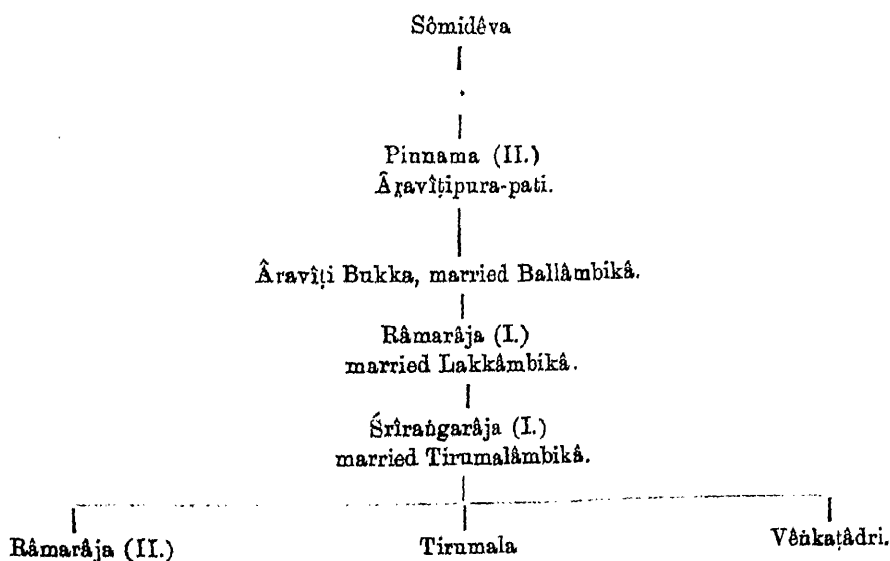
The temple of Śrî Vêṅkaṭâchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Kṛishṇâpuram, a village six miles south-east of Tinnevelly. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gôpâlasvâmi Ayyaṅgâr, B.A., B.L., Deputy Collector, Koḷḷêgâl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring, which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right; near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Śrîvaishṇava nâmam* (of the Teṅgalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Vishṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannaḍa-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised; and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandinâgarî, and the **language**, excepting the obeisance to Gaṇapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is, as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Śrî Virûpâksha*, and is written in the Kannaḍa alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ê* is represented by the usual sign for *ê* with a secondary *e*-stroke on the top. This new long *ê*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day; but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it: *e.g. Ailâvalipura-* occurring in line 114, *Amnikuḷa-* in line 145, *Êbirudarâyara-*, in line 191, and *Êkaiva* in line 210. The Dravidian rough *ṛ* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandinâgarî alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*; *e.g. Mûṛu-* occurring in line 94, *-Savaḷakkâraṁ-* in line 141, *-pâṛa-* in line 146, *Śiṛiyâ-* in line 150, and *-Âravîṭi-* in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anusvâra* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc.; these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *birudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Sadâśivarâya** of Vidyânagarî. It records that at the request of **Tirumala**, who was in his turn requested by **Krishṇappa Nâyaka** or **Krishṇabhûpati** as he is called in the inscription, Sadâśivarâya granted a number of villages to the god Tiruvêṅkaṭanâtha set up at Krishṇâpuram by Krishṇappa Nâyaka. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king Sadâśiva which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn[1] and No. 58 of the Nâgamaṅgala tâluk of the Mysore District, published by Mr. Rice.[2] Herein also Sadâśivarâya is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of Râmarâja, who is here, as in the other plates,[3] called his sister's husband. Later on (vv. 84-95) the inscription details the pedigree of the family to which Tirumala belonged.

The genealogy begins with **Nanda**, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born **Chalikka** and in the latter's **Bijjalêndra**. **Sômidêva**, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was **Pinnama** "lord of Âravîṭipura." His son was **Âravîṭi-Bukka**, whose wife was **Ballâmbikâ**. Their son was **Râmarâja** who married **Lakkâmbikâ**. To them was born **Śrîraṅgarâja** (I.) and his wife was **Tirumalâmbikâ**. Their sons were **Râmarâja** (II.), **Tirumala** (I.) and **Vênkaṭâdri**. Tirumala is styled in the plates a Bhôja in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of Tirumala's family :—

We learn from the British Museum plates that Râmarâja II., Tirumala and Vêṅkaṭâdri belonged to the same family, from which Koṇḍarâja of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol. IV., p. 4). Tirumala bears (vv. 98-101) the family *birudas* of *aṁtembaravaragaṁḍa*,

[1] Above, Vol. IV., p. 1.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV., p. 219 of the Romanised text portion.

[3] Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol. IV., p. 3 f., No. 7 of the Hassan tâluk, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., Part I; and No. 186 of Chennapaṭṇa, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection.

śrîmaṇḍalîkagaṇḍa, birudamaṁniyavibhâḷa, dharaṇivarâha, Kalyâṇapuranâtha and *Vêṅga-tribhuvanîmalla*.[1] At the time at which the present grant was made, Râmarâja, the powerful general and minister of Sadâśiva, and his brother Vêṅkaṭâdri had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tâlikôṭa on the 23rd January A.D. 1565. Tirumala, the second brother of Râmarâja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Kṛishṇappa Nâyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nâgama Nâyaka and the son by Nâgamâ of Viśvanâtha Nâyaka.[2] He has the *birudas, Kâñchîpuravarâdhîśvara, Môkâlipaṭṭaṇavardhana, Samayadrôhara-gaṇḍa, Samayakôlâhala, Ailâvalîpuravarâdhîśvara, Pâṇḍyakulasthâpanâchârya* and *Dakshiṇasamudrâdhipati* (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pâṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasa or Narasâ Nâyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mânabhûsha, the king of Madura.[3] We know that Narasâ Nâyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century[4] and that Mânabhûsha or Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.[5] and ruled for at least 42 years, *i.e.* till about 1466 A.D.[6] It is quite likely that this Pâṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasâ Nâyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the **Śaka year 1489**, computed by the *nidhis* (9), *vâraṇas* (8), *vêdas* (4), and *indu* (1), in the **year Prabhava**, on the **Makara saṁkrânti** corresponding to the **new moon** *tithi* of the **month Pushya, on a Monday**. Sadâśivarâya was then encamped on the island of Śrîraṅgam and made the grant in the presence of the god Raṅganâtha. The last known date for Sadâśivarâya is 1567 A.D.,[7] some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tâlikôṭa two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrîvaishṇava as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrîraṅgam. Of all Śrîvaishṇava places of pilgrimage, Śrîraṅgam is the most sacred, and the Tuḷuva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Kṛishṇadêvarâya, were very staunch Śrîvaishṇavas.[8] Achyutadêvarâya, during his expedition against the Tiruvaḍi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* of Râjanâthakavi, as having halted at Śrîraṅgam and sent the son of one Sagaḷarâja[9] to conquer the Tiruvaḍi râjya.[10] Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadâśivarâya ended his days in Śrîraṅgam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

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[1] Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṇḍarâja of this family wears similar *birudas*; above, Vol. IV., p. 21.

[2] Verses 53-54.

[3] Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

[4] The Dêvulapalli plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha; hence Narasa must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII., p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaḍi Nṛisiṁha was a Sâḷuva, and not a Tuḷuva like Narasa. – S. K.]

[5] *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. IV., p. 117, and above, p. 229.

[6] *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. IV., p. 117.

[7] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Nos. 43-48, p. 70.

[8] The Sâḷuva kings were the disciples of Tâtâchârya. See *Prapannâmṛitam*. Kṛishṇadêva wrote *Amuktamâlyada, Vishṇuchittiyam*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrîvaishṇava saint Periyâḻvâr and his daughter Âṇḍâḷ.

[9] This Sagaḷarâja was the father-in-law of Achyutadêva and father of his wife Varadâmbâ. See *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam*, Canto III., verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarâja; see p. 77; but Mr. T. S. Kuppusâmi Śâstri reads it as Sagaḷarâja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagaḷarâja.

[10] See *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam*, Canto V., verse 64.

Krishṇappa Nâyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishṇâpuram and built a *prâkâra* round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *raṅgamaṇḍapa,* standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiruvêṅkaṭanâtha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pûjâs,* for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadâśivarâya the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nâyakas are believed to have usurped the throne of the Pâṇḍyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pâṇḍya dynasty.' In corroboration of the claim of the Nâyakas of Madura to the title of *Pâṇḍyakulasthâpanâchâryas,* we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pâṇḍyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nâyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nâyakas. One of the later Pâṇḍyas, named Śrîvallabha, is described, in the Pudukkôṭṭai plates of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya,[1] as having established the Pâṇḍya kingdom. This Śrîvallabha must have been a contemporary of Narasâ Nâyaka, for he is the brother of Mânabhûsha defeated by Narasa.[2] How he established the Pâṇḍya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pâṇḍyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D.; what political relationship existed between them and the Nâyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that **Sabhâpati Svayambhû** was the composer of the *śâsana,* and **Vîraṇâchârya,** son of **Vîraṇa,** was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are :—

Kiḷavêmbu *nâḍu* in the **Pâṇḍya** *maṇḍalam;* **Śrîvallamaṅgalachâvaḍi** in the above *nâḍu;* **Ardhatintriṇi** (Arappuḷi ?), **Villamarâyaṉ Neduṅguḷam, Śavaḷakkâraṉ kuḷam, Puḷiyaṅguḷa-ôḍai, Pirâyaṅkuḷam, Bhûsuratatâka** (Parpaguḷam, a corruption perhaps of Pâppâṅkuḷam), **Kaḷḷikuḷam, Vêlaṁkuḷam Sundarapâṇḍyaṉ pudukkâl, Ai[ya*]ṉâkuḷam, Śrîkuḷam, Êryâru Peryâlaṅguḷam, Kokkantâmpâṟai** (modern Kongandâmpâṟai), **Paṉayaṅguḷam, Muttûr hill; Puttaṉêri, Âriyakuḷam, Kôḍikuḷam, Kuttukkâl, Muttûr, Râmaṅguḷam, Ittampâṭṭu, Śiṟiyâlaṅguḷam, Baṭṭaikuḷam, Muṟappunâḍu, Âḷikuḍi** and **Śrî-Krishṇapuram.**

Of these Vêmba-nâḍu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevelly, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vêmba-nâḍu-*kâyal* indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevelly tâluka of the same district and situated near Krishṇâpuram :—Pirayâṅkuḷam, Pâppâṉkuḷam,[3] Vêlaṅkuḷam, Sundarapâṇḍiyaṉ kâl, Koṅgandâmpâṟai, Paṉayâṅkuḷam, Muttûr, Âriyakuḷam, Muṟappanâḍu, and Krishṇâpuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंबिचंद्रचामर-

2 चारवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ।(॥) [१*] हरेर्लीलाव-

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1906, p. 72.

[2] [The Pudukkôṭṭai grant mentions Mânâbharaṇa as the brother of Śrîvallabha, and, besides, Mânakavacha, whom Mr. Venkayya identifies with Arikêsarin Parâkrama Pâṇḍya. The identification of Mânabhûsha with any of these two is far from being certain.—S. K.]

[3] It now goes popularly by the name Pâppâṅkuḷam. This name means "the Brâhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

[4] From inked impressions prepared by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्स पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्र(त्र)श्रि-
4 यं दधौ ।(॥)[२*] कल्याणायास्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजोप्य-
5 गजोद्भूतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(॥)[३*] अस्ति क्षीरमयाद्देवैर्मथ्यमाना-
6 न्महांबुधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्भूतमपनीततमो महः ।(॥)[४*] तस्यासीत्त-
7 [1]नुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः पुण्यैरस्य पुरूरवा भुजब-
8 [ली]रार्यद्विषां [2]निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नहुषोस्य तस्य परुषो युद्धे यया-
9 ति[:*] क्षितौ । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसुर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ।(॥)[५*] तद्वंशे
10 देवकीजानिर्दिदीपे तिमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुरुवेंद्रेषु यदोः कृष्ण
11 इवान्वये ।(॥)[६*] ततोभूद्दक्षमाजानिरीश्वरक्षितिपालकः । अत्रासमगु-
12 णभ्रंशं मौक्तिरत्नं महीभुजां [॥७*] सरसादुदभूत्तस्मान्नरसावनिपा-
13 लकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव ।(॥)[८*] विविधसुकृ-
14 तोद्दामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे [3]मुहुर्मुदितहृदय स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त य-
15 थाविधि [।*] बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि[4] यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-
16 नोद्गीतं स्फीतं यशः पुनरुक्तय [॥९*][5] न्कावेरीमाशु बध्वा(द्ध्वा) बहुळजल-
17 रयां तां विलंघ्यैव शत्रुं जीवग्राहं गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबला-
18 त्तंचराज्यं तदीयं [।*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टणं
19 यो बभासे (।) कीर्तिस्तंभं निखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-
20 नः ।(॥)[१०*] चेरं चोळं च पांड्यं तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं मानभूषं वीर्यो-
21 दग्रं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदान्यान् । आगं-
22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूभृत्तटांतं नितांतं ख्यातः क्षोणी-
23 पतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां शासनं यो व्यतानीत् ।(॥) [११*] तिप्पाजीना-
24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहेंद्रात्तस्मा-
25 त्पंक्तिरथादिव[6] ।(॥) [१२*] वीरौ[6] विनयौ[7] नाम[म]लक्ष्मणाविव नादनं[8]
26 जातौ वीरनृसिंहेंद्रकृष्णरायमहीपती ।(॥) [१३*] रंगक्षितींद्राच्युतदे-
27 वरायौ रत्नाधुरीणाविव नंदनौ[9] । ओबांबिकायां नरसक्षि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

28 तींद्रादुभावभूतामुरगेंद्रसारौ[10] ।(॥)[१४*] वीरश्रीनारसिंहस्य
29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्तनृग-

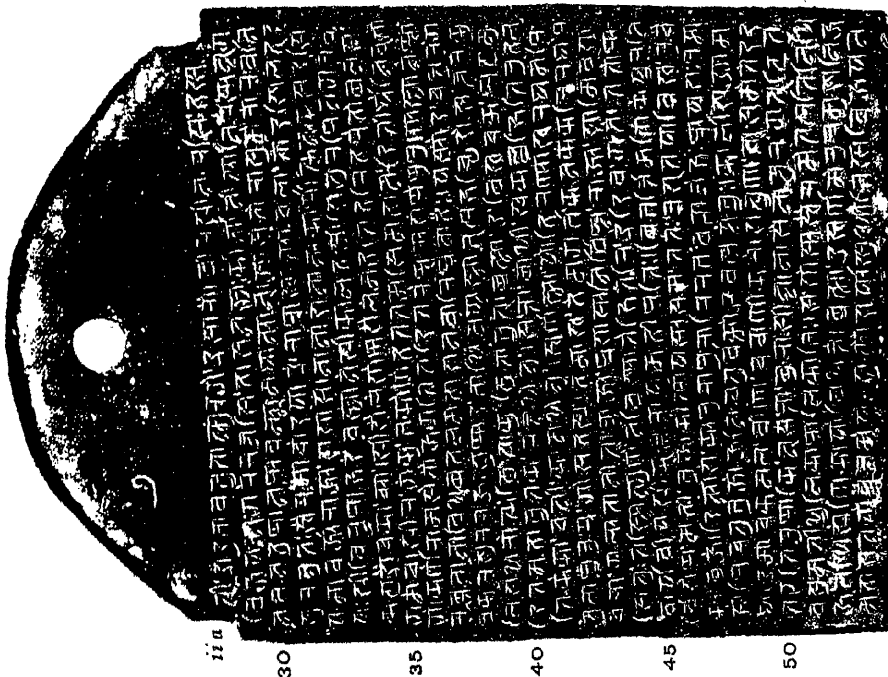
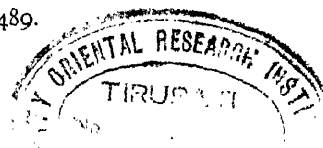
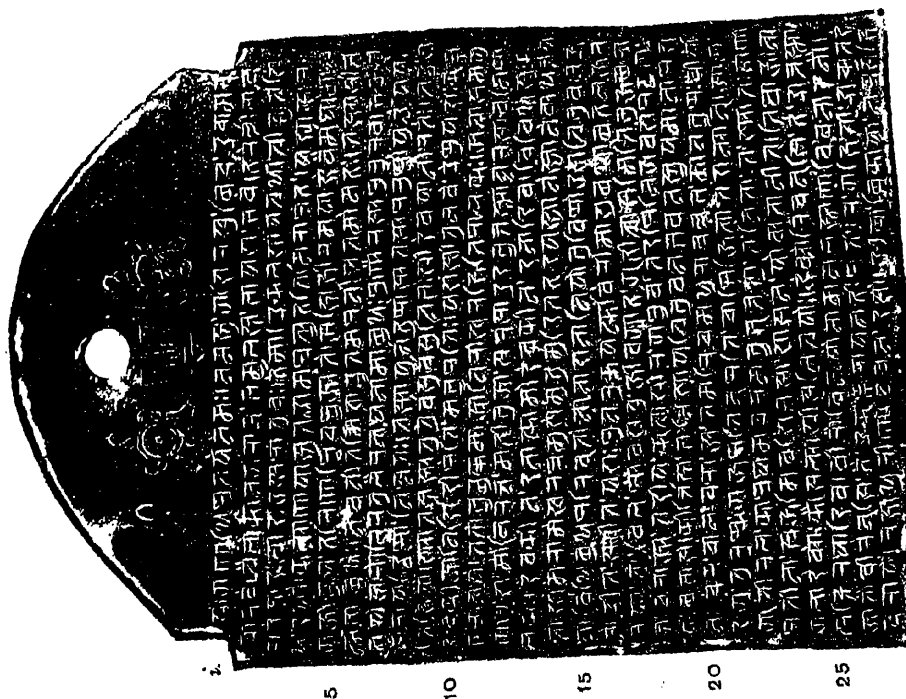
[1] Read °नय.° [2] Read °पार्थिवानां. [3] हु looks like तु.

[4] नि is corrected from ति. [5] Read न् in the conjunct consonant न्का, with the previous य.

[6] Read °पंक्ति°. [7] Read विनयिनौ रामलक्ष्मणाविव°. [8] Read नंदनौ.

[9] Read with the British Museum plates रामकृष्णौ.

[10] The British Museum plates read °भूताम्म रगेंद्र°, which Prof. Kielhorn proposes to correct into °भूतां नरेंद्र°. [I would suggest °तामुरगेन्द्र°,—S. K.]

Krishnapuram Plates of Sadasivaraya.—Saka Samvat 1489.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

HALF SIZE.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

STEN KONOW.

30 नळनहुषानप्यवन्यामथान्यान् । आ सेतोरा सुमेरोरवनि-

31 मुरनुत: स्वैरमा चोदयाद्रे (।) रा [1][पा]श्चात्याचलांतादखिलहृद-

32 यमावर्ज्य राज्यं प्रशास ।(॥)[१५*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्कनकसदसि

33 य: श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाळहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वें-

34 कटाद्रौ च कांच्यां । श्रीशैले शोणशैले[2] महति हरिहरेहोबके सं-

35 गमे च (।) श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदितीर्थे निवृत्तौ [॥१६*]

36 गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्वा-

37 रब्धनानाविधबहुळमहादानवारिप्रवाहै: । यस्योदंचत्तुरंग-

38 प्रकरखुररज:शुष्यदंभोधिमग्नक्ष्माभृत्पक्षच्छिदोद्यत्तर(त्कर)कु-

39 लिशधरोत्कंठिता कुंठिताभूत् ।(॥)[१७*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमु-

40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं (।) सप्तांबोधींश्च[3] कल्पक्षितिरुहल-

41 तिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्वर्णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि

42 तुलापूरुषं गोसहस्रं (।) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पं-

43 चलांगल्यतानीत् ।(॥) [१८*] प्राज्यं प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं द्यामिव शा-

44 सितुं [।*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते क्षितिरिंद्रे दिवं गते ।(॥)[१९*] ततोप्य-

45 वार्यवीर्य[:*] श्रीकृष्णरायमहीपति: । बिभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनि-

46 र्विशेषं महीं भुजे ।(॥)[२०*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंतत: प्रशृतया[4] विश्वं[5] रुचै-

47 क्यं व्रजे(।)दित्याशंक्य पुरा पुरारिरभवज्ञाक्षेत्त[ण*]: प्रायश: [।*] पद्मा-

48 क्षोपि चतुर्भुजोजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोभवत्पद्मभू:[6] (।) काळी खड्गम-

49 [7]थाद्रमा च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ।(॥)[२१*] शत्रूणां वासमेते दद-

50 त इति रुषा किं [8]न् [9]सप्तांबुराशीन्नानासेनात्तुरंगतृटित-[10]

51 वसुमतीधूळिकापाळिकाभि: । संशोस्य[11] स्वैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-[12]

52 जलधिश्रेणिका यो विधत्ते (।) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-

53 महादानतोयैरमेये:[13] ।(॥)[२२*] स्तुत्यौदार्यस्सुधीभिस्स विजयन-

Second Plate; Second Side.

54 गरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थ: क्ष्मापालान्कृष्णरायक्षितिपतिरध-

55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादीन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा

56 च हेमाचलांतादा सेतोरर्थिसार्थश्रियमिह बहुकीकृत्य कीर्त्या

पा looks like मा.

Read प्रसृत°.

[7] Read °खाद्‌मा.

Read °तुरंगत्रुटित°.

°दा° looks like °च.

[2] ण is corrected from ल.

[5] The व of श्व looks like च.

Read गु instead of न्.

[11] Read संशोष्य.

[3] Read °भोधीं°.

[6] Read भ instead of श.

[9] Read °श्री° instead of °सौ°.

[12] Read °त्प्रति°.

57 बभासे ।(॥)[२३*] क्षतवति सुरलोकं क्षष्णराये निजार्यं तदनु तदनुज-
58 न्मा पुण्यकर्माच्युतेंद्रः । अखिलमवनिलोकं स्वांघ्रमेत्यारिजेता
59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विद्वदिष्टप्रदाता ।(॥)[२४*] अंभोदैन निपीयमान-
60 सलिलोगस्त्येन पीतोर्भितस्ततो[1] राघवसायकाग्निशिखया सं-
61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्थैर्वडवा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजालैर्विशुष्को
62 [ध्द्रु]वं (।) यद्दानांबुघनांबुरंबुधिरयं पूर्णः समुद्योतते[2] ।(॥)[२५*] समज-
63 नि नरपालस्सत्यधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्रत्नसिंहा-
64 सनस्थः [।*] नृगनलनहुषादीन्नीचयन्राजमौल्या[3] निरुपमभुज-
65 वीर्यौदार्यभूरच्युतेंद्रः ।(॥)[२६*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्तिदंडे प्राप्ते पदं
66 वैष्णवमच्युतेंद्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सूनुर्वीरो बभौ वेंकट-
67 देवरायः ।(॥)[२७*] प्रशास्य राज्यं प्रथवास्तरूपे[4] विद्वन्निधौ वेंकटरा-
68 यभूपे [।*] अभागधेयादचिरात्प्रजानामाखंडलावासमयाधिरू-
69 ढे ।(॥)[२८*] तिर्मांबावरगर्भमौक्तिकमणी रंगक्षितींद्रात्मजः सत्कार्य-
70 कारणेन पालितमहाकर्णाटराज्यश्रिया । शौर्यौदार्यदयावता
71 स्वभगिनीभर्त्रा जग[त्ता]यिना[5] (।) रामक्ष्मापतिनाप्यमात्यतिलकैः
72 क्लृप्ताभिषेकक्रमः ।(॥)[२९*] श्रीविद्यानगरीललामनि महामाण्यार्थसिं-
73 हासने (।) संतानद्रु[रि]व स्फुरत्पुरगिरौ संक्लृप्त [वि*]विधिषः[6] । या से-
74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाज्ञो निजाज्ञाक्षरान्सर्वां पालय-
75 ते सदाशिवमहारायश्चिराय क्षमां ।(॥)[३०*] विख्यातविक्रांतिम-
76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनंदबाष्पैरभिषि-[7]
77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धरित्री ।(॥)[३१*] गोत्रोद्धारविशारदं कुव-
78 लयापीडापहारोद्धुरं सत्यायत्तमतिं समस्तमुम[न*]स्तोमावनै-
79 कायनं । संजातस्मृतिभूरुचिं सविजयं संनंदकश्रीभरं[8] (।) यं
80 शंसंति यशोदयांचितगुणं क्षष्णावतारं बुधाः ।(॥)[३२*] विख्यातं बहु-

Third Plate; First Side.

81 भोगशृंगविभवैरुद्दामदानोद्धुरं धर्मेण श्रुतिसाधनो-
82 पि भुवने दक्षं प्रजारक्षणे । प्राप्तां यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिम-
83 हिग्दंतिकूर्मोपमं (।) पातिप्रत्थपताकिकेति धरणी[9] आनंतु स-
84 र्वे जनाः ।(॥)[३३*] यस्मिन्नाधूकिपाकी प्रकाममकारसमुत्थाटने धूमरेखा

[1] Read °र्मि° instead of °र्मि°. [2] Read समुद्यर्तिं. [3] श्री is corrected from स.

[4] Read प्रस°. [5] Read °त्रायिणा. [6] Read विविधिष:.

[7] Read °भिषिच्य°. [8] Read स्म°. [9] Read धरणी.

85 रोमाङ्को कीर्त्तिवध्वा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमंतर्वहंत्याः । [वे]-
86 णी नाणीयसीव प्रकटितविहृतेर्वीरलक्ष्म्या रणाग्रे (।) ग्रां-
87 त्ये जीमूतपङ्क्तिः[1] किल [2]शकलखलस्तोमदावानलानां [॥३४*] तुंगा-
88 मेव दयां पदांबुजयुगं शोणं च कृष्णां तनुं रक्ता(क्तां) नीलशितां[3]
89 त्रिवेणिमनवां वोचां गिरं नर्मदां [।*] तीथ्यानीति[4] [स]मावहत्य-[5]
90 वयवैः शेषाद्रिवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिमुदितः
91 पट्टाभिषेकश्रिये ।(॥)[३५*] [6]वीषधिपत्युपमायितगंडस्तोषणरूप-
92 जितासमकांडः [।*] [7]भाषगेतप्पुवरायरगंडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-
93 नवखंडः ।(॥)[३६*] राजाधिराजविरुदो राजराजसमाहृतिः । स्वा-
94 राजराजमानश्री[:*] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः ।(॥)[३७*] मूरुरायरगंडांको
95 मेरुलंघियशोभरः । शरणागतमंदारः [8]पर[रा]जभयंकरः ।(॥)[३८*]
96 करदाखिलभूपालः परदारसहोदरः । हिंदुरायसुरत्राणस्सिं-
97 धुराजगभीरधिः[9] ।(॥)[३९*] विष्टपत्रयविख्यातो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्द्दनः ।
98 अरीभगंडभेरुंडो हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः ।(॥)[४०*] वर्धमानापदानश्री-
99 रङ्गनारीनटेश्वरः । इत्यादिविरुदैर्वंदितस्त्वा[10] नित्यमभिष्टुतः ।(॥)[४१*]
100 [11]कांभोजभोजकाळिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः[12] । सौविदल्लपदं प्रा-
101 प्तैस्संदर्शितनृपोपदः ।(॥)[४२*] सोयं नीतिविशारदः सुरतरुस्फूर्जल-[13]
102 विश्राणनस्सर्वोर्वीशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायक्षमानायकः ।
103 बाहावंगदनिर्विशेषमखिलां सर्वंसहामुद्वहन्विद्वत्त्राणप-
104 रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३*] निधिवारणवेदेंदुग-
105 णिते शकवत्सरे । प्रभवे वत्स[रे*] मासि पौषे मकरसंक्रमे ।(॥)[४४*]
कृष्णपक्षे च पु-
106 ण्यायाममायां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने[14] तीरे रंगनाथस्य
107 संनिधौ ।(॥)[४५*] काश्यपान्वयरत्नेन शाश्वतातुलकीर्त्तिना । शश्वदाराध-
108 नाकृष्टविश्वनाथार्पितश्रिया ।(॥)[४६*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणक्यमठेन मनीषि-
109 णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ही)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा ।(॥)[४७*] सत्यादृतांतरं-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

110 गेण सत्कृत्याश्रयशोभिना । सहितेनाधिकं भूत्या सर्व-
111 ज्ञग(गु)णशालिना ।(॥)[४८*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वरांकोपशो-

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[1] Read °पंक्तिः.
[2] Read सकल°.
[3] Read °सितां.
[4] Read तीर्थां°.
[5] ह is corrected from perhaps म.
[6] Read भौषधि
[7] Read भाषेगें°.
[8] °रा° is corrected from another letter.
[9] हिंदुवंशसमुद्रामधिः in the British Museum plates.
[10] Read
[11] Read कांभोज°.
[12] Read °पार्थि°.
[13] Read
[14] Originally पावनी was written.

112 भिना । मोकालिपट्टधर्ड्डनविख्यातबिरुदश्रिता ।(॥)[४९*] समयद्रोह-

113 रगंडख्यातिना मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकोलाहलचिह्नेन

114 भास्वता ।(॥)[५०*] ऐलावळीपुरवराधीश्वरांकेन धीमता । मा[दा]ति-

115 रुवटिक्ष्मापसप्तांगहरणौजसा ।(॥)[५१*] यशश्विना[1] पाश्यकुलस्था-[2]

116 पनाचार्यकीर्त्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च ।(॥)[५२*]

117 नागमक्ष्मापपौत्रेण नळनाभागकीर्त्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-

118 लसिंधुशीतकभानुना ।(॥)[५३*] सुशीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-

119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना पुण्यकीर्त्तिना करु[णा*]श्विना ।(॥)[५४*] परित: प्रण-
वाकारप्र-

120 कारवलयांचितं । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदंभोत्तंभितांबरं[3] ।(॥)[५५*] विशं-

121 कटविटंकाळीविराजद्रंगमंटपं । विधाय विपुलोत्तुंगगोपु-

122 रं देवमंदिरं ।(॥)[५६*] विशालां रथवोतीं[4] च स्यंदनं मंदरोपमं । तत्र प्रति-

123 ष्टातार्यश्रीतारकब्रह्मरूपिणि[5] ।(॥) [५७*] करुणारसकल्लोलवरुणालयचक्षु-

124 से(षे) । शरणागतगो[र्वा]णभरणाधीनचेतसे ।(॥) [५८*] कालचक्रघटीयंत्रक-

125 ल्पनाशिल्पकारिणे । कैवल्यकल्पलतिकाकंदळोपज्ञकीर्त्तये ।(॥) [५९*] कौस्तुभा-

126 रुणपाथोजपा[र्श्वे] लीनाक्षिमौलया[6] । वनमालिकया चारुवक्षसे ह्रतर-

127 क्षसे ।(॥)[६०*] इंदिराया [7]जगन्मातुर्मंदिरायितवक्षसे । [8]च्छंदसामादिकंदाय

128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) ।(॥)[६१*] शरण्याय वतामिंदुतरण्याकारचक्षुसे[9] । हिरण्या-

129 सुरसंहर्त्रे[10] धरण्या रक्षमेधिने ।(॥)[६२*] [11]कंसादिविबुधारातिहिंसाविधपटी-

130 यसे । संसारसागरौर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां ।(॥)[६३*] नवनीतमुषे[12] नंदर-

131 मणीशिक्षणीयतां । प्रभिनीतवते शश्वदपनीतनतातये ।(॥)[६४*] निरलो-
कवचो-

132 मूलमुरळीमधुरारवै: । तरळीकुर्वते गोपीस्मरलीलापराङ्मुखी:[13] ।(॥)[६५*] श्र-

133 [14]श्मिन्कृष्णापुरे पूर्णसा(सां)निध्यं समुपेयुषे । तिरुवेंकटनाथाय विष्णवे प्रभ-

134 विष्णवे ।(॥)[६६*] धूपदीपसुधाहारनानापूपनिवेदनै:[15] । नानापुष्पोपहारैश्च नै-

135 कदीपप्रदीपनै: ।(॥)[६७*] नृत्तगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(त्र)चामरवैभवै: । नित्यनैमि-
त्तिका-

[1] Read यशस्वि°.
[2] Read पांड्य°.
[3] Read °कदंभो°.
[4] Read °वीथीं.
[5] Read °ष्ठित° and °ब्रह्म°.
[6] Read °मालया.
[7] Read °मंदिरा°.
[8] Read छंदसा°.
[9] Read °चक्षुषे. Could it be that the passage should be read as शरण्याय सतामिंदुतरण्याकारचक्षुषे ?
[10] Read °हर्त्रे.
[11] Read कंसादि°.
[12] Read °मुषे.
[13] Read गोपीस्मर°.
[14] Read यस्मि°.
[15] The second ना looks like न्य.

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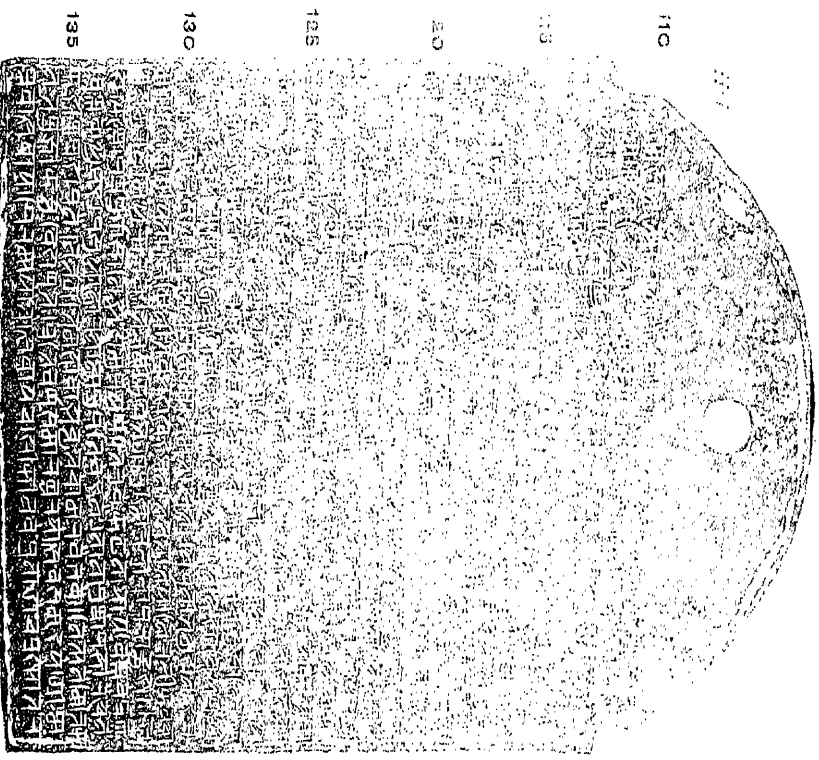
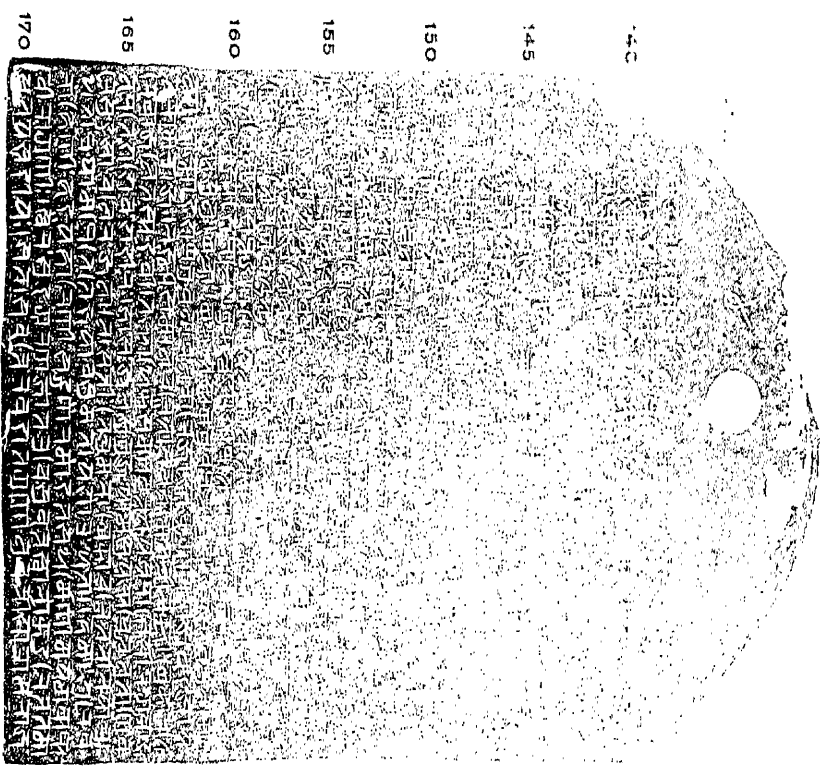

STEN KONOW.

HALF SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

136 नंतपूजां कर्त्तुं विशेषतः ।(॥)[६८*] प्रतिवर्षसमारब्धरथोत्सवसमृदये[1] । ग्रीष्म-

137 प्लवोत्सवायापि रम्ययात्रोत्सवाय च ।(॥)[६९*] श्रीकोळवेंप्र(पु)नाडौ च प्रख्यातं प[रां]-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

138 ड्यमंडले । तां(ता)म्रपर्णीनदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७०*] श्रीव-

139 ल्लमंगलख्यातचावटावपि विश्रुतं । ख्यातार्द्दतिंचिणोद्दचा-

140 दिमार्गेशान्यतां श्रितं ।(॥)[७१*] धर्माद्दिल्लमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेडुं-

141 कुलात् । प्राच्यं श्रीशवकळक्कार्कुळसीमांचलादपि ।(॥) [७२*] पुक्कि-

142 यंकुळोडैक्कुलप्पिरायन्कुलतोपि च । भूसुरतटागसीमांच-

143 लानाग्नेयतां[2] श्रितं ।(॥)[७३*] श्रीमत्कक्किकुळग्रामसीमांतादपि दक्षि[णं] [।*]

144 श्रीविलंकुळकुख्याया नैरृतीं दिशमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७४*] सुंदरश्रीपांड्य[पूतु]-

145 कुख्यायाश्चापि पश्चिमं । [3]ऐनाकुळसीमांताद्वायवीमाश्रितं दिशं ।(॥) [७५*]

146 श्रीकुळैयारुपेर्यालंकुळसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोक्कंतांपारैपनयंकु-

147 ळयोरुभयोरपि ।(॥)[७६*] अपि [4]सुत्तुमल्लाभिख्यागिरेरीशान्यतां श्रितं । पु-

148 त्तनेरिग्रामकेण ख्यातारियकुळेन च ।(॥)[७७*] कोटिकुळग्रामकेण कुत्तु-

149 क्कल्ग्रामकेण च । मुत्तूरुग्रामकोपि[5] श्रीमद्रामंकुळेन च ।(॥)[७८] ईत्तंपाट्टु-

150 ग्रामकेण शिरियालंकुळेन च । युक्तं पाटैकुलेनापि संयुतं सस्य-

151 शोभितं ।(॥)[७९*] सुरप्पुनाडाक्किकुटिभूत्रयोदशमान्वितं । श्रीकृष्णापुर-

152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्राममुत्तमं ।(॥)[८०*] सर्वमा(नांचतुःसीमा)न्यं चतुःस्रो(सी)-

153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यजलान्वि-

154 तं ।(॥)[८१*] अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तं[6] देवभोग्यं समूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-

155 कैश्च कारच्छारामैश्च सयुतं[7] ।(॥)[८२*] अनेन वेंकटेशेन भोग्यमाचंद्रता-

156 रकं । दानाधमनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं ।(॥)[८३*] शीतांशो-

157 र्वंशरत्नं समजनि नृपतिर्नंदनामाथ जज्ञे तत्संतत्यां चलिक्क-

158 क्षितिपतिरभवत्तत्कुलि[8] विज्जलेंद्रः । तदंशं[9] सोमिदेवोलभ-

159 जत विमतासप्तदुर्गाणि हृत्वा पौत्रस्तस्यारवीटीपुरपतिरुदभू-

160 त्पिंनमक्षोणिपालः[10]।(॥) [८४*] भूकल्पशाखी प्रति(थि)तारवीटिवुक्कक्षमापो-

161 भवदस्य सूनुः । बल्लांबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरंदरस्येव पुलोमकं-[11]

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[1] Read °समृद्धये.
[2] Read °दाग्नेय°.
[3] The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as ऐ[य*]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Âyinâ*°.—S. K.]
[4] Read °भिख्य°.
[5] Read °ग्रामकेणापि ?
[6] Read °संयुक्तं.
[7] Read °कच्छारामैश्च संयुतं.
[8] Read °भवत्तत्कुले.
[9] Read तदंशे.
[10] Read °क्षोणि°.
[11] Read °कन्या.

162 न्या ।(॥) [८५*] अस्मादशेषभुवनावनवारिजाक्षाश्रच्छृं(च्छृं)गारराजवदजाय-
163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतल्ली लक्ष्मांबिका रति-
164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ।(॥)[८६*] [1]तस्याधिकैसमभवत्तनयस्तपोभि[:*] श्रीरंगराज-
165 [2]नृपतिशशिवंशदीपः । आसंज्वलत्सु भुजधामसु यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वै-
166 रिसुदृसां[3] च निरंजनानि ।(॥)[८७*] सतीं तिरुमलांबिका(कां) चरितलीलयारुं-
167 धतीमथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमतीयशो रुंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव
168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्गुणैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य
169 वीराग्रणीः ।(॥)[८८*] स्वैरं सुदृग्भरणजातरुचिसुवृत्त[4] स्वालोकदूरिततमा-
170 स्तनयस्तदीयः । अत्रासवृत्तिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्ती श्रा(श्री)रामराज-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

171 नरपालमणिर्विरेजे[5] ।(॥)[८९*] यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीं जदे[वै]-[6]
172 कवीरे भंगो नदीषु पतगेषु च पक्षपातः । वल्लीषु पल्लव-
173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभूत्क्रियतं प्रजानां ।(॥)[९०*] स-
174 त्यानुरक्तैरिदरावहेस्मिन् संपक्के[7] संभृतसर्वलोके । (श्रीरा)
175 श्रीरामराजे श्रितसत्वसौर्ये[8] शौरेः पदं शाश्वतमभ्युपेते ।(॥)[९१*] त-
176 दनु भुवमशेषां पालयन्राजनीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-
177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहितभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-
178 रतिरुमलराजसाह्वितीभोजराजः[9] ।(॥)[९२*] स्वैरं [10]संक्रतकंटको-
179 थ सुकृतोत्कृष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकेदारसुदारदानसलिलो-[11]
180 सारैस्समापूर्य च । संवव्रानघ(कीर्त्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं
181 तत्पालिकां विक्रमश्रीकांतां भुजकायमानसिखरे[12] धत्ते
182 हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥)[९३*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकमर्मा रामाभिराम[ो]-
183 तुलबाहुधामा । वीरो विरेजे[13] भुवि वेंकटाद्रिराजः श्रि-
184 या निर्ज्जितराजराजः ।(॥)[९४*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य[14] धरणीक-
185 ल्पशाखिनः । सोमवंशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ।(॥)[९५)*] श्री-
186 विश्वनाथभूपालश्चिरपुण्यफलात्मना । कृष्णभूपतिनाम्ने-
187 न क[पा]कूपारचक्षुषा[15] । (॥)[९६*] विश्रापितस्य विनयाश्रितशांत-[1]

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[1] Read °स्समभव°.
[2] Read °नृपतिश्शशि°
[3] Read °सुदृशां.
[4] Read °सुवृत्तः.
[5] The letters विरे are engraved over an erasure.
[6] Read जगदेक°.
[7] A mistake for संपन्न के.
[8] Read °सत्व शौर्ये.
[9] Read °स्साहिती°.
[10] Read संक्रत°,
[11] Read °सलिला°.
[12] Read °शिखरे.
[13] Read विरेजे.
[14] Read °विदस्तस्य.
[15] पा is corrected from षा.
[16] Read °धृत°.

188 भास्वतः । प्राज्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः ।(॥)[९७*] आ-
189 त्रेयगोत्रपाथोजमार्त्तांडस्य मनस्विनः । अतेंबवरगंड-
190 स्य [1]सिध्वंतस्थितिरच्चिणः ।(॥)[९८*] [2]वर्णितेयशेसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-
191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)बिरुदरायराहुतवेस्य[3]कभुजंगबिरुदभ-
192 रितस्य ।(॥)[९९*] [4]विख्या[त]बिरुदमंनियविभाळलीलस्य विजय-
193 शीलस्य । विश्वंभराभृतिस्फुटविश्रुतधरणीवराहबि-[5]
194 रुदस्य ।(॥)[१००*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शल्यारिसमतेजसः । वेंगचि-
195 भुवनीमल्ललिंगस्थिरयशोनिधेः ।(॥)[१०१*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलम्मापशे-
196 खरस्य दयांबुधेः । विन[यो*]दार्यशीलस्य विश्वमिमनुपालयन् ।(॥)[१०२*]

Fifth Plate.

197 परीतः प्रयतै[:*] स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधै-
198 र्विबुधैः श्रो(श्रौ)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा ।(॥)[१०३*] सदाशिवमहारा-
199 यो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
200 न्मुदा ।(॥)[१०४*]
201 सरससदाशिवरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [।*] शास-
202 नमिदं [6]सरासनदामरथेरमितक्षेमदानरतेः[7] ।(॥)[१०५*] मृदुपदमिति
203 तांम्र(ताम्र)शासनार्थं मह्हितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदनु-
204 गुणं वचोमह्हिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्स्वयंभूः ।(॥)[१०६*] सदाशिवमहा-
205 रायशासनाद्वीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-[8]
206 म्रशासनं (॥)[१०७*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छ्रे]योनुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्ग-[9]
207 मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ।(॥)[१०८*] स्वदत्ताद्विगुण[10] पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-
208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं [11]निस्फलं भवेत् ।(॥)[१०९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
209 वा यो हरेति[12] वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि[13] विष्टायां जायते क्रि(कृ)-
210 मिः।(॥) [११०*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-
211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा ।(॥)[१११*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुन्रृपाणां[14] काले काले
212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याच-
213 ते रामचंद्रः॥ [११२*]
214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष[15]

[1] Read सिध्वं°.
[2] Read वर्णितयशसो.
[3] Read °वेस्यै क°.
[4] त is corrected from the secondary *i* of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.
[5] Read °विस्तृत°.
[6] Read शरासन°.
[7] Read °दाशरथेः.
[8] Read °लिखत्ताम्र°.
[9] Read °द्दानात्स्वर्ग°.
[10] Read °दत्ताद्वि°.
[11] Read निष्फलं.
[12] Read हरेत.
[13] Read षष्टिं व°.
[14] Read °सेतुर्नृपाणां.
[15] In Kannada characters.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v. 2 the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, and v. 3 Gaṇêśa.

Vv. 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon.

(Vv. 6-7.) In his (*i.e.* Turvasu's) line was born the husband of Dêvakî, king **Timma**, as famous among the Tuḷuvas as Kṛishṇa was among the Yadus. To him was born king Îśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamâ.

(V. 8.) To him, the son of Dêvakî, was born king **Narasa**, as Kâma (was born) from the son of Dêvakî (Kṛishṇa).

Vv. 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of **Tamcha** (*i.e.* the **Chôḷa country**) and Śrîraṅgapaṭṭaṇa.

(V. 11.) Conquering the Chêra and the Chôḷa, **Mânabhûsha**, the **Pâṇḍya** king of **Madura**, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Laṅkâ, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns.

(Vv. 12-14.) Of Tippâjî and Nâgalâdêvî, like Râma and Lakshmaṇa of Kausalyâ and Sumitrâ to Daśaratha, were born to him two sons **Vîra-Nṛisiṁha** and **Kṛishṇarâya** who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Ôbâmbikâ two (*more*) sons able in protecting (*the subjects*), **Raṅgakshitîndra** and **Achyutadêvarâya.**

(V. 15.) Vîra-Nârasiṁha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛiga, Naḷa, Nahusha and others of the world, praised by the Brâhmaṇas from Sêtu to Mêru, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people.

(Vv. 16-18.) His praises.

(V. 19.) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven.

(V. 20.) After him, king **Kṛishṇarâya**, of unabated valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛishṇarâya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛishṇarâya had taken for his part the world of the *dêvas* (*i.e.* had died) his younger brother **Achyutêndra,** doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Vishṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.
(Vv. 25-26.) Praises of Achyutêndra.

(V. 27.) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutêndra reached Vishṇu's abode, his brave son **Vêṅkaṭarâya** ascended the throne.

(Vv. 28-30.) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kâma, and was ruling his kingdom (*well*), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Raṅgakshitîndra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Timmâmbâ, king **Sadâśivarâya,** who was like the *santâna* tree on the hill of *dêvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrî-Vidyânagarî, by king **Râma,** his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrî of the great kingdom of Karṇâṭa, who was an ornament to all Kshatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers.

(Vv. 31-43.) Praises of Sadâśivarâya.

(Vv. 44-45.) On **Monday, the new moon** *tithi* **of the dark half of the month Pausha,** during the *Makara-saṁkramaṇa*, in the year **Prabhava,** (corresponding to) the **Śaka** year counted by the *nidhis* (9), the *vâraṇas* (8), the *vêdas* (4), and *indu* (1; (*i.e.* Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kâvêrî, in the presence of (*the god*) **Raṅganâtha,** (*this grant is made*).

(Vv. 46-57.) By **Krishṇabhûpati**, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy; who was the jewel of the family of Kâśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanâtha, who was pleased with his devotion; who knew the truth about duty; who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions; who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; who bore the title 'the lord of Kâñchîpura;' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Môkâlipaṭṭavardhana;' who was also known as the 'Samayadrôhara-gaṇḍa;' whose policy was like that of Manu; who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakôlâhala;' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailâvaḷîpura;' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the **Tiruvaḍi-râjya** of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pâṇḍyakulasthâpanâchârya;' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king **Nâgama**; who was equal to Naḷa and Nâbhâga in fame; who was the cool moon of the ocean named king **Viśvanâtha**; who was the pearl of the oyster, *viz.* the womb of the virtuous Nâgamâ,—was built a temple at **Krishṇâpura**, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *praṇava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *raṅga-maṇḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Vishṇu set up there (*i.e.* in the temple),

[(Vv. 58-66.) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Krishṇâpuram.]

(Vv. 67-69.) (For the worship of the god Vishṇu) who shone in this place under the name of **Tiruvêṅkaṭanâtha**, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, *etc.*, by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yâtrôtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82.) The excellent village known by the name of Śrî Krishṇâpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanêri, Âriyakuḷam, Kôṭikkuḷam, Kuttukkal, Muttûr Râmaṅguḷam, Îttampâṭṭu, Siṟiyâlaṅguḷam, Pâṭaikkulam together with thirteen *bhû* in Muṟappunâḍu (and) Âḷikuḍi, which is situated in the Kîḷavêmbu-nâḍu belonging to the Pâṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tâmraparṇî, in the *châvaḍi* known as Śrîvallamaṅgalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhatintriṇî tree, *etc.*; east of Villamarâya's charity and the famous Neḍuṅguḷam and of the extreme limits of Śrî-Śavaḷakkâṟaṅkuḷam; south-east of Puḷiyaṅguḷa-ôḍai, Kulappirâyankuḷam and of the extreme limits of Bhûsura-taṭâka; south of the extreme limits of Kaḷḷikkuḷam; south-west of the Vêlaṅguḷa channel; west of Śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Ainâkuḷam; north of the extreme limits of Śrîkuḷam, Êryâru-Peryâlaṅguḷam and of Kokkantâmpâṟa and Panayaṅkuḷam; and north-east of the hill known as Muttûrmala—is to be enjoyed by (*this god*) **Vêṅkaṭêśa** as a *sarvamânya*

(Vv. 96 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Krishṇabhûpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanâtha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, **Tirumala Râja** respectfully requested **Sadâśivarâya**, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhâpati Svayambhu wrote the *śâsana*.

V. 107 mentions that Vîraṇâchârya, son of Vîraṇa, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature '*Śrî Virûpâksha*' in the Kannaḍa alphabet

No. 53.—ARANG COPPER-PLATE OF BHIMASENA II. GUPTA-SAMVAT 282.

By Hira Lal, B.A.; Nagpur.

This copper-plate was found by me with Śrî Kṛishṇa Mâlguzâr of Âraṅg on my visit to that place on the 31st May 1908. Âraṅg is 22 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgaṛh Division in the Central Provinces. It contains several ancient remains[1] and it was there that another plate in box-headed characters belonging to Mahâ-Jayadêva[2] was found. There is also another mutilated inscription at the place on a stone in characters like those in which the inscriptions of Sirpur,[3] which is 15 miles from Âraṅg, are engraved. The details as to the exact find-spot of our inscription are not available, as Śrî Krishṇa told me that it was found long ago by one of his ancestors, and as no Paṇḍits could read it, it was stowed away, so that being out of sight, it got out of mind. He, however, assured me he had heard from his ancestors that it was dug up in Âraṅg itself and that it was not brought from any other place. There is only one plate with an uncut ring passing through a round hole, its ends being soldered to a round seal. The plate measures $10\frac{1}{8}'' \times 4''$ and has irregular edges and an uneven surface, partly corroded. In spite of this, the letters are all visible except two or three (ll. 6 and 11) which have been much worn out and are difficult to decipher. The seal is a little brittlish and has in bas-relievo a lion in a sitting posture as the family crest, beneath which are inscribed in raised letters *Śrî-mahârâja-Bhîmasênasya.*

The inscription contains 13 lines, 9 on the obverse and 4 on the reverse side. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{16}''$. The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets of the type, which, according to Dr. Fleet, "may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India from towards the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A. D."[4] There are also numerical symbols for 200, 80, 2, 10 and 8, the last being doubtful. The language of the record is Sanskṛit prose except the imprecatory verse in ll. 11 and 12. In respect of orthography, we have to notice the use of the dental nasal instead of the *anusvâra* before *ś* in *vanśyaiḥ* (l. 10) and instead of the class nasal before a guttural in *piḍân-kuryât* (in the same line). Letters with a *rêpha* have been mostly doubled. The vowel sign for *î* occurs in *śrî* (l. 2) and *â* is sometimes denoted by a short vertical stroke after the consonant to which it is joined, at other times by a top curve, especially when combined with *su* or *pa* (ll. 2, 3, 5, 10 and 12). Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 6, 7 and 11.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named **Vaṭapallikâ** in the district of **Dôṇḍâ** by the *Mahârâja* **Bhîmasena II.** to two Brâhmaṇs Harisvâmin and Bappasvâmin, both of the Bharadvâja-*gôtra* and students of the Ṛigvêda. The charter was issued from the **Suvarṇṇanadî** (*river*), where apparently the donor had gone to bathe on some festival. The genealogy of Bhîmasêna is given for six generations, thus:—**Bhîmasêna** (II.), son of Dayitavarmman (II.), son of **Bhîmasêna** (I.), son of **Vibhîshaṇa**, son of **Dayita** (I.), son of Śûra; but it is not clear to which particular dynasty they belonged. They are stated to have been born of a family celebrated for its dignity like that of royal ascetics (*râjarshitulyakula*).[5] From this it

[1] Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 20 *et seq.*

[2] Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 23 *et seq.*

[3] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 191.

[4] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

[5] This probably refers to the Gupta family. In the Udayagiri cave inscription (vide *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 35) Chandragupta II. is called "*râjâdhirâjarshi*," which implies that he combined in him both regal and religious qualifications, an ideal to which the feudatory chiefs would be prone to liken their own families. In reference to his sovereign lord, Bhîmasêna could not arrogate the [illegible] of *râjarshi* to his family and that seems to be the reason why he inserts the word *tulya* (like). [illegible] appears their northern feudatories called themselves *Parivrâjaka*, which means 'a religious [illegible]

may be inferred that they were something like the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas of Dabhâlâ (Jubbulpore country) and were like them vassals of the Early (or Imperial) Guptas in whose era our inscription is dated.[1] The Parivrâjaka inscriptions range from 475 to 528 A.D., and ours belongs to the Gupta year 282 or A.D. 601. Our inscription introduces us to another similar family under the overlordship of the Guptas, which apparently continued to be acknowledged, at least in Chhattisgarh, up to so late a date as the commencement of the 7th century A.D. It was in the middle of the 4th century that Samudra-Gupta conquered the Mahâkôsala (Chhattisgarh) country, by defeating the then ruling king Mahêndra, of whom we know nothing beyond his name and so have no materials to establish any connection between him and the dynasty of our inscription. We know that Mahêndra was not ousted. He was liberated,[2] and his dynasty must have continued to rule for about 100 years, if Bhîmasêna's family was a different one. The first king Sûra of the latter line must have flourished in the middle of the 5th century, to judge from the number of generations which intervened between the two. In Chhattîsgaṛh several dynasties have ruled and many inscriptions have been found, but ours is the only one among them which is dated in the Gupta era. In other parts of India, too, inscriptions referring to the Guptas have been discovered, and their era remained in use even after their imperial power had come to an end. That is, in the words of Dr. Fleet, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power down to A.D. 601. Prior to the discovery of our inscription, the latest date expressly given in the Gupta era was only 528 A.D.[3] It is true that the inscriptions of the Valabhî kings shew that the Gupta era continued in use in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and some neighbouring parts of Gujarât, at least as late as A.D. 766,[4] but the era has not been specifically named after the Guptas in them.

The exact date of our inscription appears to be the 18th of the Bhâdra month of the Gupta year 282. It does not admit of verification, as the week day is not mentioned. Its English equivalent, as calculated by Mr. Gokul Prasâd, Tahsîldâr of Dhamtari, is Tuesday, the 22nd August 601, on the assumption that the Gupta era began on 26th February 320 A.D. which is taken as the coronation day of Chandra Gupta I.[5] The accuracy of the above calculation cannot, however, be relied on, owing to the uncertainty as to whether the date is really the 18th, the figure for 8 being doubtful. Again, there is the question of intercalation[6] and the alteration of the commencement of the year by the Valabhî kings who put it back 7 months, which may also interfere with the reckoning. So much, however, is certain that our inscription was recorded in the year 601 A.D. With regard to geographical names, Suvarṇṇanadî is apparently the Sôn, which rises from the Amarkantak hills and after a course of about 40 miles in Chhattîsgaṛh finally joins the Ganges. It has been identified with the Sonos of Arrian as also with his Erannoboas, the other Sanskṛit name of the Sôn being Hiraṇyavâha or Hiraṇyavâhin. The Sôn is frequently mentioned in Hindû literature, in the *Râmâyaṇas* of Vâlmîki and Tulsîdâs,

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[1] [Cunningham describes (*Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 26) two silver coins of a certain Bhîmasêna, who must have belonged to a dynasty which succeeded the Guptas. The peacock device of the Guptas is continued on these coins, but the faces of the obverse are turned to the left as if to denote a change of dynasty.—Ed.]

[2] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 8. [The Tezpur inscription dated *Gupta 510* is of a different kind. See Kielhorn, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1905, pp. 465 and ff.—S. K.] [The Gañjâm District plates of Saśâṅkarâja are dated in the Gaupta year 300 corresponding to A.D. 619-20 (above, Vol. VI. p. 143)—V. Venkayya.]

[4] *Ibid.* p. 13. The Verâwal inscription is dated in Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 or 1264 A.D., thus extending its use to a period 500 years still later (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 385).

[5] Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd Edition, p. 266.

[6] For a discussion on this subject, see Dr. Kielhorn's postscript to my article on the Betûl plates (above, Vol. VIII. p. 288).

[7] See *Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 257.

the *Bhâgavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sôn and Narmadâ to two tears dropped by Brahmâ, one on either side of the Amarkantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyâ* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brâhmaṇ.[1] This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence **Bhîmasêna** issued his charter, and not another Sôn flowing in the south of the Bilâspur district, falling into the Borai which joins the Mahânadî. As for **Dôṇḍâ** and **Vaṭapallikâ**, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Baḍapâlî or Barapâlî, there are so many places in Chhattîsgaṛh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dôṇḍâ or Duṇḍâ, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Âraṅg, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapâlî is 30 miles east of Âraṅg and about 50 miles east of Duṇḍâ. It is included in the present Kauḍiâ Zamîndârî on the other side of the Mahânadî. It would then appear that Âraṅg also was in those days included in the Dôṇḍâ district, and the donees, if they were residents of Âraṅg, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.[2]

Seal.

Śrî-mahârâja-Bhîmasênasya.

First Side.

1 Ôṁ[3] svasti [||*] **Suvarṇṇanadyâḥ** [sa]rvva[4]-sadrâjarshi-tulya-kula-prabhâva-kîrttiḥ śrî-mahârâja-**Śûrasya** prapautraḥ prajâ-

2 dayitasya śrî-[ma]hârâja-**Dayitasya** pautraḥ praṇata-sâmantasy=ârâti-vibhîshaṇasya śrî-mahârâja-**Vibhîsha-**

3 **ṇasya** putraḥ śakti-siddhi-sampannô dharmma-vijayî nyây-ôpârjjit-ânêka-ratna-gô-bhûmi-suvarṇṇa-hiraṇy-âdi-pradaḥ śrî-

4 mahârâja-**Bhîmasênaḥ** tasya putraḥ ta[ch-chari]t-ânukârî sadbhir=mmahadbhiś=ch=âddhyushitasadaḥ[5] śrî-mahârâja-**Dayitavarmmâ**

5 tasya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô-tya[uta]-dêva-guru-brâhmaṇa-bhaktaḥ śrî-mahârâja-**Bhîmasênaḥ** kuśalî **Dôṇḍâ-**

6 vaishayika-**Vaṭapallikâyâm** [brâhmaṇâdîn=pra]tivâsinaḥ [ku]śalam=uktvâ samâjñâpayaty=êsha grâmô mayâ

7 bhadra-bhôgên=aiva mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇyâ-bhivṛiddhayê Bharadvâja-sagôtrâbhyâṁ Bahvṛicha-Harisvâmi-Bappasvâmibhyâm

8 sarvvapratyâyavân=mahâpralaya-kâ[l-â]vasthâ[py-â]grahârô dattas=tad=bhavadbhir=anayôr=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ samuchita-

9 m=êya[6] suvarṇṇa-hiraṇy-âdi-pratyây-ôpanayaḥ karttavyaḥ [||*] yaś=ch=âtra [ka]śchid=ubhaya-lôka-nirapêkshaḥ san=daśa-

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[1] See article on Sôn in the new Imperial Gazetteer.

[2] From the original plate.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] [I read *pûrvva-*.—S. K.]

[5] Read *=ch=âddhyushita*°.

[6] Read *-mêva* [or *-mêya-* as in l. 15 of the Broach copper-plate of Saṅgamasiṁha (*J. Bo. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XX p. 214, text-line 8.)—S. K.]

Arang plate of Bhimasena II.—Gupta Samvat 282.

STEN KONOW.

SCALE ·75

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Second Side.

10 bhir=atîtair=âgâmibhiś=ch=aitâvadbhiḥ svavanśy[ai]ḥ[1] sah=âdhô [y]iyâsuḥ svalpâm=api pîḍân=ku[ryyâ]t[2]=kârayêd=anumanyêta vâ sa pañcha-

11 bhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha sa[ṁ]yuktaḥ [syât punaś=ch=â]sminn=arthê bhagavatâ Vyâsên=âbhihitaṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi

12 svarggê môdati bhûmidaḥ [|*] âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêd=ity=êvamâdi-ślôkâḥ Guptânaṁ saṁvvatsa-

13 ra-śatê 200 80 2 Bhâdra di 10 8[3] dûtakaś=cha râjaputra-Subhadraḥ utkîrṇṇaṁ cha Lakshmaṇên=êti || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 4.) Om! Hail! From Suvarṇṇanadî; the illustrious *Mahârâja* Bhîmasêna, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc. (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious *Mahârâja* Śûra, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious *Mahârâja* Dayita, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious *Mahârâja* Vibhîshaṇa to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies.

(Ll. 4 to 6.) His son (*was*) the illustrious *Mahârâja* Dayitavarman, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*). His son (*is*) the illustrious *Mahârâja* Bhîmasêna, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brâhmaṇs. (*He*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brâhmaṇs and other (*inhabitants*) of Vaṭapallikâ in the district of Dôṇḍâ, orders (*as follows*):—

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to Harisvâmin and Bappasvâmin (*both*) of the Bharadvâja *gôtra*, (*students*) of the Ṛigvêda, as an *agrahâra*,[4] with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Ll. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc. If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds[5] and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great[6] sins and also minor sins. Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyâsa: "the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell," and so forth (in other) verses. In the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhâdra on the day 10 8(?). Prince Subhadra was the *dûtaka* (officer carrying the king's orders). Engraved by Lakshmaṇa.

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[1] Read °*vaṁśyaiḥ*. [2] Read *pîḍâṁ kuryyât.*

[3] I am indebted to Dr. Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures.

[4] A grant made in favour of a god or a Brâhmaṇa.

[5] *I.e.* regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world.

[6] For these see *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the Prâyaśchittâdhyâya. They are: killing a Brâhmaṇ, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences. The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242.

INDEX.[1]

By H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

A

[1] The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the *Additions and Corrections* on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = *chief*; *co.* = *country*; *di.* = *district* or *division*; *do.* = *ditto*; *dy.* = *dynasty*; *E.* = *Eastern*; *f.* = *female*; *k.* = *king*; *m.* = *male*; *mo.* = *mountain*; *ri.* = *river*; *s. a.* = *same as*; *sur.* = *surname*; *te.* = *temple*; *vi.* = *village or town*; *W.* = *Western*.

C

E

K

M

O

P

Q

R

U

W

Y

Z